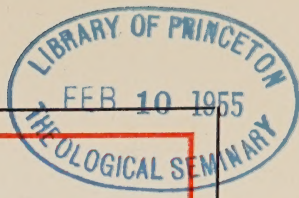


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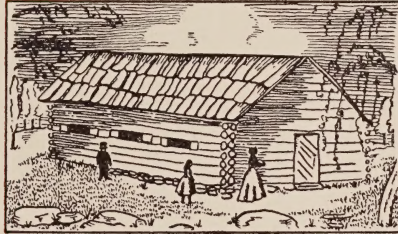
THE TINKLING SPRING
HEADWATER OF FREEDOM





THE TINKLING SPRING *HEADWATER OF FREEDOM*

A Study of the Church and Her People
1732-1952



By
HOWARD McKNIGHT WILSON, TH.D.

THE TINKLING SPRING AND HERMITAGE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES
FISHERSVILLE, VIRGINIA
1954

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Dedicated
to
the spiritual descendants
of
ye Tinkling Spring Meeting House

FOREWORD

IF the proportions of the task had been realized, I would have been more reluctant to begin the writing of this book. However, a glance backward by the churches, as we prepared for a program of improvements, was of sufficient interest to create a genuine desire for the story of this people to be written. It soon appeared that the undertaking, if done properly, would involve major research in widely scattered original documents. When our zeal was seasoned with careful thought, the Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Churches cooperated in helping secure in successive years student assistant ministers to release me, part time, for this work. The presentation of Miss Mary Evelyn McChesney's dramatization of the story confirmed the public's interest in it. The book is presented to these congregations and by them to the public as a result of four very busy years of research.

The Study Committee, representing the churches, has cooperated so graciously in securing student associates and worked so efficiently in connection with the research and writing that its members deserve first mention among those responsible for the production of the book. The committee is as follows: S. Gordon Stewart, Chairman, A. Brooks Booker, Frank O. Birdsall, George W. Chrisman, Harry H. Moffett and Warren M. Shiflet.

Full responsibility for the book's composition and conclusions is mine, but so many institutions and people gave generous assistance that the story could not have been completed apart from them. More than a score of libraries, county clerk's offices and other institutions interested in history have been helpful, along with a large number of individuals. Many have loaned cherished family records for study. The custodians of church minutes and church court records have very kindly cooperated. The extensive use of materials is indicated in the bibliography.

Genuine gratitude is due to all who gave assistance. Dr. Ernest Trice Thompson, Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, piloted the whole undertaking. The ministers of Lexington Presbytery have rendered many courtesies; especially

FOREWORD

helpful were Rev. W. C. Jamison, Rev. J. M. McBryde, Dr. J. J. Murray and Dr. H. S. Turner. Two very busy laymen, Messrs. John M. Sproul and Charles C. Smith have spared no sacrifice to provide many of the pictures. The maps are the product of a life long hobby of Mr. J. R. Hildebrand and with the valuable assistance of Mr. K. W. Trimble are presented for publication for the first time with this work. Much proof reading was done by Miss Lillian Pennell. Our four children, high school and college age, have seen to it that history has its lighter side. The untiring effort of my wife in behalf of the book has been invaluable and indispensable. Except for her donation of time there would have been no book. The book is published with a prayer that the story of the two hundred and fourteen years of Christian citizenship of this people may give pleasure and profit to all who read it.

HOWARD M. WILSON

Fishersville, Virginia

23 July 1954

INTRODUCTION

THERE was no Solid South in the pre-revolutionary period, indeed no "South" at all, but rather three Southern societies—the Chesapeake Society, the Carolina Society, and the Back Country. The Back Country was settled mostly by pioneers from Pennsylvania moving up the Valley of Virginia and on into the Carolinas and Georgia. Germans settled in the Lower Valley; the Scotch-Irish were the dominant group in the Upper Valley and on into the Piedmont.

The earliest churches with a settled pastor in the Upper Valley—indeed in the entire Back Country—were the Old Stone and Tinkling Spring Presbyterian churches, organized by the Scotch-Irish in Augusta County, near the present Staunton.

The history of the Tinkling Spring church has been closely intertwined with the Valley from that day to this. From the Valley, and from this church, have gone out a multitude of sons and daughters to enrich the nation through their own services and through that of their descendants.

With infinite pains and loving care Dr. Wilson has traced the history of this church, relating it at every point to the history of the neighborhood, and to the larger history of its times.

We have then a history of one of the historic churches of the Old Dominion, but more than that, a history of religion in the South as seen through the development of one of its most important rural congregations.

The story of the Tinkling Spring congregation as told by Dr. Wilson will be of tremendous interest to members of the present congregation and their families, and of only slightly less interest to the many who can trace their ancestry back to those whose names were once on its rolls. It will interest any one concerned with the development of one of the historic congregations of the Southland, in relation to the changes in its period and environment.

ERNEST TRICE THOMPSON

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Aerial View of Tinkling Spring Church

PART ONE

PIONEERS SEEKING PEACE IN THE WILDERNESS

CHAPTER ONE

Why Pioneering Here?

A COOL spring of water—issuing from beneath a rock, gathering into a pool from which man lives, overflowing into a stream by which the plains are made alive—is a delightful work of nature. The earliest pioneers in the Valley of Virginia found a bold spring, whose emerging waters made a musical sound upon the cavernous rocks, and they called it the tinkling spring.

The church, located near this spring and named for it, is like “a spring of water welling up to eternal life”¹ for multitudes who have passed this way. This writing has as its purpose the review of the God-directed sources, the spiritual life and the Christian service of the people who have constituted The Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church, Augusta County, The Valley, Virginia. These people were persecuted Scots, principally from northern Ireland, and under the providence of God they rendered a spiritual service that had a singular place in helping make America an independent and Christian country.

People, like springs, are flavored by the source from which they come. Who are the people who have lived by this spring and how did they come to be here?

THE VALLEY EXPLORERS

According to the record the first white explorer to claim a view of the Valley of Virginia was John Lederer, a German.² He relates:

Upon the ninth of March 1669, [with three Indians whose names were Magtakunh, Hopottoguoh, and Naunaugh] I went out at the falls of Pemaconcock, alias York-River in Virginia.

.

The fourteenth of March, from the top of an eminent hill, I first descried the Apalataean Mountains, bearing due west to the place I stood upon: their distance

¹John 4:14 (R. S. V.)

²Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), pp. 62-70, 135-79. Dr. John Lederer, the German physician, was a part of a Virginia Commission appointed to explore the western country. However, on one “Marche” the Englishmen deserted him and returned home, so he claimed, where they prejudiced the public against his effort. Sir William Talbot, finding him in Maryland where he had been forced by “insolence” and “prejudice” from Virginia, examined his report on the “Marches” and decided to translate and publish them.

from me was so great, that I could hardly discern whether they were Mountains or Clouds, until my Indian fellow travelers prostrating themselves in Adoration, howled out after a barbarous manner, Okee Paeze, i. e. God is nigh.

.

The eighteenth of March, after I had in vain assayed to ride up, I alighted, and left my horse with one of the Indians, whilst with the other two I climbed up . . . The height of this mountain was very extraordinary . . . the next morning I had a beautiful prospect . . . to the north and west, my sight was suddenly bounded by mountains higher than that I stood upon. Here did I wander in snow, for the most part, till the fourth and twentieth day of March, hoping to find some passage through the mountains . . . I returned back by the same way that I went.⁸

Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who had sponsored the exploration in which Lederer had a part, determined to "goe further" with these westward explorations. He proceeded under the auspices of Abraham Wood, who on September 1, 1671 sent out Captain Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, Robert Fallam, along with "Penecute a great man of the Apomatack Indians and Jack Weason," formerly a servant to Major General Abraham Wood. Evidently on familiar Indian trails they "set forward from the Apomatacks town," across the Appomattox River from Fort Henry (now Petersburg, Virginia), and traveled four days westward to Sapony Indian village on the Roanoke River where they were kindly received. Here they secured a guide to Tetoro Indian village (near the present city of Roanoke, Virginia) where they arrived five days later and were "exceeding civilly entertained" for two days. From this point they traveled a "path" across the mountains, topped by the eastern continental divide, presumably following the general course of the present Virginian Railroad, and coming to the New River, followed it to the falls where it breaks through Peter's Mountain, near the present Peterstown, West Virginia. Thus the Batts and Fallam expedition became the first exploration of record (not necessarily the

⁸John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer, In Three Several Marches from Virginia, To the West of Carolina: and Other Parts of the Continent* (William Talbot, translator, Grays-Inne-Gate in Holborn: Printed by J. C. for Samuel Heyrick, 1672), p. 1, *et seq.* John Lederer says the Appalachian Mountains were called "Paemotinck" by the Indians and "Apalataei" by the Spaniards, from the nation Apalakin. As he journeyed through the Appalachian foothills approaching the first range, that we now call the Blue Ridge, he gives an indication of the jungle condition that prevailed by observing a wild cat killing a doe ". . . having fastened on her shoulder, left not sucking out her blood until she sunk under him . . . a large Rattle-snake . . . I Judge it two yards and a half or better from head to tail . . . Great heards of Red and Fallow Deer . . . Bears crashing Mast like Swine . . . Small Leopards . . . Wolves . . . Beaver and Otter . . . at every River . . . and the Woods full of Grey Foxes."

first exploration) to have crossed the Great Valley of Virginia into the watershed of the Ohio River. On September 17, 1671, on the bank of New River, they formally took possession of the territory in the name of the King, Charles II, and marked trees for the King, Governor William Berkeley, General Abraham Wood and "Penecute" the courageous and loyal Indian Chief. In the Journal of this exploration there is a reference to the presence in the Valley of Virginia of a contemporary exploring party headed by William Byrd, an exploration of which little seems to be known.⁴

In January 1698/9 Colonel Cadwallader Jones, former commander of the fort on the Rappahannock and alternately an Indian fighter and trader, wrote the Governor of Virginia enclosing a map which cited his places of wilderness encampments, in the years 1677-1686, one of which was on the Shenandoah River in the Valley. The evidence is persuasive that Colonel Jones was the first white man of record to explore that part of the Great Valley of Virginia drained by the Shenandoah River and called the Shenandoah Valley. The declared purpose of Colonel Jones' letter and map was to promote a trade relation between Tidewater Virginia and the Great Lakes country.⁵

The first exploration of record for the purpose of making a specific settlement in the Shenandoah Valley (which constitutes the northern end of the Great Valley) was made by Louis Michel, a Swiss from Pennsylvania, who was acting on behalf of himself and certain citizens of Berne, Switzerland. They sought land upon which to settle a Swiss colony, having made application for land grants to Queen Anne of England. This exploration was made in 1706. Michel traveled southward up the Valley probably as far as the present Rockingham County. The exploration did not result in a colony; however, Louis Michel returned with enthusiastic reports of mineral mines he had discovered.⁶

In order to claim western land, increase Indian trade and find a direct route to the Great Lakes, Governor Spotswood of Virginia, on

⁴Alvord and Bidgood, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-74, 183-205.

⁵Fairfax Harrison, "Western Explorations in Virginia Between Lederer and Spotswood," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 30:323-40, October, 1922.

⁶Charles E. Kemper, "Historical Notes from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia," Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *Historical Papers and Addresses*, 25:89, June, 1921; Charles E. Kemper, "The Massanutten Mountains" and "The Settlement of the Valley," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 30:61-62, 169-82, January and April, 1922; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Printed by Jo Severns & Co., 1852), II, 403-6.

September 5, 1716, with a party of about fifty, including servants and Indian guides, crossed the Blue Ridge into the Valley—it is thought at Swift Run Gap.⁷ Having reached the main stream in the Valley, they proceeded southward to a point where they could ford the “four score yards wide” Shenandoah⁸ with their pack-horses. On September 6, they dined, drank numerous toasts and “. . . the Governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which he writ that he took possession of this place in the name of King George First of England.”⁹ Either by the deception of the Indians or by excited wishful thinking, the Governor was more hopeful in his discovery than realistic. He wrote to the Board of Trade in London, August 14, 1718:

I also discovered . . . that from the pass where I was it is but three days' march to a great nation of Indians living on a river wch discharges itself in the Lake Erie . . . and cannot, therefore, be above five days' march from the pass afore-mentioned . . . wch shews how easy a matter it is to gain possession of those lakes.¹⁰

Thus the Valley of Virginia technically became British in a race with the French for the Northern Mississippi River and Great Lakes area, with an unexplored hope that both were within the grasp of the Virginia Colony. While the English explored the Valley, they did not settle it.

Since Tinkling Spring people have always been so predominantly Scots-Irish instead of English, a study of the Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church inevitably begins with such questions as: Who were the Scots-Irish who settled here? Why did they leave their native land to pioneer in America? Did they secure what they sought when they arrived?

AN EARLY SETTLER

In spite of more than two centuries separating them from us, there are sufficient facts established to give us at least a partial answer. One graphic reply is personified in the story of the Irish family of John

⁷Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), pp. 18-19; Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York: George P. Putnam & Co., 1853), pp. 287-89.

⁸Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. The Shenandoah was variously spelled: Sherando, Sharando, Shenando, Shenandore, etc. The name is of Indian origin from the Oneida tribe. “The old tradition . . . is that it signifies, in the Indian tongue, ‘Daughter of the Stars.’”

⁹Philip Slaughter, *A History of St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County, Virginia* (Baltimore, Maryland: Innes & Company, Printers, 1877), p. 94.

¹⁰Alexander Spotswood, *The Official Letters of* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Historical Society, 1882), II, 295-96.

Lewis,¹¹ Tinkling Spring's advance pioneer member and leader whose settlement ultimately developed into Augusta County, Virginia.¹²

With an undetermined number of associates the Lewis family sometime about 1732 trudged southward up the Shenandoah River Valley. They were traveling afoot along an old buffalo trail, which had been enlarged by Indian use. They were soon in an unoccupied, prairie-like, rich, rolling valley lying between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghenies on the west. What were the basic essentials packed on their horses? Among other necessities such as winter clothing and covering, food and seasoning, an axe and a "fowling-piece," there was a Bible! The past for them had held bitter conflict, unequal rights and religious oppression; their hope ahead certainly included a place where they could exercise their rights according to the dictates of training and conscience and where peace and quiet would allow normal pursuit of a livelihood.

After leaving the Joist Hite Settlement on Opequon Creek,¹³ near the present site of Winchester, these pioneers, passing west of the Massanutten settlement of Germans, were beckoned on by an extensive open prairie country with certain of the hills and many of the streams lined with trees.¹⁴ The fields served as rich grazing ground for large game, the historian's list of which sounds like a hunter's paradise: buffalo, deer, bear, elk, panther and wild cat.¹⁵ Wild turkeys were plentiful but we are told there were no crows, blackbirds or song birds.¹⁶ Rats were unknown to the early settler. Honey bees were found only slightly ahead of the advancing frontier and when the Indians found them, they

¹¹Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Lunsford L. Lewis, *A Brief Narrative* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Press, Inc., Printers, 1915), 72 pp.; J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Samuel M. Yost & Sons, 1882), pp. 285-301; Virgil A. Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant* (Charleston, West Virginia: The Tribune Printing Company, 1909), pp. 18-19, footnote.

¹²We learn that the county was named for Princess Augusta, wife of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

¹³Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵William Byrd, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Between Virginia and North Carolina* (William K. Boyd, editor, Raleigh, North Carolina: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), 341 pp. This book was written just prior to the Valley settlement, and lists in the diary of their journey the same wild game as found in the Valley.

¹⁶Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (fourth edition; Strasburg, Virginia: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), p. 25; Delemo L. Beard, "Origin and Early History of Presbyterianism in Virginia," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1932), p. 139. Ornithologists of today declare this statement about birds to be false.

were known to dance around the bee tree crying, "White Man's! White Man's!!"¹⁷ The small game found included wolf, fox, beaver, otter and hare.

The prairie's attraction for the larger game is said to have been caused artificially by the Indians burning the undergrowth at the close of their hunting season, allowing the grass to grow and thereby attracting all the grazing animals that shunned the forest. The two conditions of a grazing ground which provided wild meat in abundance and lands practically cleared ready for cultivation may have been of paramount importance to the little band of pioneers headed by John Lewis. It appears that the two principal trails of the Valley might have crossed at the tinkling spring,¹⁸ where the meeting house was later located.

THE LEWIS TRADITION—FACT OR FANCY?

Romantic tradition and imaginative legend have been built about the Lewis family until a discussion of the subject on the basis of prosaic, provable fact is apt to become colorless in comparison. However, John Lewis, Gentleman, and Margaret Lynn, his lovely young wife, symbolize the best in initiative and purpose of the early settlers, both in the church and in the civil government, as they helped to shape an organized Virginia county out of an unsettled wilderness on the frontier of civilization.

The historical tradition portrays them as the first settlers of the present Augusta County territory, arriving in absolute poverty because of a bloody fight with an Irish lord, whom John Lewis killed in self-defense, from which affair he fled because of lack of social position sufficient to warrant the assurance of justice in a trial. On the other hand, his wife, Margaret Lynn, is pictured as the descendant of a famous Scottish clan leader, a chief of the Lynns of Loch Lynn, famous in clan legends. These historical traditions reach their most fantastic height in a literary gem by an unidentified author. This document, supposedly a diary of Margaret Lynn Lewis, tells, among other thrilling experiences, of a sixteen-year-old daughter of the Lewis home, called "White Dove" by the Indians, falling in love with the son of an Indian chief. The In-

¹⁷John Dabney Shane Collection, 1716-1860, "Illinois Sermons" Vol. II, Historical Collection, XVII, 27.

¹⁸Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Orange County Court Records, Order Book IV, 331, and II, 155, 205; F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 144.

dians assisting, the couple eloped and dwelt in one of the Virginia caverns until she was dramatically restored to her parents by the famous Mary Greenlee.¹⁹

In spite of the possibility of some truth in these legends perpetuated by the historians, the facts discovered in documented sources present some interesting contrasts—and disprove conclusively some parts of the tradition. The simple facts are of interest to us in this study.

There is very little documented fact available today in Virginia about the early life of the Lewis family in Europe. However, the earliest source found—George Rockingham Gilmer, Governor of Georgia, who wrote with his mother (granddaughter of John Lewis and daughter of Thomas Lewis) at his side—said that John Lewis was a native of county Dublin, Ireland; that John Lewis' grandfather, or other more remote ancestor, emigrated from Wales to Ireland in the time of Charles I, King of Great Britain and Ireland; that circumstances induced him to the opinion that the Lynns emigrated with the Lewises; that "the red hair and irascible temper which still continues to distinguish the family" indicates Welsh rather than French, Scotch, or English origin; and finally that the John Lewis family—three sons and two daughters—came to the South Fork of the Shenandoah River in 1731. Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, who repeats these early writings about his family, traces the source, and brands as imaginary the traditional history about his emigrant ancestor, so often repeated in Virginia history.

Margaret Lynn, wife of John Lewis, was almost certainly of the Lynn family of Donegal and Londonderry counties, Province of Ulster, Ireland. She was the daughter of William Lynn, and his wife, Margaret Patton, who brought him to the estate, "Ruskie," Parish of Drumachose, county Derry, inherited from her father, John Patton. Another child of William and Margaret Patton Lynn was a physician, Dr. William Lynn, who immigrated to the Virginia Colony and settled in Fredericksburg. He was a member of the earliest land company that made discoveries and petitioned, in 1727, the Council of Virginia for a land grant west of the Blue Ridge.²⁰

¹⁹Peyton, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-29; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia* (Charleston, South Carolina: Babcock & Co., 1845), pp. 181-83; Fannie Fielding, "The Valley Manuscript," *The Land We Love*, 6:215-29, January, 1869.

²⁰George R. Gilmer, *Sketches of some of the first settlers of upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the author* (New York-London: D. Appleton and Company, 1855), pp. 42-60; Virgil A. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19 footnote; Spotsylvania County Court Records, Will Book B, 350.

Upon their appearance on the American scene, the Lewises left a record that can be definitely established. They were not of the yeoman or croft-farmer class of meager means. They belonged to the gentry class and John Lewis' status is described as "Gentleman" in many contemporary documents. He built his first temporary cabin in Augusta County on Middle River. But later he bought and paid for 2,071 acres of land from William Beverley in Augusta County and developed it into a residential plantation. Later he acquired more extensive land holdings and served first as "Captain of the Inhabitants" in defense against the Indians and later as militia Colonel of foot soldiers in that part of Orange County called Augusta.²¹

It was to the Lewis home that the first minister of the gospel came and preached in the settlement. It was near this home that William Beverley gave land and the county justices established the seat of government. The Lewis sons led in the military defense of the frontier against the French and Indians, standing on an equal with George Washington in the early days. This was a courageous, talented, religious family of substantial means who sought so zealously a freedom in their work and worship that they left their native home, moved by some motive not too well known, to rebuild a life according to their liking amid the adventuresome dangers of a wilderness settlement in a new world.

THE LEWIS ASSOCIATES

The parallel Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountain ranges run from northeast to southwest through Virginia; "The Great Valley of Virginia," watered by the Shenandoah River on the northern end and the north branches of the James on the southern end, lies between these mountain ranges. Original documents and historians seem agreed that most of the early settlers of the Valley came south along the Shenandoah from Pennsylvania,²² though the exploration ahead of them had come both across the Blue Ridge and up the James as well as up the

²¹William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 37; Preston Davie, New York City, student of the Preston and allied families, has supplied the writer, in a series of letters, documented information on early Augusta County settlers—for relationship of the Lewis, Lynn and Patton families, see letters III and IV; H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1925-1930), IV, 414; Orange County Court Records, Deed Book III, 83, and Order Book I, 463 *et passim*; Augusta County Court Records, Order Book I, 1 *et passim*.

²²Kemper, *Historical Notes*, *op. cit.*, 25:89, June, 1921.

Valley. Those who came into the Valley in the 1730's are variously estimated in number, with the date of arrival of many families unknown.

There came into the Valley a number of settlers ahead of Lewis. On the Shenandoah near Massanutten Mountain a settlement of Germans, including Adam Muller (Miller), was begun, according to their claim, about 1726. While there were "very few" of them before 1729, by 1733 there were fifty-one white people settled on nine plantations.²³

In 1730 lands in the lower, or northern, end of the Shenandoah Valley were purchased by Pennsylvanians and about 1732 Joist Hite fixed his residence on this tract a few miles south of present Winchester, having bought 40,000 acres from the former purchaser.²⁴ Historians relate the accepted tradition of their day, without agreement or supporting evidence, that those associated with Joist Hite, and settling further up the Shenandoah, were John Lewis,²⁵ John Salling and John Mackey.²⁶

A more likely associate in the settlement of John Lewis was his brother-in-law, Dr. William Lynn of Fredericksburg, who (with others) held a grant of 50,000 acres "... of Lands among the Mountains, and ... six years to seat the same ..."²⁷ Though Lewis did not settle on these lands, he was two-thirds of the distance toward them from Fredericksburg, on a spearhead of the settled frontier which was slowly moving in that direction. Other early settlers more likely associated with Lewis by tradition, and the streams named for them, seem to have been his fellow dissenters in the faith: Kerrs, Christians, Campbells and Catheys.

A tradition of special interest to our study is that of the Kerr family. It is a strong family tradition that they were in Augusta ahead of John Lewis.²⁸ The Kerrs were a part of the Donegal Presbyterian Society on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania, under the ministry of Rev.

²³Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁵Peyton, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁶Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 26; Charles Campbell, *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860), pp. 427-29; Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-83; Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

²⁷William P. Palmer, editor, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (Richmond, Virginia: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1875-1893), I, 214.

²⁸Vincent Brown Kerr, *Brief History of Kerrs and Kin, 1730 to 1930* (Staunton, Virginia: [n.n.], 1930), p. 3. Mr. Walter Lee Kerr, Route 3, Staunton, Virginia, confirmed this tradition verbally.

James Anderson.²⁹ They did move to Augusta very early; they settled on a choice spot of land at the juncture of Christian's Creek, Long Meadow Run and Middle River; a Kerr log-home of very early date, still standing, is near the beginning point of a survey made in 1736 for the Beverley Manor lands out of which all the settlers of the area received their titles many years after settlement; and James Kerr did take a place of leadership in the earliest records of church and county organizations. There is record of removals from Donegal as early as 1730. The Reverend James Anderson, pastor of the church, wrote William Penn's representative, James Logan, to ask his advice on what to do about the "Dutch" who were highest bidders on lands being sold in the community, thereby breaking into their plan for a Presbyterian settlement. On the "2nd of March 1730" James Logan wrote to Anderson a reply concerning "... some unstay'd People having an Inclination to remove from thence & leave your Congregation with a regard to their own private Interest only."³⁰ It is conclusive from James Logan's remarks that these "unstay'd People" were not moving to another location in his Province! The Kerr tradition carries the date 1730.

Another Tinkling Spring family that came about 1732, whether with the Lewises or not is unknown, was the family of Gilbert Christian.³¹ He with his wife and four children—John, Robert, William and Mary—immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1726. They moved south into Augusta and settled on a creek running between and parallel to Lewis Creek and South River and flowing into Middle River at the old Kerr place. To this creek they gave their name—Christian. And here we find another variety in spelling; the survey of Beverley Manor marks it "Christies Creek," and in the description calls it "Christy-creek." The three sons—John, Robert and William—secured jointly a grant from Beverley, recorded February 29, 1739, of 1,614 acres under the name of Christy. Yet in other records they appear as Christian. They were later an active family at the Tinkling Spring Meeting House, two of them becoming elders.³²

About this same time the Campbell family also removed from Pennsylvania into Augusta County. John Campbell, the immigrant father,

²⁹J. L. Ziegler, *History of Donegal Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia: F. McManus, Jr., & Co., 1902), pp. 33-34, 132.

³⁰Logan Letter Book III, 170.

³¹Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

³²Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 35.

brought with him to America his wife, Grace Hay, and seven of his nine children, four of whom were grown sons.³³ The father died sometime before 1741.³⁴ Patrick, the oldest son, secured the largest individual grant of land given by Beverley to early settlers. His acreage was 1,546. The Tinkling Spring books show seven different Campbell men, probably heads of families, participating in the church work before the Revolutionary War, most of them sons and grandsons of John Campbell. The well-known and distinguished Colonel Arthur Campbell, leader in the Holston Valley area in Southwest Virginia and General William Campbell of Kings Mountain fame were both baptized at Tinkling Spring.³⁵ Of more than passing interest is the fact that this family tradition runs such a close parallel to the Kerr family. Both, according to tradition, came to Augusta County about 1730, from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and were ardent Presbyterians.

Following these earlier settlers southward came Michael Woods, in 1734, to establish, eighteen miles from John Lewis, a congenial Scottish neighbor settlement. Along with Michael Woods came his three sons, and three sons-in-law and possibly others. This group settled in a Blue Ridge gap and gave it their name, "Woods Gap" (now Jarman's Gap), and later pushed beyond to Buck Mountain and South Side Ridge on the headwaters of the three forks of the South Fork Rivanna—Buck Mountain Creek, Moorman River and Mechum River—on the east side of the Blue Ridge.³⁶

In like fashion there were settlements of Scots-Irish being made on the tributaries of the South Fork of the Shenandoah River from the early 1730's onward, of which the Lewis settlement was central in time, location and leadership.

These settlements were being made largely by people from Pennsylvania. A brief glimpse at the records there gives at least a part of the reason. James Logan, Secretary of the Province, in 1724 wrote:

It looks to me as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither; for, last week not less than six ships arrived . . . The common fear is that if they thus continue

³³ Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 117; Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-48; Margaret Campbell Pilcher, *Historical Sketches of the Campbell, Pilcher and Kindred Families* (Nashville, Tennessee: Press of Marshall & Bruce Co., 1911), pp. 7-10.

³⁴ Orange Order Book, *op. cit.*, III, 24.

³⁵ Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 4; John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, pp. 20, 26.

³⁶ Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the Province. It is strange that they thus crowd where they are not wanted.³⁷

The temper of the Scots concerning extensive unoccupied lands, and the lack of a welcome by the earlier settlers in Pennsylvania, is seen in their clash with the law in Pennsylvania about the year 1730. In October of that year James Logan, a Scot himself but representing William Penn, wrote:

Ja Anderson, Minister of Donegal, My good fr'd, Since I first encouraged the Settlem't of Donegal I have always had so Sincere a Regard to all such of my Countrey men in these parts as shew'd an honest upright Intention that I ever resolved to shew my self their true friend in what should lye in my power with justice to the Proprietor . . . But now very lately I have heard to my great Surprise that some of ye Same Countrey from about . . . ye Skirts of Donegal have been so audaciously impudent as to attempt a Settlem't on Conestogoe Mannor regularly survey'd to the Proprietor's use almost 15 years since . . . Some I hear have been so foolishly weak as to value themselves on their number, but they will find themselves mistaken . . . Justice is lawed & will prevail, one man with this on his side is more powerful than many without . . . It further concerns your whole Settlem't whose Prosperity as I have said I have always had at heart as I have thine in particular being very sincerely, Thy real Loving friend.

This letter is dated "23d of 10 1730."³⁸

Logan reported in 1728 that the newcomers from Ireland were settling upon Fagg's Manor, and in December, 1730, that 'a body of Irish were resolved all together to Settle Conestogoe Mannor by force: . . . alledging that it was against the Laws of God and Nature that so much Land should lie idle while so many Christians wanted to labour on and raise there Bread . . .'³⁹

This Scottish conviction, and its clash with the law of Pennsylvania Province, is a necessary background if we are to see in proper perspective these same Scots-Irish moving in on lands without title in Augusta County and becoming "squatters on the public domain."⁴⁰ In the Providence of God there came to be a kindly and just owner in the person of William Beverley⁴¹ and another Scottish government representative,

³⁷Logan, *op. cit.*, cited in a footnote in *The Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle* ([n. p.]: Myers Printing and Publishing House, 1889), I, 49.

³⁸Logan, *op. cit.*, IV, 213.

³⁹Guy S. Klett, "Some Aspects of the Presbyterian Church on the Colonial Frontier," *The Journal of the Department of History, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.*, 19:110-26, September, 1940, citing Logan, *op. cit.*, III, 339.

⁴⁰Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴¹A search of the court record reveals no conflict between the settlers and William Beverley, except suits by Beverley against them for the payment of debts.

one this time with whom they could exchange necessities, in the person of Governor William Gooch, who was in dire need of defense against the Indians on the Colony's western frontier.

THE BEVERLEY MANOR PATENT

The Colonial Virginia Council took the initiative in fortifying the frontier with settlers who would receive land in exchange for strengthening the frontier. The law of 1701, though changed in detail later, set forth the basic policy in these words:

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER STRENGTHENING THE FRONTIERS AND DISCOVERING THE APPROACHES OF AN ENEMY . . .

Whereas the most proper wayes and means . . . is thought to be by settling in Cohabitations upon the said land . . . and that the best method to effect the same will be by encouragements to induce Societies of . . . twenty able fighting men . . .

. . . following encouragements shall be given . . .

Any quantity of land not under the quantity of tenn thousand acres, nor exceeding . . . thirty thousand acres.

Provided Always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act that for every five hundred acres of land be granted in pursuance of this act there shall be and shall continually be kept upon the said land one christian man between sixteen and sixty years of age perfect in limb, able and fitt for service who shall alsoe be continually provided with a well fixt musquett or fuzee, a good pistoll, sharp simeter, tomahauk and five pounds of good clean pistoll powder and twenty pounds of sizable leaden bullets or swan or goose shott to be kept within the fort directed by this act besides the powder and shott for his necessary or usefull shooting at game.

Provided also, that the said warlike Christian man shall have [here] his dwelling and continuall abode . . .⁴²

The explorations upon the watershed of the Shenandoah, especially Governor Spotwood's "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," in addition to claiming the territory for the British Crown, attracted hunters and adventurous men to explore further the beauties and fertility of the Valley as described by the parties. How much of this was done and by whom will remain obscure in the absence of records⁴³ for the hunters and adventurers did little writing. According to the records immedi-

⁴²William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), III, 204 *et seq.*

⁴³Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

ately available, the first petition to the Virginia Council for land grants in the Valley came in 1727 for lands on the James River tributaries:

To the Honourable the Governour in Council—Robert Lewis, Wm. Lynn, Rob't Brooke junr Jas: Mills William Lewis & Beverly Robinson

Humbly Shew—

That your Petitioners have been at great Trouble & Charges in making Discoveries of Lands among the Mountains, and are desirous of taking up some of those Lands they have discove'd—Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray your Honours to grant him an order to take up Fifty Thousand Acres, in one or more tracts on the head branches of James River to the West and Northwestward of the Cow Pasture, on seating thereon one Family for every Thousand Acres, and as the said Lands are very remote and lying among the great North Mountains, being about Two Hundred Miles at least from any landing—Your Petitioners humbly pray Your Honours will grant them six years time to seat the same and your petitioners as in Duty bound will ever pray.⁴⁴

In this document, perchance, may be found a hint of why John Lewis pressed so deeply into the uninhabited Valley beyond other settlers. He may have been seeking land adjacent to or within that grant, and William Lynn was a brother-in-law of John Lewis, Lynn being a brother to Mrs. Lewis; moreover, there is a belief among descendants that Robert, William and John Lewis were relatives.⁴⁵ The Calf Pasture, known and named before 1727, was undoubtedly approached up the James River, being about 200 miles away by way of the James.

William Beverley of Essex County, prominent in Colonial affairs in Virginia, made an attempt to secure Valley land by grant from the Governor and Council in 1732 near "Massanutting." But a few German immigrants from Pennsylvania were already settling in that section under title from Jacob Stover, and their claim prevailed over Beverley's. However, in 1736, on September 6, William Gooch, Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, granted to William Beverley, John Randolph, Richard Randolph and John Robinson 118,491 acres of land "Beyond the Great Mountains on the River Sherando called the Manor of Beverley," upon an order of Council dated August 12, 1736, and in the name of "George II, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Palmer, *op. cit.*, I, 214.

⁴⁵William Preston, "Greenfield" and the Prestons of "Greenfield" and "Smithfield" citing Charles E. Kemper.

⁴⁶McIlwaine, *op. cit.*, IV, 336, 346-47; Kegley, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 40; Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Jane Dennison Carson, "William Beverley and Beverley Manor," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1937).

The others released their interest to Beverley, who in turn sold to settlers.

Since this land grant to Beverley became a principal seed-plot in the Virginia Colony in which the Presbyterian Dissenter's first planting of the gospel produced a vigorous growth of civic and religious liberty, it seems appropriate to examine in detail its location. But when the question is asked concerning the location of the old historic Manor of Beverley Patent there seems to be no clear answer except in technical language. With all the expert information available before me,⁴⁷ I would like to venture a general description, combining old survey points and corresponding points recognizable on the present-day map.

"Beginning at five white oaks on a narrow point, between a large run called Christy Creek [now Christian's Creek], and a small run called Beaver run [now Long Meadow Run]," and very near their confluence with Middle River, the line runs several courses, first northwest then northeast to a point on the west bank of Cathey (now Middle) River. This point is the northeast corner of the tract and is about two and one-quarter miles directly north of the beginning point, or about one mile up stream and around the river bend from the Knightly community, or in relation to Ft. Defiance railroad stop southeast a little more than one mile. The surveyors returned to their beginning point,⁴⁸ "then from the first mentioned five white oaks," by several southeasterly courses, "across Sherando River, to a forked white walnut, a black one, a hickory and an ash by the river side." This point is the southeast corner of the tract and is on the east side of the river near Crimora, Virginia. The line then runs southwesterly thirty-one different courses crossing the foothills of the Blue Ridge and along the "South River of Sherando." It runs through the eastern part of the city of Waynesboro, "by a Boiling Spring, almost as big as the river, in flat ground" near the present Dupont plant, "just below 3 springs, called the Great Springs," and on southwest "just above the head of some of the Sherando waters." Then leaving the Blue Ridge "crossing 2 springs of

⁴⁷These sources of information are as follows: the original description in the Virginia Patent Book, the counsel and sketches of two engineers who have done special work on sketching the Beverley Manor lands, namely, Mr. Kelly W. Trimble, Route 1, Staunton, Virginia and Mr. J. R. Hildebrand, Roanoke, Virginia; Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30 and Kegley, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁴⁸The Kerr tradition is that the surveyors after their first day's work returned to spend the night at the Kerr home near the beginning point.

the James River," the line continues, "crossing the head spring of Sherando to 2 hickories, 2 chestnuts and a white oak, with a spring of the James River." This brings the line to one of the points near the southwest corner of the tract and may be approximately designated as near U. S. Highway 11, two and three tenths miles northeast of Steeles Tavern, Virginia. From this latter point the line runs within a half mile of Old Providence Church and from a nearby point directly north for about seven miles to Cochran Spring and continues by several courses "crossing the Middle River of Sherando" to "a hickory at the foot of a ridge of mountains." Then turning northeast the line runs by several courses between this "head branch of Middle Sherando" and Little North Mountain "along the foot of the mountains" to a point "north of a dry meadow." This point is one of the northwest corners of the tract and is very near Swoope, Virginia. From this point the line returns in one straight course more than fifteen miles to the northeast corner of the tract formerly described on the Middle River near Knightly, crossing U. S. Highway 250 approximately three miles west of Staunton and U. S. Highway 11 two hundred and fifty yards north of the Middle River bridge on that highway and passes approximately one and one half miles southeast of Ft. Defiance at the nearest point.

The survey of the Beverley Manor grant indicates clearly a plan, made by someone who was familiar with the topography and fertility of the area, to take in the bottom land on both the South and Middle Rivers southeast of Knightly and Crimora and the territory lying between the two rivers. Later surveys, so I am told on competent authority, have shown that originally the fifteen-mile northeast line from Swoope to Knightly was not actually run out, but instead was drawn in on the plat to close the lines. This plan, so carefully adhered to in the survey from Knightly by way of South River and the head of Middle River to Swoope, shows evidence of some unforeseen interruption near Swoope which terminated the survey work at this point. Conjecture on possibilities might produce a likely answer, for it could have been hostile Indians, weather conditions, a diminishing food supply, or some other difficulty that caused the sudden closing of the survey lines and subsequent projection of this line to the beginning point. When they computed the acreage it totaled for them 118,491 acres.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Virginia Patent Book XVII, 154; Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book LXXXVI, 542; and certified copy in File Box 18, Circuit Court, chancery suit, Beverley vs Kinney.



BUFFALO



BEAR



WILD TURKEY



FISH



DEER



SQUIRREL

Figure 1
The Wild Game upon which the Pioneer Depended for Meat

The Beverley Manor Patent was an official certificate of a government franchise. Mr. F. B. Kegley in *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* by definition helps to clarify the process by which the lands were claimed:

The word *patent* as here used means the official certificate of a government grant or franchise . . .

"Taking up Land" meant building a cabin and raising a crop of grain of any kind, however small. This entitled the occupant to four hundred acres . . .

The "Tomahawk Right" was claimed from deadening trees about the head of a spring and marking the bark of some trees with the initials of the one who made the improvement. Unless followed by a settlement these rights were held invalid. If some one else desired to make a settlement on the land and secure a title, he would buy up the rights rather than quarrel with the one who made them.⁵⁰

Between 1732 and 1738 the lands of the southern Shenandoah Valley were settled without formal claim or title. However, the settlers staked out the lands each desired and settled upon them. Though they built their cabins and began to improve upon the lands, in the absence of claims they constituted a "Squatters Right." When Beverley secured his patent covering the same territory, it appears that he dealt peaceably with the settlers. Beverley needed settlers and the settlers needed legal titles to their homesteads, so he and the early settlers traded for an average of one English pound for forty acres. However, when the Augusta County Court was established in 1745 the price to new settlers was almost doubled.

Beverley had written at the time of his first application for Valley land in 1732, "I am persuaded that I can get a number of people from Pennsylvania to settle on Shenandore." He was not disappointed. They came in from Pennsylvania from the beginning, and they in turn interested others of Scotch ancestry from Pennsylvania and from Ireland so that the Beverley Manor tract was largely occupied by them and in consequence frequently called the "Irish Tract."

There were very soon neighboring settlements to the west and the southwest. The Borden grant was southwest of Beverley Manor, in the present county of Rockbridge. The Ephraim McDowell clan arrived in Beverley Manor in the fall of 1737. According to historical tradition, Benjamin Borden followed but a little behind them, and receiving hospitality at the McDowell's for the night, he asked their assistance in

⁵⁰Kegley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

locating and settling lands to the southwest on the James River. The following day it was agreed, upon the advice of John Lewis, that it would be well for the McDowell family to join Borden in his effort to settle this tract, formerly granted him by the Virginia Council. John McDowell, son of Ephraim, was a surveyor and having arrived in the Valley ahead of the clan was more familiar with the frontier. He agreed to guide Borden to the land he sought in exchange for 1000 acres within the Borden claim. After the accustomed time a claim lay in the Council's possession, on November 8, 1739 Borden obtained his patent for 92,000 acres for ninety-two settlers.⁵¹

In this same period William Beverley was handling another claim before the Council at Williamsburg for 30,000 acres on the tributaries of the James to the west of the Beverley Manor. He was in correspondence with Captain James Patton of Scotland concerning the securing and transporting of settlers. He wrote him at Kirkcudbright, Scotland, August 22, 1737:

S'r. Yours dated the 30th of Ap'l last at Hampton came to my hand but last Tuesday in answer to which I now acquaint you that I have sent you inclosed a copy of our Order of Council for 30000 acres, and y't I am willing you should hold one qu'r part of it being at 1/4 pt of all ye charges & doing your utmost endeavour to procure families to come in and settle it & I am satisfied to allow your pocket expenses to be bro't in as a charge agst the Land . . . We all three propose to make money of the Land & to y't end I propose to hold it . . . unless either of us shou'd have a mind to make a settlement there for our use & y'n we might have what we have occasion for laid off & appropriated for ye purpose . . . If your relation comes in he may have the Land . . . I heartily wish you success & a safe return to us.⁵²

THE ARRIVAL OF A GREAT LEADER

An authority on the Patton family history supplies the background and manner of James Patton's entrance into the flood-tide of Scots-Irish immigration into the frontier lands of Colonial Virginia.

William Patton, A.M., born in Scotland, appears as early as 1626 as Rector of the Parishes of Ramoigh, Aughanish and Clonmany, Diocese of Raphoe, county Donegal, Ireland. He was the progenitor of the Irish branch of the Patton family. The Pattons were an outstanding family of Scottish origin, a number of members of which, in

⁵¹Peyton, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-74; Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Kegley, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-45.

⁵²Worthington Chauncey Ford, "Some Letters of William Beverley," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 3:226-27, April, 1895.

different generations served in the Royal Navy, in the British Army and in civil offices, some of them achieving distinction in these fields.

William Patton's grandson, Henry Patton, Esq., only son of Henry Patton, Sr., married Sarah Lynn, almost certainly of the Lynn family seated in county Donegal, Ulster, an ancient and prominent English family. James Patton, born 1692, was the fourth son of the younger Henry Patton and Sarah Lynn Patton. His sister was Mrs. John Preston. Henry Patton is named among a number of other persons who during the religious and political strife which occurred in the brief reign of King James II of England, were prominent in opposing him after his replacement on the throne by King William III and Queen Mary in 1688. James II had Roman Catholic leanings, while William and Mary had Protestant ties, and in James' invasion of Southern Ireland, young Henry Patton was, along with several thousand others, attainted by "King James' Parliament." This attainder, however, was promptly removed after the defeat of James. For his services he was awarded the Manor of Springfield, Parish of Clondevaddock, Barony of Kilmacrenan, county Donegal, Province of Ulster, Ireland. This estate adjoined the "Croghan" estate of his father, Henry Patton, Sr.

In accordance with frequent custom in the case of younger sons in that period, James Patton was placed at an early age in the Royal Navy and is said to have taken part in the War with France known as "Queen Anne's War," which terminated with the Treaties of Utrecht in 1713, at which time he was twenty-one years old.

In the long period of quiet which ensued after the Treaties of Utrecht James Patton resigned the service and engaged in private shipping enterprises. His title of Captain evidently came from his service as a shipmaster, for the Royal Navy's list of officers does not include his name. The times proved auspicious for his venture, for under Robert Walpole's long tenure as Prime Minister (1726-1742) English commerce and shipping flourished. In Ireland, however, conditions continued to worsen, and there was drained from it increasingly the "Great Exodus" of Ulstermen and their families. In Scotland these were also grim times, and unrest, with deep antagonisms between Stuart and Hanoverian adherents which brought the uprisings of 1715 and 1745.

In carrying on his shipping ventures, there are indications that Captain James Patton may have quit Ireland, and resided temporarily either at Kirkcudbright, Scotland or Whitehaven, county Cumberland,

England. It was probably during this period that he married a Miss Osborne. From both of these ports a growing trade was developing with the British settlements in North America, and especially the Colony of Virginia where exports of tobacco had early in its history caused it to be dubbed "The Tobacco Kingdom." However, the tradition that Patton made numerous trips to Hobb's Hole, Virginia, bringing Scots from Ulster, Ireland, is not borne out by the shipping returns on the Potomac 1735-1756, where ship owners and ship masters were listed on both incoming and outgoing ships. Patton's name is found there only once and that, as master of the ship on which he brought his family among the ship's sixty-five passengers.

In any case it is certain Captain Patton had visited Virginia, for in writing him from Virginia, William Beverley ends his letter wishing Patton "a safe return to us."⁵³

The time of the removal of James Patton and his brother-in-law, John Preston, with their families to America, has long been a matter of conjecture. The record cited by Mr. Preston Davie, New York City, is conclusive:

Shipping Returns—South Potomac and Accomac 1735-1756. List of all the Ships and Vessels that have entered in the said District from the 24th of June to the 26th of September following:

Aug. 26th	Ship Walpole
Of what place	Whitehaven
Masters name	James Patton
Tons	85
Guns	6
Men	10
When and Where built	Boston 1714
When and Where registered	Boston 1714
Owners Name	Walter Lutwidge
General Cargo	56 parcels of goods from Great Britain
Passengers	65
From Whence	Whitehaven
Where and when Bond given	Whitehaven, March 16th, 1737. ⁵⁴

The *Walpole* that brought Captain James Patton, his sister and their respective families to Virginia, August 26, 1738, was not owned by either Patton or his brother-in-law, John Preston, but by Walter Lut-

⁵³Preston Davie, *op. cit.*, Letter III, presents and documents the facts used here concerning James Patton.

⁵⁴Colonial Office, Shipping Returns for Virginia, C. O. 5/1445, ports of South Potomac and Accomac, 1735-1756, Public Records Office, London, England.

widge, a Presbyterian of Whitehaven from whom it was chartered, the charter bond being given at Whitehaven March 16, 1737 Old Calendar (March 27, 1738, New Calendar, often written 1737/8 or 1737-8 from January through March). The *Walpole* was built in 1714 at Boston, Lincolnshire, England, after which Boston, Massachusetts, was named.

Those who disembarked upon reaching Hobb's Hole on the Rappahannock River were James Patton, his wife and two children; John Preston, his wife and their four children; and some fifty-six personal and indentured servants. It is thought thirty of these last were imported to seat the 30,000 acre tract on Calfpasture river where Patton, Lewis and Beverley had entered into the joint venture to obtain land from the Council of Virginia and settle one person upon each 1000 acres as the patent required.⁵⁵

Having determined to come to Virginia to establish his permanent residence in the back parts of Virginia far removed from seaboard, and to center his energies on exploring, obtaining grants for and seating, unoccupied crownlands in that region and it being impracticable to do this, and at the same time continue managing shipping operations, Captain James Patton evidently disposed of his shipping interests before coming to Virginia to reside permanently. He and John Preston therefore chartered the *Walpole* in Whitehaven from Lutwidge, its owner, for this single voyage to Virginia to carry out their part of the joint venture with William Beverley.

During the sailing season of the following spring, the *Walpole* voyaged back to Great Britain under a different master, carrying a cargo of ninety-five hogsheads of tobacco to Kirkcudbright, Scotland.⁵⁶

The Pattons and Prestons located in one of the settlements adjacent to the tinkling spring and thereby added strength to the spiritual interests of the area. They were among those who in the fall of 1738 formed the Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation—the southern section of which later became the Tinkling Spring Meeting House where these two families were outstanding leaders.

SETTLEMENTS IN BEVERLEY MANOR

The first authentic list of land owners in present Augusta County

⁵⁵McIlwaine, *op. cit.*, IV, 395; Wilmer L. Hall, editor, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1945), V, 82.

⁵⁶Preston Davie, *op. cit.*, Letters II and III.

area is found in Orange County records where "William Beverley, Gentleman," deeded lands out of his Beverley Manor Patent to settlers prior to the establishment of the Augusta County Court in 1745. Of genuine interest is a list⁵⁷ of these persons, presumably heads of families, with the pertinent facts about each "Release"⁵⁸ and the "meeting house"⁵⁹ in which each later held membership. In the absence of a membership record the listing is made in meeting houses according to location plus some important religious contact that implied membership, such as baptism of children or contributions made to the meeting houses.⁶⁰

The land owners who were settled in groups along the streams in Beverley Manor on the head branches of the South River, along with their neighbors in Borden's Grant, later became the constituents of the South Mountain Meeting House. The settlers on the head branches of Middle River and the north branch of Christian's Creek were the founders of North Mountain Meeting House.

The settlers in the northeast corner of Beverley Manor on Middle River joined a much larger number beyond the Manor in founding a house of worship in their midst which became in time Stone Meeting House—a coordinate unit with Tinkling Spring in "the congregation," the first settled pastorate in the Valley of Virginia under Rev. John Craig.

This record of Orange County "Releases" indicates that the Tinkling Spring constituency took the lead in legalizing their tomahawk rights into permanent home sites. Of the thirty-five men given legal recognition of ownership by William Beverley, in 1738 and 1739, twenty-four became active in Tinkling Spring Meeting House, with the remaining eleven widely scattered over Beverley Manor in several meeting house groups. Of the ninety-two land owners listed for Augusta people in Orange County, forty-seven, or about half, were later listed as Tinkling Spring members or contributors.

⁵⁷The names, including the spelling, and facts are from the Orange Deed Books, *op. cit.*, III-IX, 1738-1744, containing land titles for newly established Augusta County.

⁵⁸The Deed Books carry two complete transactions called "Leases" and "Releases." The lease was for a nominal sum of a few shillings, and is followed by the release for the sum of money paid for the land. Whether the blank spaces mean no price was paid or that the information was withheld from the record is not known.

⁵⁹All dissenting churches were called "meeting houses" while the word "church" applied to the Church of England.

⁶⁰See appendix A, II.

These land owners were not the only settlers in Beverley Manor. It is clear from the Tinkling Spring membership list of 1744 that there were seventy-seven heads of families in that church alone, before the Augusta County Court was set up and began recording deeds in 1746, but only forty-seven held titles to lands they occupied.

The congregational list for the three districts of Tinkling Spring, as it is compared with the map of Beverley Manor lands, provides a mental picture of the grouping of these settlers on the streams.

John Finley's district of nineteen families was in the general area of Waynesboro, extending up and down South River. The families included in this district were the Turks, Gays, Gillespies, McClures, Pattersons, Teas, Edmistons and others. John Finley was assisted in collections by Archibald Stuart, who also resided in this district.

William Wright's district of eighteen families was on Long Meadow Run and included the Hutchisons, Johnstons, Frazers, Thompsons, Hendersons, Kerrs, McCunes, Skillerns, Palmers, Moodys and others. George Hutchison assisted with collections in this district.

John Christian was assisted in his district of forty families by William Robinson and James Alexander. The territory of this district covered both Christian's Creek and Lewis Creek and extended the full twenty-mile length of Beverley Manor. The names of this district are too numerous to list in full but include the Bells, Alexanders, Caldwells, Davisons, Prestons, Lewises, Scotts, McClanahans, Breckenridges, Blacks, Cunninghams, Ramseys, Wilsons, McCollocks, and many others.⁶¹

All of these were sufficiently settled to enter into calling a pastor and pledging support to him and the building of a meeting house, but only half of them held legal titles to their lands from William Beverley who had patented Beverley Manor in 1736 and began selling land in 1738.

⁶¹Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

CHAPTER TWO

The Faith of the Early Settlers

THE reason for the Scotch-Irish pioneering here is further clarified in the history of that people. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the rebellion in Ireland brought reprisals that, along with pestilence and famine, practically depopulated the northern province of Ulster.¹ Then followed a few years later, in 1605, an insurrection against James I in which the leaders, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell and other landed proprietors, were forced to flee, and James I confiscated a half million acres of their lands for the crown.² The Ulster Province (comprising nine counties, reading from west to east: Donegal, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, Armagh, Antrim and Down) was parceled out by the King to favorites amongst the Scots and English as rewards for "Services rendered and expected," in which the King intended to make Ireland loyal to the Crown.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

The Reverend Andrew Stewart, a Presbyterian minister of Ireland, tells us that "... of the English ... not many came over ..." but that:

The King had a natural love to have Ireland planted with Scots, as being, besides their loyalty, of a middle temper, between the English tender and the Irish rude breeding, and a great deal more likely to adventure.³

These Scots in Ireland, later commonly called Scotch-Irish, refused to intermarry with the Irish, and by frugal industry began to change the devastated lands into home-like farms. They were not, however, a religious people. In fact Rev. Andrew Stewart writes:

Most of the people were all void of godliness who seemed rather to flee from God in their enterprise than to follow their own mercy ... Thus on all hands

¹Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 2.

²*Loc. cit.*

³James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (third edition; London: Whittaker and Co., 1853), I, 80-81; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), pp. 84-90.

atheism increased . . . And, verily, at this time the whole body of this people seemed ripe for the manifestation . . . either of God's judgments or mercy.⁴

The Irish historian Reid asserts:

The mercy, alluded to by Stewart, consisted in the band of faithful ministers who were now encouraged to take their lot in Ulster, and whose labours were remarkably blessed to the converting of many out of so profane and godless a multitude. Of these servants of God, a few are so eminently distinguished by their zeal and fortitude, and are so frequently referred to as the founders of the Presbyterian Church in the province, that their history merits and demands especial notice:

. . . the first, in point of time, is Edward Brice, M. A., Stirlingshire, who, in 1609, had settled in Broadisland, in the county of Antrim . . . In all his preaching he insisted most on the life of Christ in the heart. . . .

In the adjoining parish . . . Mr. Hubbard . . . episcopally ordained, but he had forsaken the communion . . . and taken charge of a Nonconforming congregation . . . an able, gracious man.

. . . James Glendinning, A. M. . . . a native of Scotland . . . resided altogether at Carrickfergus . . . He continued to preach here, with great applause . . .

. . . John Ridge, A. M., a native of England . . . removed . . . to the vicarage of Antrim on the presentation of Sir Arthur, now Lord Chichester, being another of those eminent ministers patronized by that pious and public-spirited nobleman.

. . . in the county of Down . . . Robert Cunningham, A.M., [of whom it was said], "He was the one man who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ . . . that ever I saw . . ."

. . . in the neighboring parish of Banger . . . the celebrated Robert Blair . . . contributed more than any other to the revival and establishment of true religion in the province. . . .

. . . James Hamilton, Nephew to Lord Claneboy, who, though educated for the ministry . . . had as yet held only the situation of steward or agent to his uncle. Mr. Blair, perceiving his learning and growing piety, proposed to him to enter the ministry . . . [says], "I invited him to preach in my pulpit, in his uncle's hearing, who, till then, knew nothing of this matter" . . . Mr. Hamilton was ordained to the holy ministry . . . he was both diligent and successful. . . .

These seven brethren constituted the first band of ministers, who laboured with apostolic earnestness . . . Possessed of the true missionary spirit, and inspired with a holy zeal to propagate the Gospel, they commenced with vigour the work of evangelising the land; and though few in number, and beset with many difficulties, they were favoured with an extra-ordinary, if not unprecedented, measure of success.⁵

Note the historically prominent Presbyterian names of Stewart, Cunningham, Blair and Hamilton!

This revival of religion spread over Ulster and the change in the

⁴Reid, *op. cit.*, I, 92. ⁵*Ibid.*, I, 93 *et seq.*

character of the people gave evidence of its genuineness. However, as their interest grew in their new-found faith, the indifference of the established church turned to bitterness. In 1632 William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles I, King of Great Britain, Ireland and Scotland, issued an order for conformation to the Established Church of England.⁶ It was February 1638 that the thousands who were gathered in the Greyfriars Churchyard at Edinburgh signed (many with their own warm blood from pricks in the arm) the National Covenant pledging their lives in defense of what they felt to be the true faith in disagreement with the Established Church of England.⁷ Archbishop Laud, in order to keep the signing of the Covenanters from spreading, imposed upon the Scotch-Irish the "Black Oath," which bound them to civil and religious obedience to all royal commands, just or unjust.⁸ This persecution of the Ulstermen was paralleled by an insurrection by the native Roman Catholic Irish against the English rulers. The rebellion ended in as atrocious and extensive a massacre as history has recorded and fell particularly on those of English origin.⁹ This rebellion against English authority made necessary the use of the Scottish Army under command of General Munro. In 1632, the army chaplains—Hugh Cunningham, John Baird, James Simpson and John Livingston—organized churches in four of the seven regiments of Scottish soldiers quartered in Ireland, thereby beginning the organization of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. By 1660 the Irish Presbyterian Church had seventy ministers with eighty congregations, composed of 100,000 members in Ulster.¹⁰

Persecutions, under which the Scots-Irish faith seems to thrive, appear to find no end. J. A. Waddell in his *Annals of Augusta County* has a footnote in which the names make direct contact by way of Ireland with many early Tinkling Spring families:

An appendix to an old Scotch book called "A Cloud of Witnesses," says: "Anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America, 250 who were taken away . . . 200 were drowned by shipwreck . . . 50 escaped." The Bothwell prisoners were herded like cattle for many months in Grayfriars'

⁶Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), p. 469.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 470.

⁸Reid, *op. cit.*, I, 242.

⁹*Ibid.*, I, 283 et seq.

¹⁰Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Foote, North Carolina, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-19.

churchyard, Edinburgh, without shelter, half clad and half starved. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the persecuting government were sentenced to banishment. The list of these men reads like a muster roll of Augusta county people, including the familiar names of Anderson, Bell, Brown, Brownlee, Cochran, Craig, Campbell, Finley, Hutchison, Hamilton, Henderson, Morrison, Reid, Scott, Steele, Waddell, Walker, White, Wilson, &c.¹¹

And so continue the incidents and persecutions. The constant pressure on the Presbyterian preacher and his people to conform, the flagrant shame heaped upon the Scots-Irish in non-recognition of marriage ceremonies performed by their clergy,¹² being taxed for support of an established church in the face of civil disabilities restricting dissenters,¹³ and unfavorable economic conditions, such as the crop failures of 1724-1727 and the "Blackfrost" of the 1739-1740 winter,¹⁴ caused Presbyterians to turn in increasing numbers to the American wilderness, until by the middle of the 18th century, 12,000 were arriving annually, landing in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they had the assurance of civic and religious liberty. However, when they arrived in Pennsylvania in sufficient numbers, there arose jealousy between the early settlers and the Scottish late-comers. This jealousy grew into bitterness. The Scots-Irish Presbyterians, being especially disliked by the Quakers, faced restrictive measures that were adopted by the government:

... hence many . . . were disposed, in 1732, and afterward, to seek homes within the limits of Virginia, and run the risk of the church establishment here. They were generally farmers and mechanics, with a few merchants. There was not a so-called cavalier among them, nor a sprig of nobility.¹⁵

Being thus forced to move from Pennsylvania, a large number of Scots-Irish settlements sprang up in the upper (southern) Shenandoah Valley.

There are several apparent reasons why they chose this area. First there was the fact that the lower (northern) valley had Quakers and Germans at an early date and the Scots in moving would naturally want to go far enough to have a free choice of their home sites. In the second place there was the proximity to the Indians in the lower valley.

¹¹Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 8. It seems more than a coincidence that 18 of these 19 family names are to be found in the 1950 copy of an Augusta County telephone directory.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

The Shawnee Indians had a very considerable settlement just below the forks of the South branch of the Potomac (in what is now Hardy county, West Virginia) and there were Indians there as late as the spring of 1754.¹⁶ A third reason for moving beyond the lower valley was the question of land title. Lord Fairfax had come into possession, by marriage and purchase, of a grant from the Crown; Joist Hite had secured his from the Colonial government at Williamsburg, and the two overlapped. Litigation began over their claims in 1736 and was settled only after the Revolutionary War.¹⁷

However, overshadowing all these reasons for settling in this most extended frontier seems to have been their distance from any who might blast their hope of exercising utter freedom of faith and life.

FAITH AND LIBERTY

What is Liberty?
 It is more than a word.
 It is flesh and blood,
 Prayer and hope,
 Living faith in a loving God.
 Presbyterians
 Have always believed in
 Liberty.
 They have fought for it,
 And died,
 That men might be free
 To think, act, love, and pray
 To the glory of God.¹⁸

The fight of the Valley pioneers for their Biblical faith and civil liberty began in 1738 with the formation of a dissenter congregation on the triple forks of the Shenandoah. The source of inspiration for this fight extends back into the centuries through the 1638 blood-signed Covenant in the Greyfriars' Churchyard to George Wishart who in 1538 fled his native Scotland to escape persecution, but was constrained to return by a consuming passion to preach Christ to his own people:

Wishart was [John] Knox's forerunner, and during this tour in the Lothians, Knox had been his constant companion. The Romanist party had tried to assassi-

¹⁶Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (fourth edition; Strasburg, Virginia: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), p. 41.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁸James R. Blackwood, *Protestantism and Liberty* ([n.p.]: The Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1950), p. 1.

nate the bold preacher, and Knox carried a two-handed sword ready to cut down anyone who attempted to strike at the missionary while he was speaking. . . . When he foresaw that the end was near, he refused to allow Knox to share his danger.¹⁹

They burned Wishart at the stake—an event of no small consequence in the life of John Knox whose labor and prayer won Scotland to the Reformed faith!

The direct heritage of the Valley pioneers of faith—and they were not all Presbyterian faithfuls, for many sought adventure or land or fortune or license, instead of liberty²⁰—can be traced to the Scotch immigrants who helped defend Londonderry, Ireland, against the Papists' army:

The Siege of Londonderry, a small, badly fortified city, on the Westbank of the Foyle, in the province of Ulster, Ireland, forms an important chapter in the history of the Protestant succession in England. It is particularly interesting to multitudes in the United States, whose ancestors sustained the siege, shared the joy of victory, but not in the advantages, and finally became exiles, to the wilds of America, to enjoy a Protestantism too pure for England, or the nations of Europe. It is an unquestionable fact of history, though it may be slow in finding its place in volumes written by English hands for English eyes, that the shutting the gates of Derry, Friday Dec. 7th, 1688, by the APPRENTICE BOYS, followed by the distressing siege of eight weary months, in which the Irish forces of James II, assisted by troops from France, heaped upon the inhabitants, and the soldiers gathered within the narrow walls, all that can be endured by mortal famished man,—ending, as the siege finally did, in the disgraceful departure of the popish forces,—turned the scale in favour of William of Nassau, [the Protestant Prince of Orange] and secured to him the crown of England, and to the country at large the succession of Protestant Kings and Queens that have filled the throne to this day.²¹

Though the Presbyterian defenders outnumbered the Episcopalians fifteen to one, and by their great sacrifice and bravery secured the kingdom to the Protestant Prince of Orange, they had less than any reward in after years, being compelled to pay their tithes to support an established church, while maintaining their Presbyterian ministers and church separately, and suffering the civil disabilities associated with Establishment.²² One of the "apprentice boys" who shut the gates of London-

¹⁹T. M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), II, 284.

²⁰Letter of James Anderson to the Reverend Mr. John Stirling, Principal of the College of Glasgow, Scotland, August 1, 1716.

²¹William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850), I, 86-87.

²²*Ibid.*, I, 97.

derry was named Stewart. We select for illustration the family tradition of a Tinkling Spring family by the same name, though there are others with the same heritage among them. Archibald Stuart (often spelled Stewart) was a Presbyterian immigrant to Augusta County in 1738. His was a Scotch family of Londonderry background. He was born about 1700. When of age he married Miss Janet Brown; some give the date as 1722. The best information available indicates that he was engaged in an insurrection against the government in defense of his religious rights and was forced to flee to America about 1725, leaving his family behind. After seven years living quietly and alone in Pennsylvania, he was released from the danger of arrest by a general amnesty in 1732; then he sent for his family, which consisted of his wife Janet, a son Thomas, a daughter Eleanor, and Mrs. Stuart's young brother John Brown, who at the time was only about four years of age. The family moved to Augusta county in 1738 and settled three miles southeast of the tinkling spring, on a farm known now as the Pratt Farm, on U. S. Highway 340. The family, destined to become distinguished in both state and church affairs, joined the effort to establish a place of worship—later to become Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church.

This story of the Stuart family's²³ struggle for faith and liberty tells of but one of the approximately seventy families that joined together to establish a place of worship at Tinkling Spring.

FAITH AN ESSENTIAL

The Honorable Joseph Addison Waddell, LL.D., lawyer, editor and author, was Augusta County's great historian; having done his writing in the last century, his *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia* went through its second publication in 1902. In that publication is a descriptive paragraph in which the faith of the early settler is set forth as an integral part:

Concurrently with the settlement of Lewis or immediately afterward, a flood of immigrants poured into the country. There was no landlord or proprietor to parcel out the domain.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 366-72; Robert B. Woodworth, *The House of Moore: Genealogical Appendix to the Captives of Abb's Valley* (Staunton, Virginia: The McClure Co., Inc., 1942), p. 16; J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Samuel M. Yost & Sons, 1882), pp. 308-11; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 5 *et passim*.

The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide;

and for several years the settlers helped themselves to homes without let or hindrance. It is believed that all the earliest settlers came from Pennsylvania and up the Valley of the Shenandoah. It was several years before any settlers entered the Valley from the east, and through the gaps in the Blue Ridge. We may accompany, in imagination, these immigrants on their way from the settlements north of the Potomac, through the wilderness, to their future home. There was, of course, no road, and for the first comers no path to guide their steps, except, perhaps, the trail of the Indian or buffalo. They came at a venture, climbing the hills, fording the creeks and rivers, and groping through the forests. At night they rested on the ground, with no roof over them but the broad expanse of heaven. After selecting a spot for a night's bivouac, and tethering their horses, fire was kindled by means of flint and steel, and their frugal meal was prepared. Only a scanty supply of food was brought along, for, as game abounded, they mainly "subsisted off the country." Before lying down to rest, many of them did not omit to worship the God of their fathers, and invoke His guidance and protection. The moon and stars looked down peacefully as they slumbered, while bears, wolves and panthers prowled around. It was impossible to bring wagons, and all their effects were transported on horseback. The list of articles was meager enough. Clothing, some bedding, guns and ammunition, a few cooking utensils, seed corn, axes, saws, &c., and the Bible, were indispensable, and were transported at whatever cost of time and labor. Houses and furniture had to be provided after the place of settlement was fixed upon. We may imagine the leaders of each band, on arriving at a well-wooded and well-watered spot, exclaiming: "This is my rest, and here will I dwell." In the meanwhile there was no shelter from rain and storm. The colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley as a means of protecting the lower country from Indian incursions. The settlers were almost exclusively of the Scotch-Irish race, natives of the north of Ireland, but of Scottish ancestry. Most of those who came during the first three or four decades were Dissenters from the Church of England, of the Presbyterian faith, and victims of religious persecution in their native land. They were generally a profoundly religious people, bringing the Bible with them, whatever they had to leave behind, and as soon as possible erected log meeting houses in which to assemble for the worship of God, with school-houses hard by.²⁴

²⁴Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER THREE

Presbyterian Faith Persists Under Persecution

THE Church of England was firmly established in Virginia from its earliest settlement. Attendance upon the Established Church was required by law.¹ In the Virginia Colony there was no satisfactory provision for worship services by "Dissenters"² until after the English Parliament passed the Toleration Act of 1689. Even then permission was granted by the government (which it did not always grant) only after registration of the preacher, time and place of services.

Under this system, however, the Reverend Francis Makemie, "The Father of Presbyterianism in America," had sacrificially labored part time on the eastern shore of Virginia until his death. This famous pioneer Presbyterian minister visited Europe, including his native land and England, in the winter of 1704-1705 with the result that "the ministers of London" were "to undertake support of two itinerates for the space of two years, and after that time to send two more on the same condition, allowing the former after that time to settle . . ."³

VIRGINIA LAW STIFLES PRESBYTERIANISM

Thus the Presbyterian work was enlarged by Makemie's effort and "assistants" began to arrive, the first two of whom were settled in Maryland where Makemie had lived and preached. But Makemie's noble earthly life was nearing its end. He died in the summer of 1708, leaving the Virginia work without a leader.

¹Francis L. Hawks, *A Narrative of Events Connected With the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836), p. 44; Delemon L. Beard, "Origin and Early History of Presbyterianism in Virginia," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, 1932), pp. 21-22; William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), I, 122.

²A "Dissenter" was a non-conformist who dissented from the Established Church of England, therefore anyone who was not an Episcopalian.

³*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 18. Into this book has been gathered and published the manuscript minutes of the following church courts: the Minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1706-1716; the Synod of Philadelphia, 1717-1758; the Synod of New York, 1745-1758; and the Synod of Philadelphia and New York, 1758-1788. There is noted a more modern form of English used in the "Records," probably the result of editing, not evident in the quotations made from other minutes of the same period, where abbreviations were used abundantly and spelling varied greatly.

J ^r Cap ^t James Patton of Whitshaven to				William Beverley of Essex County			
228 y	Co 47 ¹ / ₂ Acres of Land on Beverley			738 Sept ^r	By sold me a Serv ^t woman named		
	Mannor ad ^l S	£ 14	18		Jane Doudson for 6 years	at £ 8	0 0
	Co p ^r the Surveyor for laying it off	0	8 0	Mar ¹ 17	By Cash		6 0 0
	Co the Quilrents of y ^e sd Land p ^r Henry	0	11 1		By Due to W ^m Beverley		
	Downs for you				on Ball ^{ts} they acc ^{ts}		41 4 0
Oct 20	Co your Order to M ^r Ligon to pay			1738			£ 58 4 0
	for a Mare	1	7 6				
Nov ^r 12	12 ³ / ₄ acres of land at 3 ¹ / ₄ p ^r A ^c	36	18 0	Mar ¹ 24	By John Hectors note p ^r		4 5 7 ¹ / ₂
	for 2 ¹ / ₄ p ^r A ^c at 2 ¹ / ₄ p ^r A ^c	2	19 0		hand when paid		
	for 2 ¹ / ₄ p ^r A ^c for laying it off	1	0 0				
Jun ^y 30	2 sets of printed cards		0 2 0				
		£ 58	4 0				
Errors Excepted				March 4 1738			

Figure II

William Beverley's Bill to James Patton for Land in 1738

Dr. Capt. James Patton of Whitehaven to William Beverley of Essex County Cr.

		1738		
--y	To 474 Acres of Land on Beverley		Sept. By sold me a Servt. woman named	
	Manor @ £ 3	£ 14 18 5	Jane Doneldson for 6 years...at £	8 0 0
	To pd. the Surveyor for laying it off	0 8 0		
	To the Quitrents of ye sd Land pd.		Mar 17 By cash	6 0 0
	Henry Downs for you	0 11 1	By Dus to Wm Beverley	
Octr. 20	To your Order to Nich'o Lafon to		on balle. His acct.	44 4 0
	pay for a Mare	1 7 6		<hr/>
Novr. 12	To 1230 acres of Land at 3£ Pct. ...	36 18 0		£ 58 4 0
	To 2 yrs. Quit. rents at 2/4 Curt. Pct.	2 19 0		
	To ye Survr. for laying it off.	1 0 0	Mar 24 By John Mercors note of	
Janr. 7	To 2 setts of printed deeds	0 2 0	hand when paid	4 5 7 1/2
		<hr/>		
		£ 58 4 0		

Errors Excepted
March 27th 1738

W Beverley

Eight months after Makemie's death Rev. James Anderson arrived on the eastern shore of Virginia from his native Scotland expecting to preach the Gospel. Some years later he wrote to the head of the University of Glasgow, where he no doubt went to school, and revealed some details of his experience:

Newcastle upon deleware Augt 1, 1716 . . .

Right Rev'd JS

About seven years agoe when I first came into these American Regions, I remember I did myself ye honour to wait upon you, and was favored with many very Savory & religous advices from you, some of wch I shall never forget for they've been of very great use to me in this remote house of my pilgrimage: When I left you, you desired me to write . . .

When I came from Scotland, perhaps you may remember, yt I was ordained (worthless as I was & yet am) to the sacred office of ye ministry with a view of coming to Virginia, where I in ye good providence of God, arived; but meeting with unaccountable disappointments there, After half a years stay, I came over to these parts yre I understood there were some of my persuasion

As to our proceedings in matters of public worship & discipline, we make it our business to follow ye directory of ye Church of Scotland, ych (as well we may) we own as our mother church. We make it our business to settle & to make settlements for min'rs of our persuasion yt joyn with us, in places where ye Gospel has not been att all preached, or else in places where there are wicked profane debauched careless weakness of the Biship of London, of ych there has been not a few, & yet are some wt'in the bounds of these provinces, where some of our brethren meet: which is ye reason of our meeting with pritty meny hardships & difficulties, both from ye inconveniences of our congregations & ye opposition of inveterate enemies.

In some of our places ye hearers, by reason of their proverty & paucity, are scarce at all able, tho now so willing, to allow a competent creditable subsistance for their min'rs, which is ye reason of some contempt amongst same which I humbly think might be, in some measure, easily remedied by our mother, ye Church of Scotland and her adherants in Brittain.

In Pensylvania & ye jersies yre is no one church established more than anoy'r & none are obliged to pay or contribute towards ye maintainence of any one more than another but what they please.

Your truly & obedient Serv't
JAS ANDERSON

For
The Right Rev'd
Mr. John Stirling
Principall of the
College of Glasgow
Scotland⁴

⁴Letter of James Anderson to the Reverend Mr. John Stirling, Principal of the College of Glasgow, Scotland, August 1, 1716.

James Anderson's "unaccountable disappointments" in the Virginia Colony were but a foretaste of the failure of Presbyterian work in Virginia for decades following Makemie's death.⁵ With the exception of the Reverend Josias Mackie, Puritan-Presbyterian, who never aligned himself or his church with the other ministers in the presbytery, whose work expired with his death in November 1716 in the Elizabeth River area (now Norfolk), there was no Presbyterian pastor settled in Virginia from the death of Francis Makemie in 1708 until the first minister settled in "The Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation" beyond the great mountains.⁶ In this barren day of Virginia Presbyterianism, the people of "our persuasion" in other colonies were moving forward, with their activities centering in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. From the nineteen ministers in the Synod in 1716, the membership had increased to fifty ministers by 1740.⁷ But the tragic fact of a fading Presbyterianism in Virginia is revealed in the presbytery's communication, in 1710 (only two years after the death of Francis Makemie), to the Presbytery of Dublin in which they say, "In all Virginia there is but one small congregation at Elizabeth River, and some few families favouring our way in Rappahanock and York."⁸

The first Synod was organized in Philadelphia in 1717 with thirteen ministers and six elders present.⁹ It is said to have embraced the care of nineteen ministers, forty churches and 3,000 communicants.¹⁰ The presbyteries that constituted the Synod were: Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; New Castle, in Delaware; Long Island, in New York; and Snow Hill, in Maryland. The latter presbytery seems to have been too weak to get itself together and never came into existence, indicating clearly that the Maryland and Virginia work, historically a unit under the marvelous leadership of Francis Makemie, was then on a definite decline.

Donegal Presbytery was organized by the Synod in 1732:

It being overtured by the committee of overtures, that an erection of a new Presbytery in Lancaster county [Pennsylvania], should be appointed by the

⁵Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), p. 34.

⁶Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-13.

⁷Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 147-48.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁰William Henry Roberts, *A Concise History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, 1920), p. 21.

Synod, it was voted by a great majority that Masters Anderson, Thomson, Boyd, Orr, and Bertram, be members of a Presbytery by the name of Dunagall [Donegal] Presbytery.¹¹

The Presbyterians settled on the western frontier of Pennsylvania and Maryland and the Scots from Ulster, who were at this time beginning their trek southwestward across the Potomac River into the "back parts of Virginia," came under their care. In the handwriting of some student of later days the first page of the Donegal minutes is inscribed with this note, "The Presbytery of New Castle seems to have covered the teritory of this Presby. before its erection."

These were the days when the Virginia Colony had one church, and only one, The Established Church of England.¹² Presbyterianism, after zealous beginnings, had taken on a torpid state. There were neither requests for supplies nor an active interest exercised on the part of the church courts. This is particularly evident in a search of those records for the decade of 1725-1735.

In fact, New Castle Presbytery, then responsible for eastern Virginia, provided no successor to Francis Makemie unless we think of the Reverend Samuel Davies as such. He came to Eastern Virginia in 1747, thirty-nine years after Makemie's death, and was licensed to preach in four meeting houses in Hanover and Henrico Counties, where the bricklayer, Samuel Morris, through his "reading" had led several spiritually hungry groups to join the ranks of the Dissenters. In the case of the Elizabeth River (Norfolk) work, it was 1804, eighty-eight years after Josias Mackie's death, before a minister was settled there again,¹³ with but a single recorded request for supplies intervening.

In Virginia there were few Baptists and no Methodist congregations in those early days. Lutherans were unorganized and the Presbyterian inactivity left the territory to the Church of England. They used the opportunity and gave vigorous support to the government in a strict enforcement, or refusal to acknowledge the application of the Toleration Act so that all Dissenters were restricted by law from increasing their places of worship. This policy, applied in the face of Presbyterian weakness, spelled out in practical terms was a rejection of Presbyterianism.

¹¹Records, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹²Hawks, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 57, 68, 107, 109, 121; Hening, *op. cit.*, I, 277.

¹³Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; Records, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

THE BEGINNINGS OF VALLEY PRESBYTERIANISM

With a flood of immigrants coming into the Valley of Virginia, many of whom were staunch Presbyterians, the question of who had a church first is very hard to answer. The records that are available in church court minutes give us some idea of the rising tide of demand for ministerial services. Some came from individuals with zeal and initiative who failed to develop a Dissenter's meeting house, while others appear in the minutes requesting supplies for meeting houses already built. The earliest record of beginnings of Presbyterianism in the Valley is found in the synod minutes, with that body handling the requests directly instead of through the presbyteries.¹⁴ The synod record follows:

At a Synod held at Philadelphia, which met September the 16th 1719

19 day. Post preces, sederunt supra. . . .

The Synod having received a letter from the people of Potomoke, in Virginia, requesting the Synod's care and diligence to provide them an able gospel minister to settle among them, it was appointed that the Rev. Mr. Daniel McGill should go and preach to that people in order to settlement upon a mutual agreement, and that a letter be writ to said people by Masters Conn and Cross, and by them brought into Synod for approbation

22d day . . .

The letter to the people of Potomoke, in Virginia, was brought in and approved of.¹⁵

At a Synod held at Philadelphia, September 22, 1720

Mr. McGill reported to the Synod, that according to last years appointment, he went to Potomoke, in Virginia, and after some months continuance there, put the people into church order.

The said Congregation of Potomoke, in Virginia, have sent a letter to the Synod, manifesting their hearty approbation of Mr. McGill's whole conduct among them, and desiring his settling with them as their minister.¹⁶

The synod responded with temporary supplies, while one after another of the ministers made excuse for not fulfilling appointments

¹⁴Records, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 53, 55-57; Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 200. There is a wide difference of opinion about where the Potomoke Church was located. Various scholars place it at Bladensburg, Maryland; Fauquier; Falling Waters; Tuscarora; Martinsburg or Shepherdstown, West Virginia.

¹⁶Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

in Virginia. The people's response was "A representation being . . . of the earnest desires of some Protestant dissenting families in Virginia, together with a comfortable prospect of the increase of our interest there . . ." ¹⁷ The synod ordered supplies for them twelve Sabbaths the following year, wrote them a letter, and further ordered "That a letter of address be writ to the Governor of Virginia." ¹⁸ Having received a "referred that whole affair to the Presbytery of New Castle." ¹⁹ The reply from the people, and none from the Governor the synod in 1724 church soon disappears from the record, New Castle Presbytery never making mention of it.

DONEGAL PRESBYTERY TAKES THE INITIATIVE

According to the custom of that day the Reverend James Anderson had served as Moderator of the Presbytery of Donegal for a full year, and being ill at the time of the fall meeting in 1735 wrote a letter concerning the things he wanted acted upon at that meeting. The minutes of September 2 record:

. . . Mr. Anderson being absent is Excused because of indisposition.

Ordered yt a letter from Mr. Anderson containing some Ovrteurs be read . . . wch were deliberately read & considered, & approved as follows, first . . . relating to the Synods sending an itinerant to Virginia is simply approved. ²⁰

At the May meeting of Donegal Presbytery in 1736, the Reverend Mr. Gelston was ordered, along with other supplies, to "pay a visit to some new inhabitants near O Peken in Virginia who have . . . desired a visit of this kind." ²¹

On April 7, 1737, with Donegal Presbytery meeting in the Chestnut Level Church, a motion was made that Mr. Anderson, or his other committee member going to Conodoguinet, "proceed to pay a visit to ye people of our perswasion lately settled in Virginia." However, ". . . the Motion concerning a visit to Virginia is deferr'd until our meeting in time of Synod." ²²

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁰Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, p. 71.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 121.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 142.

The Presbytery meeting in Middle Octorara Church, with James Anderson serving again as Moderator, on September 1, 1737, records:

A Supplication from the New Setled People of Beverly Mannor in ye back parts of Virginia requesting Supplies, was read. ye Pby judges it not expedient for several reasons to Supply them this winter, but order Mr Anderson to Write an encouraging Letter to yt people & therein to Signify that ye Pby resolves if it be in their power to grant their request next Spring . . .²³

WHITEFIELD'S OBSERVATION

It was in 1739 that the great revivalist, George Whitefield, made his second trip to America and landed in Philadelphia where he preached with noted success, after which he crossed Virginia along the Eastern Seaboard enroute to Georgia. His observations seem to be appropriate to our interest in that period. He preached and did personal work in the state as his party made its way by horse-back southward. He dined with Governor Gooch in Williamsburg, December 15, 1739. After completing his trip through the state he commented on Virginia in his Journal:

Monday, December 17. . . . It is good to find a People given to Hospitality.

Wednesday, January 9.

But almost all are quite settled upon their Lees, and I could not hear of any true vital Piety subsisting in that Province. . . . In Virginia are no Dissenters from the established Church, except one Meeting or two of Quakers. . . . The greatest Probability of doing Good in Virginia is among the Scots-Irish, who have lately settled in the Mountainous Parts of that Province. They raise little or no Tobacco, but Things that are useful for common Life.—And I hear the Governor has given Leave for a Minister of their own Way of Thinking to come whenever he can be procured.²⁴

²³*Ibid.*, p. 150.

²⁴George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, from his Embarking after the Embargo, to his Arrival at Savannah in Georgia* (London: Printed by W. Strahan for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun, without Temple Bar, 1740), items dated, Monday, December 17, 1739 and Wednesday, January 9, 1740.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Supplications for Civil and Religious Liberty

AT an early date an elder by the name of John Colwell was attending the church courts.¹ In 1733, Donegal Presbytery gave Jon Caldwell an assignment—a rare distinction for an elder in Donegal Presbytery—and in May of 1733 he appeared at Middle Octorara Church as John Caldwell, to assist the minister appointed “. . . to ye bringing this Matter of Mr. Thomsons [the Middle Octorara Pastor] arrears to Some Issue.”² There was a division in the church but the “issue” of the affair for our interest was that Mr. Thomson later became Mr. John Caldwell’s pastor at the Chestnut Level Church. Mr. Caldwell frequently represented the Chestnut Level Church at the meetings of presbytery.

SIMULTANEOUS PETITIONS FOR DEFENSE AND LIBERTY

The elder, John Caldwell, and many of his Presbyterian friends were planning to migrate to the “back parts of Virginia” to join others of like faith already settled there. They had heard, no doubt, during the days of their planning, of the murder by the Indians of a member of a family who had preceded them to the Valley of Virginia. The timing of events in this connection definitely points to the probability that it was the death of John Breckenridge,³ son of the pioneer Presbyterian emigrant, Alexander Breckenridge, who settled late in 1737 southwest of Beverly’s Mill Place. The *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, April 22, 1738, gives the general circumstances behind the petition and the resulting council action:

Whereas the Inhabitants on Sherrando River by their petition have represented that the Northern Indians frequently passing through their plantations Commit frequent Outrages and have lately killed one of their men, And have prayed for a Supply of Arms & Ammunition for their defense, It is the Opinion of this Board and Accordingly Ordered that out of His Majesties Stores there be delivered to John Lewis Gent who is hereby Approved to be a Capt over such of the Inhabitants as live in Beverly Mannor, Thirty Muskets & Eight pair of

¹*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 57.

²Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, p. 5.

³Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book I, 319.

Pistols with a proportionable quantaty of Powder and Ball, But that it should be an Instruction to the said Capt Lewis that neither he nor any of the men under his Command do on any pretence whatsoever offer any Violence to any of the said Indians passing quietly through their plantations nor to any Indians whatsoever unless the said Indians do first Commit Hostillities on the said Inhabitants in which case only they are at liberty to defend themselves and to Act offensively.⁴

It was the spring meeting of Donegal Presbytery, meeting at the Donegal Church, April 11, 1738, to which John Caldwell presented a petition for favor and encouragement of the settlers in the "back parts of Virginia" with the presbytery ruling that ". . . the Pby Approve John Caldwell's Supplication & Agree to recommend it to the Synod . . ."⁵

The Caldwell "Supplication," adopted by the Synod of Philadelphia upon the recommendation of Donegal Presbytery, proposed that the Presbyterians appeal to the Virginia Colonial Governor and Council:

. . . in behalf of himself [Caldwell] and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod may be appointed to wait on that government, to solicit their favour in behalf of our interest in that place . . .⁶

The success of this elder's appeal meant the beginning again of Presbyterianism in the Virginia Colony; not among the Cavalier Dissenters from England, but among the rugged-charactered Scotsmen, with years behind them in their battle for faith and freedom; not in Eastern Virginia under the shadow of the Established Church of England, but in Western Virginia, beyond the great mountains in Indian country, where the Church of England clergyman had little interest and less determination to mix with the primitive elements of nature. This strategic move was not only of paramount importance to Virginia Presbyterianism, but also to the extension of the Colony of Virginia—for it seems to be the key that unlocked the floodgates to unlimited emigration from Pennsylvania and Ireland.

The warm hearted interest of James Anderson in Virginia's Scotsmen and the Scottish heritage of Governor Gooch at Williamsburg, teamed up to make John Caldwell's proposal effective.

⁴H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1925-1930), IV, 414.

⁵Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁶Records, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

ANDERSON HANDLES CALDWELL PETITION

The Synod of Philadelphia meeting Tuesday, May 30, 1738, wrote:

To the honourable William Gooch, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Virginia, the humble address of the Presbyterian ministers convened in Synod, May 28, 1738, &c. May it please your honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion with the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your honour with their design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession, in the illustrious house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious sovereign King George, and we doubt not but these our brethren will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the government which is placed over them. This we trust will recommend them to your honour's countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. We pray for the Divine blessing upon your person and government, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves your honour's most humble and obedient servants.⁷

In view of "Mr Anderson designing to go to Virginia in compliance with ye Synods appointment" the Presbytery of Donegal appointed supplies for his pulpit.⁸ At the synod meeting in May of the next year at Philadelphia, the minutes relate:

Mr. Anderson reports, that in compliance with an order of Synod last year, he had waited upon the Governor of Virginia with the Synod's address, and read a favourable answer, the substance of which is contained in a letter from the governor to the moderator of the Synod, which is as follows:

"Sir: By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have been always inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces, to settle on the western side of our great mountains; so you may be assured, that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer of theirs. Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM GOOCH.

Williamsburg, November 4th, 1738."

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

Mr. Anderson reports that his journey to Virginia cost fifteen pounds, which the Synod allows out of the fund, and does approve his conduct in the whole affair.

Ordered, That the committee consider what is to be done further in the Virginia affair. And the committee returned Mr. Anderson thanks for what he hath done in it.⁹

A NEW RELIGIOUS POLICY BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS

If Mr. Anderson carried the Governor's letter in person on his return, it was before he left Williamsburg that the House of Burgesses, on November 1, 1738, had written into law the act establishing Frederick and Augusta Counties out of Orange County territory west of the Blue Ridge. The note of encouragement to the new settlers is noticeably prominent in this act of the Virginia House of Burgesses.¹⁰

A contrast of the firmly established church custom and law on the Eastern Shore with the tone of the Royal Governor, in both the letter to the dissenting Presbyterians and in the law establishing the new counties in which they were to dwell, reveals a new religious policy for the settlers beyond the mountains, differing radically from the policy of the past. It was in this condition of freedom of conscience and enjoyment of limited civil and religious liberties that the Presbyterian faith was first to take root and grow vigorously in the Virginia Colony. It was the seed thought of John Caldwell, planted by James Anderson in the Valley of Virginia and cultivated by the faith and effort of every person of "Dissenter persuasion" in the Virginia Colony that turned the tide for toleration.

ANDERSON REPORTS FAVORABLY

The Reverend James Anderson, who was used of God to establish Presbyterian work in a number of strategic places including New York, when the city consisted of "3000 housekeepers,"¹¹ was not only a great spiritual force but also an astute business man. He lost no time in taking advantage of the new religious policy in the back parts of Virginia. He came, in November, 1738, to the home of John Lewis, leader of the

⁹Records, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁰William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), V, 9, 78 *et seq.* See Appendix A, I.

¹¹Letter of James Anderson to the Reverend Mr. John Stirling, Principal of the College of Glasgow, Scotland, August 8, 1717.

wilderness settlement, and according to history preached the first regular sermon heard in the area.¹²

The early, but undated, minutes of the Tinkling Spring Meeting House in a reference to her beginning say: “. . . our Congregation was bounded in an orderly way by ye voice of the inhabitants & at ye instance of ye Rev'd James Anderson . . .”¹³

Thus were led the freedom loving Scots who caught the first glimpse of an ideal of freedom for which they had already paid with blood in Europe—and the price to maintain it is a chapter in heroism yet ahead of us. For, we must not miss the point that they had requested and secured freedom of worship for a price, that price the Colony's “security upon the frontier.” That security ultimately included laying specific claim to the territory as far northwest as the Great Lakes and the inevitable conflict with the Indians as they settled it. It was here, in the Valley of Virginia, that civil and religious liberty was to be exercised so freely and appreciated so ardently as to insure wholehearted support in the struggle with the Indians and the Revolutionary cause of independence.

¹²Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), pp. 33-34; J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Samuel M. Yost & Sons, 1882), p. 80.

¹³Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26.

PART TWO

THE GREAT SPIRITUAL UNDERTAKING IN VIRGINIA

CHAPTER FIVE

The Christian Societies

THE Presbytery in 1707, in what appears to be the second gathering of a Presbyterian Church Court in America, approved an overture proposed concerning procedure “. . . for propagating the interest of religion . . . That it be recommended to every minister of the Presbytery to set on foot and encourage private Christian societies.”¹ It seems to have become the regular custom of the clergy in setting up the boundaries of “Christian societies” to “Perambulate” the territory,² make suggestions for boundaries, and by the voice of the inhabitants to make the society and its boundary official.

THE SHENANDO SOCIETY

Such a Christian Society was the Triple Forks of the Shenando congregation set up at the suggestion of the Reverend James Anderson.³

Mr. Anderson’s church business and “perambulations” in Virginia extended over a two months period. Donegal Presbytery minutes record his attendance, August 31, 1738, at which time his pulpit at the Donegal Church was ordered supplied by other pastors in his absence through the second Sabbath of October. At an adjourned presbytery meeting in October supplies were ordered through the third Sabbath, the 19th of November. And he must have arrived home about that time for he was in attendance at a presbytery meeting on November 21st.⁴

Of these ten weeks in Virginia, there was much time spent in Williamsburg, of course, for that was his mission to Virginia. He could hardly have escaped many contacts with the one large land owner of the Valley, William Beverley, who was associated with James Patton in soliciting and transporting emigrants for the Valley from North Ireland. Beverley’s three years for settling his Manor were moving by rapidly. The very people whom James Anderson represented in his “address” to Governor Gooch for “favour and encouragement” in

¹*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 8.

²Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, p. 176 gives an example of “perambulation.”

³Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26.

⁴Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 170.

settling were the people Beverley wanted in order to make good the claim on his land in the Valley according to the conditions of the Beverley grant. There is no evidence found of their collaboration. However, the overlapping of their Valley interests, Anderson's need for an influential contact with the government and their being in Williamsburg together during the meeting of the legislative assembly, of which Beverley was a part, makes their collaboration so inevitable that the absence of it would be little short of a miracle in human conduct. Prior to this Beverley had deeded only eleven tracts of land to the settlers, but following this date he released his lands with clock-like regularity.

The inhabitants of the Valley were giving all possible support to Mr. Anderson's effort before the colonial authorities, as is evidenced by the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* as follows:

Then the other of the said Resolutions was read, and agreed to by the House, as follows:

Resolved, That Provision be made, for the Security and Encouragement of the Inhabitants beyond the great Ridge of Mountains.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, according to the said Resolution; and that the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, prepare and bring in the same.

Ordered, That the several Petitions of the Inhabitants living on the Head Springs of *Sherrando*; of the Inhabitants of *Beverley* Manor; of the Inhabitants of *Opekan*, and *Cobongorooton*, and the Inhabitants of *Massenottin*; referred by the Council, to the Consideration of this House, be referred to the Consideration of the said Committee.⁵

This Pennsylvania clergyman no doubt summoned these petitions from the inhabitants through his contact with the Valley Scots, to back him in his undertaking to break the monopolistic practice of the established church. It may have been that these men, or their representatives, in Williamsburg sought in return the privilege of having Mr. Anderson preach for them the first sermon in their mountain wilderness community. In fact there is some evidence that there were thoughts of his settling among them. He not only preached for them but lands were surveyed in his name which appear to have been central to the settlers.⁶

⁵H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1734, 1736-1740* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1910), p. 330. Credit is given to James Anderson by an Augusta County pioneer in a court deposition relating that, "Quit rents were not exacted for 2 years at the instance of Anderson, a preacher."

⁶The village of Fishersville, Virginia, near Tinkling Spring, is located on this old survey which was made for the Reverend James Anderson.



From *Merchant Shipping* by Samuel Scott

Figure III

An Eighteenth-Century Merchant Ship like the *Walpole* in General
Appearance, Rig and Size



THIS Indenture Made the 28th Day of April
in the Year of our LORD God, One Thousand Seven Hundred
Twenty eight BETWEEN Peter Burk Seaman
of the one party, and James Patton Merchant
of the other Party, Witnesseth, That the said
Peter Burk of his own free will & consent
doth hereby Covenant, Promise and Grant to and with the said
James Patton his Executors,
Administrators and Assigns, from the Day of the Date hereof, until the first and next
Arrival at America " " " " and after, for and during the
Term of five Years; to serve in such Service and Employment as the said
Peter Burk or his Assigns shall there Employ him according
to the Custom of that Country in the like kind. In Consideration whereof the said
Peter Burk doth hereby Covenant and Grant, to and with the said
James Patton " " " " to pay for his Passage, and to find and allow
Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging, with other Necessaries during the said Term; And
at the end of the said Term, to pay unto him the usual Allowance, according to the
Custom of the Country in the like kind. In Witness whereof, the Parties above-
mentioned to these Indentures have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals, the
Day and Year first above written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered,
in the presence of

Wm. Walton Lord Mayor

John Chubb
Mark

Figure IV

The Indenture Covenant of Peter Burk, "Redemptioner," who came to America on the *Walpole* with James Patton. Peter Burk's Endorsement for Seven Year's Indenture was on the Reverse Side and Dated on the Ship's Arrival, August 23, 1738

There is no certainty about the exact time that James Anderson paid his visit to the Valley while in Virginia. It does not appear that he would have preached without license even in the wilderness beyond the great mountains (thereby jeopardizing the whole purpose of his mission to Williamsburg) before first securing the government's consent. The law against preaching without license was strictly enforced in the colony. In view of the fact that the House of Burgesses of Virginia had been in session since the first of August⁷ and that he was "to wait on that government . . . the governor and council of Virginia"⁸ it appears more likely that he would have gone directly to Williamsburg. However, he may have gone hastily through the Valley for the purpose of securing the utmost support of the people for his mission in Williamsburg. It is certain there was joint action in this effort between the representative of the Synod of Philadelphia and the petitioners from "the Head Springs of Sherrando," "Beverley Manor," "Opekan, and Cohongorooton" and "Massenottin"; each of which areas was soon the location respectively of the following Presbyterian meeting houses: North and South Mountain, Tinkling Spring and Augusta Stone, Opequon and Peaked Mountain.

To reach the Synod's two-fold objective of "encouragement" and "liberty of conscience" for "Dissenters" settling in the "back parts of Virginia," in the face of a government solidly Church of England in its belief and policy, was task enough to occupy the full time of Mr. Anderson! The more one ponders the spirited tenacity of this Scotch cleric and the religious complacency of the Williamsburg politician, the more definite the conclusion that this clergyman worked incessantly and prayerfully every day until the law was passed giving encouragement to the settlers. On November 4th the Governor's letter gave a liberal interpretation of that law for dissenting worshippers in the Valley.

However, with assurance that God's blessing would bring success to these efforts, James Anderson secured by act of his presbytery supplies for his pulpit through the third Sabbath of November. For what purpose? There could have been no other purpose except to preach to the people of his persuasion before returning to Pennsylvania. If he

⁷William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), V, 9.

⁸Records, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

had men from the Valley with him in Williamsburg they would have returned in advance of his trip to arrange for the glorious experience of hearing once again the glad tidings of the gospel, an experience of which many Valley settlers had been deprived for many years.

The Williamsburg mission having been accomplished, Rev. James Anderson had before him almost three weeks in which to visit the Scotch-Irish settlements in Virginia. There were small groups at Opequon, Rockfish, Woods Gap, North Mountain, Beverley Manor⁹ and possibly others where at least a few Presbyterians had gathered in communities. It is certain he could not have used the first Sabbath of November, the 5th, at John Lewis' home; and it is equally certain that he could not have used the third Sabbath, the 19th, and arrived at his presbytery meeting on the 21st. Since history gives it prominent notice¹⁰ surely the John Lewis home service must have been the highlight of the preaching tour, and if so then on the Sabbath day. There is but one Sabbath left, if it was a Sabbath, and that is the second Sabbath of November, the 12th. Only circumstantial evidence points to this date but the circumstantial evidence is strong.

There is evidence that James Anderson was in the Valley early in November. Whether at the request of the people of Beverley Manor interested in securing a pastor to settle among them or by the initiative of James Anderson himself is not known, but the surveyor George Hume in his field notes of "9ber 5, 1738" makes an entry of lands surveyed for "Reverent James Anderson."¹¹ These lands were in adjacent surveys called the "Glebe Lands," indicating they were intended for the settled pastor in their midst.

Could it have been, the law now permitting and James Anderson suggesting it, that on November 12th the people in Beverley Manor by voice vote set the bounds of their Christian Society and named it The Triple Forks of the Shenando?!

⁹Delemo L. Beard, "Origin and Early History of Presbyterianism in Virginia," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1932), pp. 242 et seq.

¹⁰Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902), pp. 33-34.

¹¹Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), II, 375, quoting from "Hume's Old Field Book." Another quoting from the same source gives the date "9ber ye 3, 1738." 9ber is November.

THE FIRST LICENSED PREACHER OF THE VALLEY

One of the grave problems faced by the churches of Virginia, along with most of the rest of America both in "Dissenters Meeting-houses" and in the Established Churches, was the unworthy clergyman. The first minister licensed to preach in the Valley, if not unworthy, was at least in the terms of today simply a dud. The first notice we find of him is in Donegal Presbytery where they recorded on September 2, 1736:

. . . It being represented by Tho Brown from Conegocheeg that Mr Wms lately from England, who was reported by our Pbyes is likely to doe harm to our intrest by invegling the people; Mr. Anderson is ordered to write to sd People in order to dissuade them from intertaining him as a Minister among them.¹²

Even before freedom of worship was allowed by the favorable attitude at Williamsburg for Presbyterians beyond the great mountains, a Mr. William Williams, evidently the same man, makes his appearance in the Valley. The Orange County Court Record, under date of September 22, 1737, shows that:

William Williams a Presbyterian Minister Gent having taken the oaths . . . & certified his intention of holding his meetings at his own plantation & on the plantation of Morgan Bryan—which is admitted to Record.¹³

But for the possible exception of John Craig's Record of Baptisms¹⁴ the record of Mr. Williams' further activities appears only in the county court records where he was the plaintiff in numerous cases against persons, presumed to be his customers in a merchant's trade, in which he consistently won the suits.¹⁵ If he ever did anything as a clergyman for the Presbyterian faith there is left no record of it.

THE REVIVAL CONTROVERSY

In the early part of the 18th century there was a low ebb of religious faith and life in which religious exercise had become mere form.

¹²Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹³Orange County Court Records, Order Book I, 213.

¹⁴There was a Mr. William Williams in Rev. John Craig's congregation whose children (John, Stephen, Sarah and Joshua) Mr. Craig baptized in the years 1740 through 1744; he was located near the Peaked Mountain Meeting House.

¹⁵Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

Many ministers were accused of clinging to a "dead orthodoxy," though the accusation was only partially true.¹⁶ However, there appeared scattered spiritual awakenings early in the century. The Pietist movement in Germany and the Methodist movement in Britain were paralleled in America with a movement which we call "The Great Awakening." Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister of New Jersey, was the first whose work broke forth into a genuine revival in America. Other similar experiences followed until ultimately a spirit of puritan evangelical fervor took hold upon large sections of the American people and genuine spiritual experiences of grace and salvation became widespread under the spirit-directed preaching of godly men.¹⁷

As this revival movement progressed it brought into conflict the two ideas of entering the estate of salvation—by training and Christian nurture or by a cataclysmic conversion. As the revival experience broadened to greater numbers and the sentiment of response and reaction deepened, the conflict of ideas grew in intensity. Some of the questions over which they came to differ with bitterness in the Presbyterian Synod were: What was the value of the gospel minister's message if his life was out of line with the truth he preached? To what extent did the church government have authority? What was the essence of God's call to a minister, the Spirit's voice within the heart or ordination by the proper church authority? What was the more important qualification for the minister, education or a genuine experience of the working of God's grace? Was the minister at liberty to preach where he felt the Spirit led him or should he be subject to presbytery orders? Was there a place, or not, for physical manifestations, such as "the jerks," cryings and groanings, accompanying the sense of conviction of sin and conversion? What was the degree of assurance of salvation to the believer—could it be known and narrated as knowledge gained from the outward senses?¹⁸ The outcome of the conflict over these ideas was the division in 1741 of the Presbyterian body into two synods: the Synod of Philadelphia becoming the "Old Side" and the new Synod of New York becoming the "New Side."

¹⁶Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), p. 496.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 570.

¹⁸Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-58.

The Old Side maintained with vehement fervor the idea of God's working in an orderly manner through constituted authority lodged in the hands of men educated and ordained in the orthodox tradition of the Scotch or the Irish Presbyterian Church and sent forth in that authority on specific missions to preach the truth, which God could use to the saving of souls irrespective of the minister's piety at the moment, producing a salvation evident primarily to God in its manifestations and never audible or visible to man in its emotional expression. The Old Side leadership centered in Donegal Presbytery, with John Thomson, Richard Sanckey (Thompson's son-in-law), Robert Cross and James Anderson taking the lead. This group was joined by eight other ministers in aggressive action at the Synod of 1741 to force the division of the Presbyterians.¹⁹ Their zeal for supplying ministers for the Scots-Irish immigrants was spurred on by this controversy, for they were anxious to keep them in line with the Old Side.

The New Side promoted vigorously the idea that the genuine spiritual inner experience of God's grace must change human conduct to conform to the will of God and particularly so for the ministry. The evidence of this experience was to be controlled, but it was frequently audible and visible in its physical manifestations. They held that presbytery had no right to exercise its authority contrary to these directions of the Spirit, especially concerning when and where a minister should preach the Gospel; hence the right of "intrusion" became a bitter point of debate. The New Side leadership, influenced by and following Frelinghuysen, centered in the "Log College" graduates who had been trained by William Tennent, Sr. The Reverend Gilbert Tennent, son of William and pastor in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and his brothers in the ministry, along with Samuel Blair, took the initiative in promoting the revival movement among the Scotch-Irish. The Reverend Jonathan Edwards, a Calvinist in belief, had held a revival in 1734 in his Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts, in which hundreds were converted in a rich spiritual experience. His revival spirit spread in New England to become the "New Lights" movement, which later joined forces with the New Side to become potent elements in "The Great Awakening." But all of these revival experiences were separate and local in appeal until 1739 when the young Evangelist George

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 155-57.

Whitefield arrived in America. Everywhere people thronged to hear him, hung upon his every word, yielded themselves in large numbers to an excessively emotional conversion and were permanently transformed in character.²⁰

The presence of an uninvited probationer from New England probably touched off the first small repercussion of this religious controversy in the Valley of Virginia. Mr. Anderson had returned from Virginia with an even more fervent zeal than formerly for supplying "the new settlement" with ministers to preach among them. His ferry service on the Susquehanna River, near his Donegal Church, gave him contacts with many of those migrating toward Virginia. One man traveling southward, of whom James Anderson took notice, was a Mr. Dunlap, who having preached for awhile in New Side New Castle Presbytery, was on his way to preach in the back parts of Virginia. Mr. Anderson in his zeal for the purpose of Dunlap's mission gave him recommendations to the Societies of his persuasion in Virginia. The Donegal Presbytery learning of this matter rebuked Mr. Anderson, forbade Mr. Dunlap to preach in their bounds and speedily wrote "to that people to signifie our Judgement in this matter."²¹ However, Mr. Dunlap served in the Valley about three months before leaving Virginia.

Sometime in the early summer of 1739, possibly before Dunlap left, the Presbytery of Donegal sent Rev. John Thomson to Virginia to supply the people gathered in the various societies in the Valley. How long he served in Virginia is not recorded, but it appears that he remained for most of the summer of 1739, and returned in time for the fall meeting of Donegal Presbytery in September.²²

PIONEER MEETING PLACES

With the houses of worship we enjoy today and such limited experience in frontier mission work, it becomes very difficult for our minds to grasp the circumstances under which the pioneer worshipped. It was not always in a picturesque log church. The first place of worship was the home. The meeting house of log or stone did not exist at the beginning for the Christian Society. However, the Central Valley had

²⁰Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 571; Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr., *Revivals in the Midst of the Years* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1943), pp. 42 *et seq.*

²¹Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 180.

clusters of dissenting families gathering at central places in several localities by 1740, including the following and possibly others: on the North Branch of the James River, around Halfway house or South Mountain, at North Mountain, in the South part of Beverley Manor, on Robert Poage's land northeast of Beverley Manor, at Peaked Mountain and at Woods Gap on the Blue Ridge.²³ These centers had no doubt shared the services of the "itinerant" preaching from 1738 to 1740 of Anderson, Thomson and Craig as they were sent by the Presbytery of Donegal. These ministers by gathering these groups together intensified their desire for meeting houses at central places where they could support them. They preached in homes, arbors and pole shelters (possibly hopefully calling them meeting houses at times) and in the open air under the shade of a tree.

The first regular sermon in Augusta was preached in the home of John Lewis. It was no doubt one of the largest homes of the settlement and therefore best able to accommodate the neighbors. Many of the settlers of that date were not so well sheltered. Their experience was not unlike the New England pioneer of a century earlier in the:

... manner how they placed downe their dwellings in this Desart Wildernesse

after they have thus found out a place of aboad [abode], they burrow themselves in the Earth for their first shelter under some Hill-side, casting the Earth aloft upon Timber; they make a smoaky fire against the Earth at the highest side . . . yet in these poore Wigames they sing Psalmes, pray and praise their God, till they can provide them houses . . .²⁴

The log cabin was no myth in Augusta County, and the stone house of the more prosperous soon followed.²⁵ In the early settlement, as in frontier communities until recent years, the building of a cabin for a

²³John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, pp. 5-7; F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 37, *et passim*.

²⁴Edward Johnson, *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651. Original Narratives of Early American History* (J. Franklin Jameson, editor; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), pp. 111, 113-14.

²⁵The old Kerr log home with a very early construction date still stands and is occupied by a direct descendant of the immigrant James Kerr. A member of Tinkling Spring Church, Mr. John M. McChesney, Sr., remembers assisting in the clearing away the debris of James Patton's Springhill log home. The old stone fort-home of John Lewis, presumably at least his second house, has been dismantled in recent years and the stone re-used for the construction of an outbuilding. The stone home of William Johnston on Long Meadow near Fishersville (later the Rev. John McCue home) is still serving as one section of the present comfortable home of Mr. Grayson Grove.

new-comer or a bride and groom was done as a cooperative undertaking with neighbors and friends helping. With the log cabin and its dwellers playing such an important role in the faith and worship of the pioneer settlers, particularly in the day of the Christian Societies, it seems appropriate to examine its structure and furnishings a little more closely.

If a sufficient number of men were available the task of construction of a log cabin was completed in three days. The first job of the party was to draw the timber. A group of choppers undertook to fell the trees and cut them to specified lengths. A man with a team towed these logs into proper place alongside the proposed house site. A select man, experienced in wood lore, sought a few particular trees with straight grain and no knots for clapboards for the roof and puncheons for the floor. The roof boards were split with the use of a frow as wide as the timber would allow and about four feet long, while the puncheon boards for the floor were hewn out from smaller trees split down the middle and faced with a broad axe to fit closely together and supply as even surface underfoot as possible.

The second day was the actual construction of the house, commonly called the house raising. Four skilled corner men, whose job it was to notch and direct the placing of the logs, were carefully selected. Another selected group prepared the clapboards and puncheon boards. A large crew handled the logs at the direction of the corner men. Whenever the wall's height would allow it, a small crew began on the inside to lay the sleepers upon which they placed the puncheon floor. The sleepers in addition to being pegged were often made secure in position by being tied with hickory withes. When the corner men had the walls to the intended height they formed the roof by making both ends of the end logs shorter until a single log at the top became the comb of the roof. The large clapboard shingles were then put in place and clamped down with a pole. In the meantime the workmen were at the task of cutting a door, which was done by sawing or chopping out a three-foot section of the log wall to leave an opening, usually in the center of one side. This opening was made secure by upright hewn pieces through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs for the purpose of pinning them fast with wooden pegs. A similar process was used to prepare in the end of the cabin an opening into which was built the chimney jambs and back forming the fireplace. The chimney

was made either of stone or small-sized log cribbing lined with stone and mortar.

The third day's finishing work was of more direct interest to the woman of the home. The finishing touches were put on the fireplace where she would do the family cooking. The cracks between the logs were chinked with small timbers and mortar. The carpenters were busy making the clapboard door, leveling off the surface of the floor and making the furniture—table, bench and bed. The table was made of a very wide split slab supported by four pole legs set in auger holes. The bench was made in like manner, as were the three-legged stools. Wooden pegs in logs at the back of the room supported clapboards which served as shelves. A few pegs in logs at the end opposite the chimney were used for hanging the petticoats of the women and hunting shirts of the men—this display being a sign of their respectability!

The bed was built into one corner of the cabin, in the end opposite the fireplace. An upright pole was put through a hole in the floor, the top of which was tied or pegged to a joist, and a fork at the proper height on it held one end of the front rail of the bed while the other end was supported in a crack between the end logs. Above this front rail and through the fork to a crack in the side-wall logs was placed the support for the end of the bed. With the walls of the cabin supporting the other two sides of the bed, boards were put on which formed the bottom of the bed. Corn shucks more often than not supplied the first bedding material, inside a tick only if the ticking were available. One more important detail completed the structure for the time-being, a pair of buck's horns tethered to a joist on which to lay the rifle and hang the shot pouch and powder horn.²⁶ The cutting of a window, making a bed for the opposite corner of that end of the cabin and building a lean-to could all await better days later on, and would be done by the man of the house in his leisure time.

There were berries and grapes, wild fruits and nuts in the fields and forests; there was corn in the field and vegetables in the garden, but the rifle was the means of procuring meat. A few pewter plates and spoons

²⁶Joseph Doddridge, *Notes of the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Part of Virginia and Pennsylvania, From the Year 1763 until the Year 1783 Inclusive; Together with a view of the state of Society, and Manners of the first settlers of the Western Country* (Wellsburgh, Virginia: Printed at the Office of the Gazette, for the author, 1824), pp. 158-59; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1889), I, 101-33.

were used in serving these foods but wooden bowls and trenchers were more common. Gourds and hard shelled squash served many purposes. China, silver and crockery were unknown in those early days.²⁷

One of the most ingenious of the pioneers' works of necessity in their construction-without-nails was the picket, or paling, fence. After a brief description of the log-house with wooden hinges and latches on the doors ("the Building is finisht without Nails or other Iron-work"), *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line* supplies us with a description of a paling fence of that era on the Virginia-North Carolina line:

They also set their Pales without any Nails at all, and indeed more Securely than those that are nail'd. There are 3 Rails mortised into the Posts, the lowest of which serves as a Sill with a Groove in the Middle, big enough to receive the End of the Pales: the middle Part of the Pale rests against the inside of the Next Rail, and the Top of it is brought forward to the outside of the uppermost. Such Wreathing of the Pales in and out makes them stand firm, and much harder to unfix than when nail'd in the Ordinary way.²⁸

The ingenuity of the early pioneer woman is no less a marvel to our modern eye. She cooked the food, chiefly wild game and corn meal with only a limited list of cultivated vegetables and wild fruits and berries, over the open fire with the hearth-stone as her work-table. She made the family clothing, even the shoes, out of the material available, which included wool, flax, fur and skins. Linsey-woolsey clothing and deer-skin moccasins were almost universally used. William Byrd's record again aids in clarifying the picture. After speaking of the laziness of the men, whose hunting was sport not labor to a Cavalier, he says:

Articles of Raiment . . . so much as is absolutely Necessary falls to the good women's Share to provide. They all Spin, weave and knit, whereby they make a good Shift to cloath the whole Family; and to their credit be it recorded, many of them do it very completely, and thereby reproach their Husbands' Laziness in the most inoffensive way, that is to say, by discovering a better Spirit of Industry in themselves.²⁹

He gives further detail of the "Silk Grass . . . The Indians use it in all

²⁷Doddridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 135, 137-38.

²⁸William Byrd, *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Between Virginia and North Carolina* (William K. Boyd, editor; Raleigh, North Carolina: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), p. 94.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 304, 306.

their little Manufactures, twisting a Thread of it that is prodigiously Strong," the long hair from the buffalo neck that:

. . . will Spin into Thread not unlike Mohair, which might be wove into a Sort of Camlet. Some People have Stockings knit of it, that would have serv'd an Israelite during his forty Years' march thro' the Wilderness . . .

Of the fur from the wolves and beavers, he says:

. . . the Dutch have lately contriv'd to mix with their Wool, and Weave into a Sort of Drugget, that is not only warm, but wonderfully light and Soft. They also make Gloves and Stockings of it, that keep out the Cold almost as well as the Fur itself, and do not Look quite so Savage.⁸⁰

It was among people with such equipment and surroundings that the first Presbyterian ministers came to proclaim the Gospel to a spiritually hungry people in 1738 and 1739 in old Augusta County. The worship was held in these homes with the neighbors gathering in to pray and praise God. The preacher itinerated from home to home, and from settlement to settlement, remaining overnight wherever they were willing and able to keep him. His sleeping place was the hand-made bed in the corner of the cabin carefully curtained off for the privacy of a guest, or perchance they had flooring over the joist overhead and by ladder he climbed to his bed (or pallet would be a better designation) on that floor.

It was from homes like these that the Scots were gathered for worship in larger groups. In warm fair weather they gathered in the open air under the shade of forest trees where spring water was available for drinking. These spots soon were in need of shelter for the people who gathered. Captain John Smith said of Jamestown:

. . . In foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent; for we had few better . . . This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set on cratches [cratches or crotches were posts with forked tops] covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; so was also the walls; the best part of our houses [were] of like curiosity . . .⁸¹

It is a certainty that the settlers three hundred miles in the wilderness from their landing point, had no more equipment a century later, not even the rotten tent! For a brief time they improvised such places of

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 286, 288, 294.

⁸¹John Smith, *Capt. John Smith . . . Works* (Edward Arber, editor; Birmingham [England: The Author], 1884), p. 957.

worship, barnlike though they were, and some called them meeting houses. They were mere shelters or arbors of a temporary nature, lasting but a few years. There is evidence of very early structures, possibly similar in type at North Mountain, Timber Grove, South Mountain, Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring. Dr. W. H. Foote in his *Sketches of Virginia* says of Tinkling Spring:

The southern part of the congregation of the Triple Forks, had some difficulty in deciding on the place for their church building, and for a time worshipped in different parts at stands, or tents.³²

Many others may have had these "stands" or "arbors" or "tents" in the period intervening between the beginning of their Christian Society and their becoming a meeting house "set in order" in their properly constructed sanctuary.

THE CALL TO THE REVEREND JOHN THOMSON

The Christian Societies in the back part of Virginia on September 5, 1739, united in presenting a supplication to the Presbytery of Donegal for the ministerial services of Rev. John Thomson, Chestnut Level pastor, as an "Itinerant Preacher to Virginia." Presbytery read and considered their request and gave the general idea their approval. They then heard ". . . Mr. Thomson express his willingness to some degree to be Servicable to ye People if the Lord shall please to call him thereunto & if other difficulties in ye way can be surmounted . . ." The presbytery's reaction to this attitude of Mr. Thomson was to ". . . look on him as a very fitt person for this great undertaking . . ."³³ However, action was deferred in order to confer with the Synod and New Castle Presbytery on such a great undertaking. After conferring with representatives of the Synod, they called a special meeting of Donegal Presbytery at Chestnut Level, Mr. Thomson's church, to consider the whole matter thoroughly, with corresponding members of New Castle Presbytery present to give their advice and consent. The Chestnut Level Church and Mr. Thomson were both heard and ". . . the Pby hearing much relating thereunto, doe Unanimously Agree that it is not at all expedient to dissolve his Pastoral relation to his Congregation . . ."³⁴

³²William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 35; Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 18.

³³Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 187.

Presbytery had previously given a special committee authority to appoint supplies until the spring meeting of presbytery. Mr. John Craig whom the presbytery had licensed to preach the Gospel more than a year previously, and who had held for sometime a call from the West Conococheague congregation without replying, was immediately appointed to supply "in Upeckin ye Irish tract [Beverley Manor]³⁵ & other Societies of our Persuasion in Virginia at his discretion till our next."³⁶ From events that followed, and since presbytery's next meeting was April 1, 1740, it is clear that Mr. Craig spent the winter in Virginia.³⁷

³⁵Kegley, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁶Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 190.

CHAPTER SIX

The Settling of the Only Regular Presbyterian Pastor in Virginia

JOHN CRAIG was an Irish lad of Scottish ancestry, who was named for an uncle in Scotland. He was born in the Parish of Dunagore, county Antrim, of pious parents, the child of their old age, but was governed prudently and nurtured in Christian principles. The parents, observing his interest and devotion as early as his sixth year, determined to give him a liberal education. It was their "design," if the Lord chose to call him, to prepare him for the ministry.

John Craig united with the Presbyterian church at fourteen or fifteen years of age and entered into its activities with great earnestness. He attended the local school for eight or nine years, after which he spent several years reading in the fields of mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, geography and history. His parents sent him to their native land of Scotland for his college work in the University of Edinburgh from which he graduated with the primary degree of Master of Arts.

In spite of the inviting prospect of administering a modest fortune, his by inheritance in the old country, John Craig followed the Lord's leading, through perilous trials, to pioneer in Christian service in America. With a spirit yielded to his Master, Craig sought diligently for and ultimately found a home with Rev. John Thomson under whom he began to study theology. He taught school and applied himself to his studies for three years and in 1737 Donegal Presbytery in Pennsylvania invited him to qualify for the preaching of the Word. He was reluctant to undertake so weighty a responsibility but the last of August 1738 he was licensed as a probationer to preach the Gospel.

JOHN CRAIG'S CHOICE

Though Probationer John Craig was to have given his answer to a call from the West Conococheague congregation in Pennsylvania at the October meeting of presbytery (the same presbytery meeting that decided not to release Mr. John Thomson from Chestnut Level for the Virginia work), this decision was deferred by action of presbytery. John Craig having lived with Mr. Thomson for five years knew well of the need and challenge of the Virginia work. This background must be

kept in mind as we note his being sent by a presbytery committee as a supply to Virginia immediately upon presbytery's rejection of the Virginia call for Mr. Thomson. He spent from the middle of November 1739 to the end of May 1740 serving the Virginia Christian Societies of Presbyterian persuasion. The winter's work completed, he returned for the spring meeting of presbytery at Donegal Church on April 1, 1740, preaching at West Conococheague as he returned.¹

The first day of presbytery "Mr. Craig being ask'd in reference to a Case from Canigogig [Conococheague] Sometime under his consideration; Answer'd that he had not freedom to accept sd Call . . ."²

Almost immediately calls from Christian Societies in Virginia were presented for Mr. Craig's services and he was given his choice of the one he wished to consider. The presbytery record reads as follows:

Supplications from different Socities of our Perswasion in Virginia being presented & read wherein they request yt ye Pby, by reason of great distance please to form a Call to mr Craig & affix yr Names to ye Call of ye Subscribers to sd Supplications, the Pby for ye reasons aforesd Agree to comply wth their request & in order to prevent Unnecessary trouble call'd in mr Craig & Ask'd him which Call pursuant to ye aforesd Supplications he would incline to take under consideration. mr Craig reply'd that at present he chooses to take a Call from ye Inhabitants At Shenadore & ye South River under Consideration.

the Pby Appoints mr Sanckey to draw up a Call as aforesd that it may be presented before the Pby against to Morrow Morning. mr Anderson Appointed to write Opeckin.³

The immediate order given Mr. Anderson to write Opeckin (the settlement of Scots-Irish near the present site of Winchester, Virginia), indicates by implication that they were another, maybe the only other, Society in Virginia that had hopes of securing Mr. Craig as a settled pastor. The decision by Craig was a matter of major importance to the spiritual life of the people living on the upper (southern) waters of the Shenandoah River in Virginia.

CRAIG'S PARTS OF TRIAL BEFORE PRESBYTERY

Since Mr. Craig had been licensed previously by Donegal Presbytery, they proceeded to assign final Parts of Trial for Ordination to the gospel ministry. However, let us drop back in time and pick up a brief sketch

¹Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, pp. 189-91.

²*Ibid.*, p. 190.

³*Ibid.*, p. 191.

of events and all trial parts leading to his ordination. Mr. Craig was graduated from the University of Edinburgh on February 6, 1733.⁴ He arrived in America on his 25th birthday, August 17, 1734, landing at New Castle on the Delaware River. In September of that year he visited the Synod of Philadelphia and presented recommendations from ministers in Ireland and was referred to Donegal Presbytery.⁵ After searching almost to the point of despair, he found, about the end of 1734, a home with Rev. John Thomson in Chestnut Level, Pennsylvania, where he settled and studied theology. On September 1, 1736,⁶ after two years of study he was "represented" to Donegal Presbytery as desiring to be entered upon trial parts in order to preach the Gospel. Presbytery agreed at its spring meeting, April 7, 1737,⁷ to encourage Mr. Craig to enter upon preliminary trial parts.

The preliminary trial parts were as follows:⁸

On June 23, 1737, Extempore private trials in several branches of learning.

On June 23, 1737, Discourse on Job 22:21, "Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace: thereby good shall come unto thee."

On September 1, 1737, Discourse on Eph. 2:8, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." These preliminary parts being approved, he was accepted for Judicial Trials.

The Judicial Trial Parts for Licensure were as follows:

On October 5, 1737, A Homily on 1 Cor. 10:31, "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

On November 17, 1737, An Exposition of 1 John the 1st Chapter.

On April 11, 1738, A Presbyterianial Exercise on Rom. 8:3, "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh."

On April 12, 1738, Exegesis on the subject, "Infantes Christainores Sint Baptizandi."

On June 28, 1738, A Popular Sermon on 2 Tim. 2:19, last clause, "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

On August 30, 1738, Extempore Trials. All these Judicial Trials

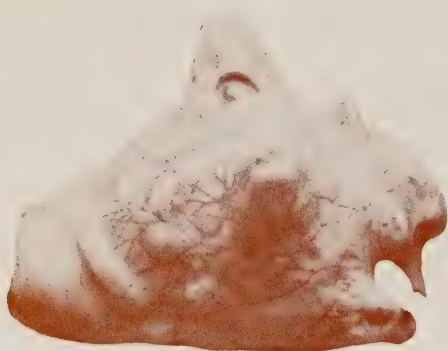
⁴Date supplied by the Registrar's office, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland.

⁵The Autobiography of John Craig, pp. 20-21

⁶Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁷*Loc. cit.*

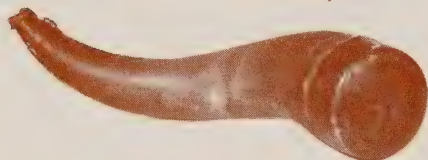
⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 147 *et seq.*



The conch-shell dinner horn of the Archibald Stuart family



The hand-made lamp of the Gabriel Alexander family



Powder horn of Charles Lewis carried at Point Pleasant



The English coin of the Robert Christian family



The Draper's Meadow sword of the James Patton family



The chair from the home of the Rev. John Craig family

Figure VI
Traditional Relics of Old Tinkling Spring Families

being approved upon delivery, the presbytery proceeded to license Mr. Craig to preach as a probationer, after his acceptance of the Confession of Faith and promise of "... Subjection to the orders, rules & appointments of the Presby &c . . ."

For the next two years he did supply work in the following places: Leacock, Conestoga, Deer Creek in Baltimore, Conococheague, Conewago, Opeckin, Chestnut Level, Irish Tract, Societies of Presbyterian Persuasion in Virginia, Donegal, Nottingham and Philadelphia.

When Mr. Craig returned from his supply work in Virginia, declined the call to West Conococheague and received calls from Virginia from which presbytery allowed him to choose, they immediately assigned Trial Parts for Ordination.

The Trial Parts for Ordination were as follows:

On June 17, 1740, A Homily on Prov. 10:9, "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely." Mr. Craig indicated at this meeting of presbytery his acceptance of the call to Shenandoah.

On July 29, 1740, A Presbyterianial Exercise on Rom. 8:10, "And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness."

On July 29, 1740, "... a common head on that subject viz. 'how ye necessity of good works is consistent wt Justification by faith alone'."

On September 2, 1740, A Popular Sermon on John 13:33, "Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say to you."

On September 2, 1740, Extempore Examination on Divinity and "Several practical & experimental questions." The parts of trial were approved as a whole, "Robt Poag and Daniel Denniston from virginia, declared in ye name of the people of Shenadore their adherence to their call formerly presented"⁹ and presbytery concluded to proceed to his ordination the following day. There follows in the record this significant action:

... Order'd that to Morrow be observed by Pby and all parties nearly concerned in this Solemn work; as a day of fasting & prayer, in order to implore ye divine blessing & concurrence with this great undertaking. publick worship will begin about ten of the clock.¹⁰

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁰*Loc. cit.*

According to custom "the Edict was served"¹¹ that on the following day Mr. John Craig would be ordained to preach the Gospel on the Shenandoah River in Virginia.

CRAIG'S ORDINATION

In the ordination record an "&c" by the Clerk in his minutes robs us of the small details of a solemn service we would like to be able to visualize. We are fortunate that the Clerk gives sufficient details of other similar services to give us a complete picture of what happened that day. Instead of normal detail the clerk related the special day of fasting and prayer for the great undertaking.

According to appointment Donegal Presbytery met in the Donegal Presbyterian Church on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania at 10 o'clock on the morning of the third of September, 1740. How appropriate this meeting in this church for the purpose of ordaining a minister for Virginia! It seemed like a memorial to the Reverend James Anderson for it had been exactly seven weeks since this church had lost him by death. A major lifetime interest for James Anderson had been his desire to see the Gospel preached to the people in the Colony of Virginia. To that end, let us remember, he had been ordained by Irvine Presbytery before leaving his native land.

As usual the presbytery appointed one of its number to make the Proclamation, thrice made at the door of the church, if any knew of objection why it should not do so, the Presbytery of Donegal was about to proceed with the ordination of Probationer John Craig. There was no objection made, for that the clerk could not have omitted.

In the absence of the aging Rev. William Bertram, who had been appointed by the Ordination Committee, his alternate, Rev. Richard Sanckey, presided.

They praised God in song from the Scottish Psalter and with united heart poured out their supplications to God, imploring divine blessing upon the candidate and God's concurrence with them in this great undertaking of proclaiming the Gospel by regular pastor in the heart of a distant wilderness in a colony where the law had not allowed such freedom of worship for many years!

Mr. Sanckey preached the ordination sermon from Jeremiah 3:15, "And I will give you pastors according to mine own heart, which shall

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 169 gives an example of an Edict.

feed you with knowledge and understanding." He gathered presbytery around ". . . Setting Mr. Craig apart, by imposition of hands &c. to ye work of ye holy ministry in ye Congreg'n on ye South part of Beverley Mannor in viriginia."¹²

TINKLING SPRING THE CENTER

When the Reverend James Anderson preached at the home of John Lewis in 1738 only eleven people in the entire settlement had procured titles for their lands from William Beverley, though land had been available for reasonable rates for more than two years. Immediately following Anderson's visit, and his instigating the organization of a Christian Society, the legal land owners doubled in number. At the time of John Craig's supply work in the winter of 1739-40, the heads of families owning the land on which they lived totaled thirty-seven. From the first of April, 1740, when John Craig made known his choice of the call of the "Inhabitants at Shenadore and South River," until the first of April two years later there were fifty settlers who bought the lands on which they were to make their homes.¹³ In fact within ninety days after Craig's choice was known, there appeared in Orange County Court more than fifty heads of families to "prove their importation" in order to qualify for legal ownership of land.¹⁴ Some of these had been in the Valley more than three years. Along with the supply of qualified spiritual leadership, the records reveal a concerted move on the part of the people to make their wilderness settlements into permanent homes.

Of the ninety-two heads of families in Beverley Manor who recorded their deeds in Orange County,¹⁵ prior to the organization of the Augusta Court, about half of them attached themselves to the Tinkling Spring Meeting House in the south part of Beverley Manor on South River, while the remaining half were scattered in at least three other community centers.

Presbytery minutes point to the south part of Beverley Manor as being the center. Donegal Presbytery minutes refer to all the work in the

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹³See list Appendix A, II.

¹⁴Orange County Court Records, Order Book II, 155-59, 205-18, 225. Most of these came from Ireland through the Province of Pennsylvania to the Valley of Virginia.

¹⁵Orange County Court Records, Deed Books III-VII, IX.

Societies of Presbyterian persuasion on both sides of the Blue Ridge in Virginia as in "the back parts of Virginia."¹⁶ The general terms of those minutes, "people of Shenadore," "Irish Tract," "Beverley Manor," refer rather clearly to the territory covered by the "Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation." It was for this Society that Robert Poag and Daniel Denniston spoke, "in ye name of the people of Shenadore," at the meeting of presbytery when John Craig was ordained.

A more specific place, named in the call to Craig and in its acceptance, was "South part of Beverley Manor" or "South River." In the ordination of John Craig it was specified that he was set apart to the work of the holy ministry in the congregation in the south part of Beverley Manor. This is the section that after Craig's arrival selected its building site at Tinkling Spring.

The leader, John Lewis, whose religious affiliations were in the south part of Beverley Manor, was evidently active in securing the services of a regularly settled minister; the presbytery minutes, immediately following the record of the ordination service read, "Ordered that Mr. Thomson write an answer to Mr. Lewiss lettr."¹⁷ It may be that John Lewis was reserving land for the minister's home adjacent to his own home on Lewis Creek, for in the description of his own boundary of land, recorded in Orange County prior to any minister preaching in the settlement, there is a reference to one boundary line running with a line of the "Glebe Lands."¹⁸ It was on this land that Craig later made his home, and shared a 335-acre farm with a brother whose name we are unable to identify. Other prominent leaders among the "people of the Shenadore" that worshiped in the southern part of Beverley Manor included: Campbell, Christian, Kerr, Finley, Preston, Stuart, Bell, Alexander, Thompson, Patton and others.

The present joy of Tinkling Spring people in worshiping in a quiet secluded spot as contrasted with the busy thoroughfare, strange as it seems, was not the case at the beginning. The tinkling spring was near the crossing of the roads.

The first official clearing for a road in Augusta County was made from *west* to *east*, which might be described as an effort to cut a road

¹⁶Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 183, 233, 243, 246.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹⁸Orange Deed Book, *op. cit.*, III, 83.

out from the wilderness-settlement! Mr. Philip Fithian, a young itinerant minister, relates in 1776 of Mr. John Trimble that:

. . . He has been a Resident here forty two Years; & til' Years after he came, he assures me there was no Road for more than seventy Miles downwards, other than the narrow, almost impervious Paths made through the lonely Forests by Buffaloes, & Indians!¹⁹

Mr. Trimble, no doubt, had a hand in the petition of the inhabitants to the Orange County Court on February 22, 1739 to ". . . mark & Lay of a road from John Trimble's or thereabouts by or nigh George Robinsons to the top of the blue ridge. . . ." Four months later, after an intervening court consideration, the record relates, on June 27th, that:

John Poage, David Davis and George Hutchison having according to an Order of Court viewed and laid off a road from Beverley Mannor and made return of their proceedings to Court its ordered that the said road be cleared according to the Report made by the said Viewers—viz't—That the said road be cleared from John Youngs at the North Mountain to the Top of the blue ridge to the bounds of Goochland County.²⁰

The road described in these orders went from near the western point of Beverley Manor to the eastern, dividing the manor into two approximately equal parts. This road beginning at John Young's, near North Mountain on Back Creek, south of John Trimble's, is not specifically identified in the central Valley, except possibly on Moses Thompson's line near Christian's Creek, but on South River is definitely located near George Robinson's land and by Samuel Gay's house. If the road followed the natural water courses between these known points, and passed equally convenient to the various small settlements for their best use, its course on the present-day map would be located near these well-known points: Sugar Loaf Mountain, Arbor Hill, Folly Mills, Tinkling Spring, Dooms and Jarman's Gap.

This would place the road definitely in the neighborhood of the tinkling spring. In view of Tinkling Spring becoming later a division point between sections in the first public road²¹ through Augusta, it is believed the roads crossed in that vicinity. It is certain that this road

¹⁹*Philip Vickers Fithian, Journal, 1775-1776* (R. G. Albion and L. Dodson, editors; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1924), p. 172.

²⁰Orange Order Book, *op. cit.*, I, 420; II, 3.

²¹*Ibid.*, IV, 331.

passed the home of Samuel Gay,²² about where the village of Dooms is now located, and passing through Woods Gap (now Jarman's Gap) went down Lickinghole Creek by the home of Michael Woods and on through his settlement on the Mechum River,²³ toward the James River and Williamsburg.

Local roads occupied the attention of the Orange County Court, "Thursday, the 26th Day of July 1744," when they ordered that:

A Road be cleared from Finley's Mill to the Tinkling Spring and thence to McCords Mill That John Finley and Archibald Stewart, John Christy and Robert Cunningham oversee the Same and that Jame Patton, Gent lay off their precincts and appoint their several gangs . . .

A road be layd off from Picken's Mill to the Tinkling Spring and that Andrew Russell and William Hutchison view & lay off the Same and make return to the next Court.²⁴

The road of more significance and greater interest is the buffalo path that Indian travel beat into a trail and the early settlers enlarged into "The Great Road," changing and improving it, of course, as necessity demanded. This north-south footpath of early days, known in history as "The Great Road" or "The Great Trading Path" or "The Indian Road," was the route which the Confederation of The Five (later Six) Nations, mightiest of all Indian organizations in North America, followed from their habitats in the Lake Champlain and Genesee Valley regions on their far-flung trading, hunting and warring-party raids on opposing Indian tribes. It appears that the interests of the whites and the Indians clashed on this route in each of its several locations. The First Treaty of Albany, in 1687, between the Governor of Virginia and the Sachems of the Five Nations moved the road for Indian travel from the Virginia rivers falls-line westward to the foothills of the Blue Ridge. The Second Treaty of Albany, in 1722, shifted this route westward again, this time into the Valley of Virginia. In the Treaty of Lancaster, in 1744, the Indians finally relinquished, for 400 pounds sterling, their claims on the land of the Valley but complained that they

²²Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 88, citing facts from Thomas Lewis' Journal.

²³F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 28.

²⁴Orange Order Book, *op. cit.*, IV, 172.

had had to move their route for southern travel further west to the foothills of the "Great [Alleghany] Mountains" and asked permission to use "the road which was last made," to which the Virginia commissioners agreed.²⁵

The location of this road is shown at strategic points on the original map of Maryland and Virginia made by Colonel Joshua Fry, Professor of Mathematics at William and Mary and Colonel Peter Jefferson, father of President Thomas Jefferson, in the year 1751.²⁶ Leaving Philadelphia the road went through the present location of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, turned southwest and crossed the Potomac at Williamsferry (now Williamsport, Maryland) and continued south by the present site of Winchester, Virginia. It kept to the east in the Shenandoah Valley, then down Mill Creek and across North River of the James, at Gilbert Campbell's Ford, and on toward Roanoke, turning southward just west of Tinkers Creek on the outskirts of the present city of Roanoke, and proceeded thence into the Yadkin River Valley in North Carolina.²⁷

In an Orange County Court order, dated 23rd of May, 1745, the Augusta County people were authorized to make the first improvements upon this road, where it fell within the bounds of the new county. The report of the commissioners is as follows:

James Patton and John Buchanan, Gent. having viewed the way from Frederick County Line through that part of this county called Augusta according to the order made at last March Court made in these words, "Pursuant to an Order of Orange Court dated the thirtieth Day of March 1745 we the subscribers have viewed laid off and Marked the said road mentioned in the said Order as followeth viz"—To begin at Tom's Brook at Frederick County Line and go from thence to Benjamin Allen's Ford and Robert Colwell's Path and . . . that the said Road be continued from Colwell's Path Cross Beard's Ford on the North River and Alexander Thompson's Ford on the Middle River and . . . that said Road continue from Thompson's Ford to the Tinkling Spring and that James Cathey and James Carr be Overseers of that Part and that all the Inhabitants between

²⁵Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement of Virginia, 1722-1734," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 13:5-6, July, 1905; William G. Stanard, editor, "The Treaty of Lancaster, 1744," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 13:141-42, October, 1905; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Printed by Theophilus Fenn, 1851-1852), IV, 711-21; Preston Davie letter VI, 17-21.

²⁶Joshua Fry, A Map of the inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina, drawn by Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson in 1751 (London: Engrav'd and Published according to Act of Parliament by Thos. Jefferys).

²⁷Charles E. Kemper, "Historical Notes from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia," Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, *Historical Papers and Addresses*, 25:151, December, 1921.

the mountains above Thompson's Ford & Tinkling Spring do clear the Same and that the said Road continue from Tinkling Spring to Beverley Manor line and that Patrick Campbell John Buchanan and William Henderson be Overseers and that all the Inhabitants above Tinkling Spring and Beverley Manor line do clear the same and that the said Road continue from Beverley Manor line to Gilbert Campbell's Ford on the North Branch of James River and . . . that the Road continue from Gilbert Campbell's Ford to a ford at the Cherry Tree Bottom on James River and . . . that a Distinct Order be Given to every Gang to Clear the Same and that it be cleared as it is already Blazed and Laid off with Two Notches and A Cross—Given under our hands this 8th Day of April 1745 James Patton—John Buchanan.—

Whereupon it is Ordered that the said way be from henceforth established a Public Road . . .

At a Court for Orange County on Thursday the 23rd day of May in the Eighteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second by the grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland Defender of the faith . . . anno Domini M D CCXLV . . .²⁸

Though the strong will of the preacher often clashed with the equally strong-willed settlement leaders residing in the south part of Beverley Manor, his statement falls in line with the evidence and seems definitely conclusive in the matter of the center of the settlement. Craig's Autobiography says, "That part Now called Tinkling Spring was most in Number & . . . had ye publick management of ye affairs of ye whole settlement . . ."²⁹

CRAIG REGULARLY SETTLED

Dr. Foote, the historian says, "Mr. Craig was the first Presbyterian minister regularly settled in the Colony of Virginia";³⁰ and the statement regarding his charge, "the first Presbyterian Church regularly settled in the Colony of Virginia,"³¹ is, by Dr. B. M. Smith, attributed to Craig himself. Though these statements have been challenged, with a strict interpretation of the word "regular" they are unassailable. It is most interesting to observe how carefully every step in the whole proceeding in Craig's settlement was carried out according to "regular" Presbyterian principle. There was the official call properly supported with a legally binding subscription list. The presbytery placed the call in the candidate's hands after being properly drawn up at the order of

²⁸Kegley, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44, citing Orange Order Book, *op. cit.*, IV, 331.

²⁹Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³⁰William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 28.

³¹Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:464, October, 1852.

presbytery. He formally accepted the call and, after finishing his trial parts with approval, was ordained to preach the gospel in the Shenandoah congregation, with representatives Poag and Denniston taking "on them the engagements made by the people at installations,"³² Craig seems to confirm this last fact about his installation by saying in his Autobiography that he "was ordain'd as their Pastor & Received by their Commissioners."³³ He was indeed "regularly" called, ordained and installed to a degree of exactness not previously recorded of his noble Presbyterian predecessors in Virginia, though he was not the first Presbyterian pastor who had lived in Virginia.

Though the forms were regular, there was yet ahead of Craig the matter of his getting "settled." He says, in part:

when I came to the people of my charge they Received me in a Most friendly Manner . . . the place was a New Settlement, with out place of worship, or any church order, A wilderness in a proper Sense and a few Christians Settled in it.³⁴

He found lodging in the home of a settler and was soon at work as a wilderness parson. The calls were so urgent and irregular, particularly for ministering to the sick, that he soon felt himself a burden upon his host. Being unhappy in this situation, sixteen months after his arrival, he purchased, on February 18, 1742, a plantation,³⁵ where he began to make improvements. Here as a neighbor to John Lewis, living at his newly acquired plantation on Lewis Creek, he kept bachelor's quarters for about two years. On June 11, 1744 he married, in Pennsylvania, Miss Isabella Helena Russell:

. . . a young Gentle woman of a Good family & Character, Born & brought up in ye Same Neighbourhood where I was born . . . Having prepared a little house we Sett up housekeeping having Neither Servant Nor Slave to help us, only Employing hirelings when we could find them; the toil of Serving our Selves we Estem'd No Burden.³⁶

The Craig Autobiography relates further, that:

To chuse a Session to please ye people & my Self and to unite their affections when ordain'd cost me much thought and labour and God granted that Blessing

³²Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America, from its origin until the year 1760* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 463.

³³Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁵Orange Deed Book, *op. cit.*, VII, 125.

³⁶Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

also which was the Strength & Stay of ye congregation. it was large by computation about thirty miles in lenth & Near twenty in breath the people agreed to have two Meeting houses Expecting they would become two congregations . . . (this prior to my Relation to them).³⁷

It seems apt to report here the close ties that existed between the family of the Reverend John Craig and his Tinkling Spring congregation. When Craig went to Pennsylvania to be married on June 11, 1744, he took with him a Tinkling Spring Elder, William Johnston, who with his pastor attended the meeting of Donegal Presbytery the following day. Some years later this same Johnston family and the Craig family joined in a happy occasion when each had sons to be baptized. It was done together on Sunday, May 1st, 1748, when the Craigs baptized the father's namesake, John, Jr. The sacrament of baptism was administered that Sunday, an elder and the pastor being participants, no doubt at Tinkling Spring. Two of the Craig daughters, Mary and Patience, married members of the Tinkling Spring congregation and they with their husbands lie buried in the old cemetery. It was the father's farewell sermon, at the dissolution of the pastoral relation at Tinkling Spring, of which his children requested a copy. With some reluctance he supplied it to them. Above the date, December the 5th, 1767, and his signature, was a personal note attached to "My dear children." The body of the note speaks of them as ". . . now gone from under my care as a minister . . ."³⁸ At the date of writing, 1767, only Mary, the oldest child, was married and George, the next in age living, was only eighteen years old. It sounds as if some of the family may have continued to worship at Tinkling Spring. Subsequent events, though not conclusive, tend to point in the same direction. Joanne Craig later married, as Patience had done, into the Hamilton family of the Tinkling Spring congregation. When George Craig came to be married in 1792, though the young lady was not from that church, the Tinkling Spring pastor performed the ceremony and in later years baptized their children. Evidently George Craig was part of the congregation.

JOHN CRAIG'S LARGER PARISH

The old "Triple Forks of the Shenando" congregation, that called and settled Rev. John Craig, developed two centers of worship and

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁸Quoted from a note at the conclusion of John Craig's farewell sermon at Tinkling Spring. Cited from photocopy in the writer's materials.

decided to build two meeting houses. Eleven miles north of Tinkling Spring, under the leadership of the Allens, Andersons, Givens, Poages and others, there grew a center of worship coordinate with Tinkling Spring. Though it appears to have begun in a pole building, it came to be called officially by presbytery "Stone Meeting House in Augusta." Mr. Craig wrote of it in 1770 as the "Augusta Meeting House." The present name "Augusta Stone" seems to have come from a combination of the two.

The first worshippers in the temporary pole building (said to have been located in the old cemetery near Ft. Defiance, Virginia) were scattered over a wide area along the lower Middle River and on North River of the South Fork of the Shenandoah. As early as 1742 Salem Chapel, about ten miles to the north (its site and old cemetery now under the lake in Dayton, Virginia), was having its own services within Mr. Craig's congregation. This work grew into the Cook's Creek Meeting House after a building was erected several miles to the north beyond Mr. Craig's congregational area. In 1745 the Peaked Mountain Meeting House, about ten miles to the northeast of Augusta Stone, had been constructed in the congregation and was requesting supplies from presbytery. To the northwest the Mossy Creek section was so distant from the first building that they began services in that section. Their efforts resulted later in the organization of the Mossy Creek Meeting House, near present Mt. Solon, Virginia.³⁹

If this expanse of territory and the meeting houses it sponsored indicate the early strength of Augusta Stone Meeting House, even to a greater degree is her strength revealed by the organization that was left when the people of these meeting houses had separated from her.

In 1772 John Poage deeded twenty-seven acres of land that he had patented in 1769 to "the Congregation of Augusta or Stone Meeting House," whose session was composed of the following: John Anderson, Robert Poage, Alexander Blair, James Allen, Sr., Alexander Walker, Michael Dickey, James Henderson, Andrew McComb, James Allen, Jr. and George Moffett. Lexington Presbytery minutes list other elders from the church prior to 1800 as follows: Thomas Frame, John Camp-

³⁹Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1757-1769, pp. 30, 31; Charles E. Kemper, "The Early History of the Peaked Mountain Presbyterian Church, Rockingham County, Virginia," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 10:17-23, March, 1919: L[izzie] G. R[obeson], *A Sketch of Mossy Creek Church, Mossy Creek, Virginia, From 1769-1898* (Bridgewater, Virginia: G. Richard Berlin, Label and Commercial Printer, 1898), 32 pp.

bell, Joseph Bell, William Young, John Emmet and Alexander Nelson.⁴⁰

The Peaked Mountain and Salem Chapel people were in Mr. Craig's congregation according to his record of baptisms. However, the defection from "the congregation" and Mr. Craig became definite when the Cook's Creek and Peaked Mountain Meeting Houses requested the Synod of Philadelphia in 1756 to receive as a member, and install as their pastor, the Reverend Alexander Millar. They received him in 1757, in spite of a question raised concerning his character, and ordered Mr. Craig to install him before August 1, 1757. Synod set the bounds between his and Mr. Craig's congregation. Whatever may have been their divisions and difficulties, it seems very certain from Mr. Craig's records that he served both of these communities for many years with gospel preaching and the ordinances of the church.⁴¹

Immediately upon the completion of the ordination of Mr. Craig on September 3, 1740, the Presbytery of Donegal took knowledge of its responsibility to other Presbyterian dissenters in Augusta County by the following order:

. . . at the request of ye people of North mountain and Burdins Tract, Mr. Craig is ordered to Supply them one Sab: in two months, & as many week days as he can, & that he be as Serviceable on week days in these parts as he can . . .⁴²

The North Mountain Meeting House was about eleven miles west of Tinkling Spring. Mr. Craig was faithful to his charge in serving them. On Tuesday, December 9, 1740, he baptized children "at North Mountain" and a year later baptized a larger number "at North Mountain meeting house."⁴³ In the first decade of his ministry in the Valley, the period covered by his record of baptisms, within the homes and meeting house at North Mountain he baptized children from nearly fifty families.⁴⁴ A few years after Mr. Craig arrived, there was a movement on the border of the North Mountain and Tinkling Spring con-

⁴⁰Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted From the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), III, 526-27; Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, I, 26 *et seq.*

⁴¹John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, pp. 6, 14, 16, 22, 27, 30, 38, 44; Delemon L. Beard, "Origin and Early History of Presbyterianism in Virginia," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1932), pp. 264-69; *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), pp. 217, 222, 224.

⁴²Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

⁴³Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 11.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 11, 17-18, 29, 32-34, 37, 42-44.

gregations to build a new meeting house "near Capt Browns."⁴⁵ In the Augusta County Court, February 16, 1748-9, the Reverend Alexander Cummings, a dissenting minister, took the oaths of allegiance required. This action was followed immediately by the report of a new meeting house having been built near John Brown's, which was ordered received as a place of public worship.⁴⁶ With the passing of time the center of population for the congregation at North Mountain shifted and about 1779 another building was erected and called Bethel. "When the congregation moved to Bethel . . . North Mountain gradually fell into disuse as a meeting house . . ."⁴⁷ Thus North Mountain, parent organization to Bethel and Brown's Meeting Houses, had its beginning along with the earliest churches in the Valley and was a specific assignment of supply work for Mr. Craig at the very beginning of his ministry.

On the west of Tinkling Spring, in addition to North Mountain and beyond it, were the settlers on the Cow and Calf Pasture Rivers, where Mr. Craig served in this early period.⁴⁸ Out of that beginning grew within a few years the churches of Windy Cove on Cow Pasture River and Rocky Spring on Calf Pasture River.

To the southwest of Tinkling Spring were the Borden Tract settlements on the waters of the James River, and the frontier beyond the James, where Mr. Craig ministered. In the former, approximately fifteen miles to the southwest, he preached and administered the sacraments "at South Mountain Meeting House" as early as 1743.⁴⁹

Beyond South Mountain was the "timber Grove meeting house in Burdon's Land" where on Sunday, October 18, 1741, seven families had babies baptized. Here Craig continued to serve for some years in a temporary structure they called a meeting house.⁵⁰ Still further to the southwest was the "north Branch of James' River" where on the first recorded visit, Thursday and Friday, October 15-16, 1741, Mr. Craig baptized ten children from seven homes. This ministry was largely in homes, it appears, and continued irregularly for some years.⁵¹ Out of this effort was organized the Falling Spring Meeting House about 1748.

⁴⁵Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26.

⁴⁶Augusta County Court Records, Order Book II, 76-77.

⁴⁷Herbert S. Turner, *Bethel and Her Ministers, 1746-1946* ([n.p.: n.n.], 1946), p. 29.

⁴⁸Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 33, 43.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 23, 30, 33, 42.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 11, 30, 33, 42.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 11, 43.

When urgent requests for supplies came from the back parts of Virginia in the spring of 1741, the Presbytery of Donegal sent Mr. Alexander McDowell as a licentiate to supply vacancies during the summer. Several places renewed their requests for supplies in the fall of 1741, asking that if possible an ordained minister be sent immediately. "Pby resolve to grant their request, agreed y't on the last Wednesday of 8ber mr McDowel be ordained sine titulo, in order to Itinerate pro tempore in Virginia." As a result of this supply work, supplementing that of Mr. Craig, the Presbytery of Donegal received "a Call from the Head of Shenadoe & James River" and, on June 15, 1742, presented it to Mr. McDowell. After three months consideration Mr. McDowell declined the call to Virginia and ultimately turned to the New Side Presbytery of New Castle for his work. Evidently the meeting house groups of North and South Mountain on the "Head of Shenadoe," and Timber Grove, North Branch and Forks of James on the "James River" had united in the call to Mr. McDowell. North and South Mountain later joined in a call when Donegal Presbytery in 1745 unanimously voted to "Transport" Rev. Samuel Black, after his acceptance, and installed him as their regular pastor. However, after presbytery had adjourned, Mr. Black faced "some other Circumstances" that caused him to refuse to move to Virginia. For this disobedience he was "reproved" publicly by presbytery. Presbytery proceeded to "dissolve" this first official pastoral relationship established at North and South Mountain Meeting Houses—a relationship that had not been consummated in fact.⁵²

Possibly it was with this background of an Old Side minister, John Craig, spreading his ministry over such unreasonable distances, and other Old Side ministers refusing calls to the area, that the newly organized New Side Synod of New York, in their first meeting, September 19, 1745, took note of:

The circumstances of Virginia being brought under consideration, and the wide door that is opened for the preaching of the gospel in these parts, with a hopeful prospect of success, the Synod are unanimously of the opinion, that Mr. [William] Robinson is the most suitable person to be sent among them, and accordingly they do earnestly recommend it to him to go down and help them as soon as his circumstances will permit him, and reside there for some months.⁵³

The minutes of the New Side Presbytery of New Castle for this peri-

⁵²Donegal Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-27, 233-34, 242-44, 294-97, 303-4.

⁵³Records, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

od have been lost, but concerning the next itinerant the Virginia historian, Dr. William H. Foote, relates:

Mr. John Blair visited the Valley and places east of the Ridge in 1745, and again in 1746; and during his last visit organized the congregations of North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, and Forks of James.

After this, visits were frequent; and the congregation made efforts for stated ministers.⁵⁴

If it is true that Mr. Blair did the technical organizing of these churches, he did so where Christian Societies had been commenced and supplied by Rev. John Craig in the years previous to and following 1746. His work in Borden's Tract was bearing fruit even though under the leadership of New Side ministers. In confirmation of the official status into which these meeting houses had entered, they contacted the Augusta County Court May 20, 1748, and the court, after administering the oath of allegiance to the Reverend Andrew McKay, ordered, "Certified that Presbyterian meeting houses have been built at Timber Ridge, at New Providence, and Falling Spring."⁵⁵

The labors of Mr. Craig carried him in that first decade, at least on one trip, as far to the southwest as the present city of Roanoke, Virginia. He baptized two children "at North River—Joins James" Tuesday, February 28, 1749, then three children "at North River" Wednesday, March 1st. Three days later he was "at Luny's Mill Creek" and on Sunday, "near Catapa," he recorded the baptism of two children. Tuesday, March 7, 1749, he baptized three children "near Great Lick," then returned by way of "Tinkers Creek," "James River, Luny," "North River James's," "Calf pasture," "Cow pasture" and "North Mountain" baptizing children in each place.⁵⁶

To the southeast of Tinkling Spring about fifteen miles, but beyond the Blue Ridge, was "Rockfish meeting house" where Mr. Craig supplied frequently before the arrival of the Reverend Samuel Black. After Mr. Black's unfortunate experience over the transfer to North and South Mountain in 1745, he was reinstated in his old pastorate at Conewago, but was soon in trouble with them again. It appears that he then removed to Virginia to do supply work (the details are not available since

⁵⁴William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850), I, 119.

⁵⁵Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 35, citing Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, II, 20.

⁵⁶Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

presbytery's minutes have been lost), but he was residing in Mr. Craig's congregation when called to Mountain Plains and Rockfish congregations March 29, 1747. This call he accepted and settled east of the Blue Ridge where he remained until about 1759.⁵⁷

Soon after his arrival in the Valley, John Craig records a twenty-five or thirty mile trip east to the Buck Mountain home of John Caldwell, his friend from Chestnut Level, Pennsylvania, who now lived east of the Blue Ridge. This friend is the elder whose seed-thought of civil and religious liberty for the Scotsmen in the back parts of Virginia was an essential element in the movement that set up the two new counties and the new religious policy beyond the Blue Ridge in Virginia. He was not yet the leader of the Cub Creek settlement as the historian of that settlement and church conjectures, but was living northeast of Woods Gap on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge. On Craig's trips "over the Ridge" he passed through Woods Gap where he served the Woods settlement.⁵⁸ The John Caldwell family group appear to have moved about 1741 or 1742 to the Charlotte County settlement on Cub Creek, where they became leaders of a notable Presbyterian settlement. The Woods family joined others in establishing the Mountain Plains Meeting House on Mechum River. This church joined Rockfish in 1747 in calling Mr. Black.

This larger parish that John Craig served reached from Massanutten Mountain in the present Rockingham County to the city of Roanoke, Virginia; from Windy Cove on the Cow Pasture River in the Alleghany Mountains, to Buck Mountain on the headwaters of the South Fork of Rivanna River, east of the Blue Ridge. Within this territory there are thirteen Southern Presbyterian Churches that have already celebrated their bicentennial. John Craig did difficult groundwork in every one of these places prior to the forming of organizations! The minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1952, record these churches with their founding dates on its rolls as:⁵⁹

Augusta Stone, 1740, a part of the Shenando Congregation.

Tinkling Spring, 1740, South River section of the Shenando Congregation.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 17; Edgar Woods, *History of Albemarle County in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, Printers, 1901), p. 362.

⁵⁸Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7, 17.

⁵⁹*Presbyterian Church in the United States, Minutes of the Ninety-Second General Assembly* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1952), pp. 348 *et seq.*

His Latin diploma is translated as follows:

We, the Professors at the Royal University of Edinburgh, declare by this testament that John Craig, a noble youth of Scotland, learned in wisdom, integrity, industry and manners, and having finished his course with us and honorably performed all the accustomed exercises prescribed him, Therefore the Senate of the University freely confers on him the degree of Master of Arts, as a remuneration which we are accustomed to confer as a privilege on those who receive the honor of Master of Arts. On account of which we have Placed the great seal of the renowned Senate. We, the President and Professors in our Athens declare by placing our signatures at Edinburgh in the Kallands qf March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

The Latinized and abbreviated names and titles of chairs held by the professors signing the diploma are, according to the Registrar of the University, as follows:

James Smith, Principal, and Professor of Divinity.
Matthew Crawford, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History.
William Scott, Professor of Moral Philosophy.
Robert Stewart (Sir), Professor of Natural Philosophy.
Colin Drummond, Professor of Greek.
Colin McLaurin, Professor of Mathematics.
John Stevenson, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics.
Adam Watt, Professor of Humanity. (Latin)
Robert Henderson, Librarian and Archivist.

Cook's Creek (Salem), 1742, a part of the Shenando Congregation.
Massanutten Cross Keys, 1747, a part of the Shenando Congregation,
was for a short time called Peaked Mountain.

Bethel, 1746, formerly a part of North Mountain.

Hebron, 1746, formerly Brown's Meeting House.

New Monmouth, 1746, formerly the Forks of James.

New Providence, 1746, formerly a part of South Mountain.

Timber Ridge, 1746, formerly Timber Grove.

Rocky Spring, 1746, located on Calf Pasture.

Rockfish, 1747, on Rockfish River, Nelson County, Virginia.

Falling Spring, 1748, formerly North River, Joins James.

Windy Cove, 1749, located on Cow Pasture.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Presbyterian Meeting House

THE first act in Tinkling Spring's becoming a meeting house was the act of the people of Beverley Manor, as they sent a petition to Donegal Presbytery in 1737. The result of their action was the forming of the Christian Society, "The Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation," which called Rev. John Craig as their pastor. The exact time this congregation became officially and technically a Presbyterian congregation set in order with officers is not recorded.

THE CONGREGATION

The old minute book of the South Side of this congregation, following the title page, sets forth the first recorded action of the people, with the signatures of many of them, as follows:

Know all men by these presents yt ye undernamed subscribers do nominate and appoint & Constitute our trusty & welbeloved friends Colonel Jas Patton J[ohn] Finly George Hutchison Jno Christian Alex'r Breckenridge to manage our publick affairs to Chuse & purchase a piece of ground to build our meeting [house] upon it to Collect our ministers Sallary and to pay of all Charges Relating to [our] affairs to gett pay of the people in proportion for this & to place Seats in ye meeting house wch we Do hereby promise to Reimburse them they allways gi[ving] us amonths warning by an adwerisment on ye meeting house Door and amajori[ty of] the above five persons providing all be apprised of theire meeting their acti[on] Shall Stand & these persons above named Shall be accountable to ye minister [&] Session twice Every yeare for all theire proceedings Relating to the whole [affair] to wch we Subscribe our names in the presents of the Re'd Mr. Jno Craig

August ye 14th 1741 Coppa Vera

WILLM HENDERSON	JNO LEWIS	JAS CALDWELL
WM FINLEY	ROB'T PALMER	JNO BLACK
ROB'T CONNINGHAM	GEO CALDWELL	THO BLACK
AN'D RUSSELL	GABRIL ALEXANDER	JNO DAVIDSON
JAS DAVISON	ALEXANDER H[ENDERSON]	THO HENDERSON
RANDAL McDONNALL	SAM HENDERSON	GEO CAMPBELL
WM JONSTON	WM WRIGHT	ISAC MCCOLLOUGH
JAS KERR	WM LOGAN	MOSES THOMPSON
DAVID EDMISTON	JAS BELL	ANTHONY BLACK
JAS MCCLURE	THOMAS BELL	THO BELL
JOSEPH TEAS	JNO THOMPSON	WM LONG ¹

¹Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 2; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted From the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), I, 297.

THE COMMISSIONERS

The next page of the minutes reveals the manner in which the people proposed to undertake, by an executive group called commissioners, the constructing and supporting of the church and paying the pastor. The record follows:

We whose names are hereunto Subscribed being appointed Commissioners to chuse & buy aplot of ground to build a meeting house upon it to place seats to Colect the ministers salary to Levy the Charges from the Sundery persons in Sd Congration we do Hereby promise & oblige our Selves to Pay our proportion of Sd Charges & to lay before the minister & Session atrewe State of all our Accounts Dr. Cr. As also of all our transactions Any Way Relating to the premises twice Every year & to give the Congration publick notice one month before any Demand be made on them for their proportion Appointing them time and place where & when And to whome of Sd Com'n they Shall pay the money whose receipts Shall be their Suffient Dicharge As Witness our hands before ye R'd Mr John Creage Agust ye 14th 1741

JAMES PATTON

JOHN FINLY

GEORGE HUTCHISON

JNO CHRISTIAN

ALEXANDER BREACKENRIDGE²

It is noted that the commissioners ". . . Shall be accountable to ye minister and Session twice Every yeare for all their proceedings Relating to the whole . . ."³

THE SESSION

Mr. Craig wrote of those early days:

To Chuse a Session to please ye people & my Self and to unite their affections when ordain'd Cost me much thought and Labour and God granted that Blessing also which was the Strength & Stay of ye Congregation.⁴

There is no record left to us of that first session, and the facts available from the old minute book and elsewhere do not support the presence on it of those whom tradition places there. There is, however, a session list that pre-dated any found among the early Presbyterian churches of

²Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 297. The duties of these commissioners appear to have been much the same as those of the Board of Deacons in the Presbyterian Church today.

³Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 28. The implication of this statement is that there was in the beginning "a Session" for "ye congregation." Let it be noted that Mr. Craig speaks here, as elsewhere, of the entire field as "ye congregation."

Virginia and is most certainly prior to 1748.⁵ The first session of record in the church is found in a joint action of the session and commissioners. The commissioners had lost, by the time of this action, two members: Alexander Breackenridge by death and John Finley by his elevation to the session. This action of the commissioners and session of Tinkling Spring Church, protesting the building of a new meeting house at Captain Brown's, supplies us with two historically valuable items, namely, the first complete list of church officers at Tinkling Spring, and also the pertinent facts about the founding of the church. The undated record, made prior to 1748, is as follows:

Gentlemen/ We the Session & Commition of the tinkling Spring Congration, is inform'd that Sum persons [is] very industrious going about to get Subscribers out of this Congration to Joyn them in a new Erection near Capt. Browns, which, practice if trew we for our Selves & in ye name of our members, Do Protest against as illegal and Contrary to ye Constitution of the Established kirk of Scotland for ye folowing Reasons Vz 1. on mature Delibèration, our Congregation, was bounded in an orderly way by ye voice of the inhabitants & at ye instance of ye Rev'd James Anderson, on which, there was a Reaglear Cal given, & our now minister obtained Who we belive has been in ye way of his Deuty as a pastur Ever Since his inauguration, 2. acording to our bounds we have built a meeting house as Convyniant to the whole as Conveniency would admit of, 3. Should we Loose or give way to aney of our members to Desert us & Joyn you we Could not be answerable to our Consituants & more So as it might Rend our Congregation & Disable us to Support a minister for ye futer, on ye whole we Cannot think you will insist or Ever Expect any of our Congregation to Joyn you or any other unless they obtain their Demition in an orderly way neither will any orderly minister you can procure give aney privileges who Leavs us unless they procure their Demitions as aforesaid, and as you Cannot Expect any of our Congregation to Joyn you no Doubt you'l place your house So as not [to] have aney Dependance on them or us

who are your Loving frends

COLO'LL JAMES PATTON }
 JAS ALEXANDER }
 WILLM WRIGHT } : Com's
 J[OS] T[EAS] }
 JNO CHRISTIAN }

GEORGE HUTCHISON }
 JAS KERR }
 JAMES GILASPEY } : Elders
 WILLM JOHNSTON }
 JON FINLO }⁶

⁵Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 37, cites the completion of Brown's Meeting House. Tradition places both John Lewis and John Preston on the Tinkling Spring session. John Lewis was not a member of that session. If John Preston was a member, there is no record left of it, but having died in 1747 about the time the session was listed, it is entirely possible that he might have been on that first session of which we have no record.

⁶Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 26. The presence of James Kerr in the Tinkling Spring Session raises a question since the Kerrs are traditionally Augusta Stone people. If there was one session for "ye congregation" he might have represented the Augusta Stone section, but the other uses of his name in subscription lists discount this possibility. However, his descendants have erected a stone to his memory in the old Augusta Stone cemetery, in which church he no doubt served in the latter years of his life.

SELECTING THE CHURCH SITE

The commissioners were entrusted with the entire control of all real estate, and receipts and disbursements of all funds, both for the church building and pastoral support. It was their specific duty to choose a site for the location and build a meeting house. They proceeded on April 13, 1742, to this task and:

. . . agreed yt ye meeting house Should be Set at ye tinkling Spring and furdor yt if any Suffacient number is Dissatisfied wth what is Done yt they will Give their Reasons in 15 Days in writting Why they are not Satisfy'd . . .⁷

There was dissatisfaction. The preacher wrote later that the people:

. . . Could not agree for Several years upon ye place or Manner where & how to build their meetinghouse, which Gave me very Great trouble to hold them together their Disputes Rose So high a Difference happened between Coll. John Lewis & Coll. James Patton both Living in that Congregation which Continued while they Liv'd . . .⁸

A persistent tradition has come down the centuries that the preacher himself had a very definite idea where that building should be placed.⁹ Though parts of that tradition can now be proved false, it is no doubt true that the location sought by Mr. Craig was nearer what is now Staunton than the site selected. Dr. B. M. Smith, writing a historical sketch of the church, states that:

. . . settlement of the vexed question was really made by the people . . . for it

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

⁹Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:465, October, 1852. Dr. Smith, pastor of Tinkling Spring Church, 1840-1845, relates in a footnote: "The tradition is, that having unsuccessfully plied the people in various portions of the congregation, Mr. Craig endeavoured to bring to his aid the influence of a member of the church whose residence was near the place selected by himself—Mr. John Pilson, whose great worth gave him a deserved influence among the people. Mr. Pilson, however, probably foreseeing the ultimate division of the congregation, and overlooking all considerations of personal convenience, resisted the importunity of Mr. Craig, who foiled in this last effort, retired from the contest, exclaiming it is said, 'Well John! You too, are against me. I give up. But never shall a drop of water from that spring *tinkle* down my throat.' He kept his word; and it is said; would spend from six to eight hours in the protracted services of sacramental seasons during the warmest weather, without ever tasting a drop of water from the tinkling spring." The authenticity of this succulent story is brought into question by three facts, namely, it is completely out of line with the predominant characteristics of the life of Mr. Craig; the first land owned in Augusta County by a Pilson was purchased in 1753 (ten years after the decision on the location of the church) by Richard Pilson and was located north of Waynesboro; and there is no Pilson name in the Tinkling Spring records until after 1765—and the name was not John. Mr. Craig specifically states that the difference was between John Lewis and James Patton.

appears the subject had been decided by vote, fifty-one votes having been cast for the Tinkling Spring and only fifteen for the place selected by Mr. Craig.¹⁰

Setting precedent for good Presbyterian procedure, they closed ranks and the unanimity is expressed in the commissioners' minutes:

It is Unanimously agreed by ye Com's that ye meeting house Shall be built at the tinkling Spring and that all former Disputes & proceedings is agreed and Done away and to buield a house 50 by 24 in the Cleare and the Ground Cill and the wall pleat Each to be of one piece with Eight Logs in Side wall the Least Log not to be Less than 12 Inches broad and that the whole affair is to be Carried on by the five Comm's

Signed per order

Sept. ye 28th 1742

JNO. CHRISTIAN Clk¹¹

This record of a unanimous decision to do away with "all former Disputes" and proceed to the Lord's business will ever stand as a contradiction to the tradition of an ugly spirited minister battling his people's decision by refusing to drink tinkling spring water to quench his thirst in a six or eight hour pre-sacramental service in mid-summer.

THE FIRST SANCTUARY

The first permanent structure at Tinkling Spring may be clearly visualized, even to some degree of detail, from the many references to it in the old minutes. The meeting house was probably located on the level spot of ground thirty yards northeast of the spring, between the front end of the Community Building and the old cemetery wall, where some think they can still identify the foundation stones. The small beginning of the cemetery was about sixty-five yards almost due west of the church, the southwest corner of the old cemetery, as we know it today.¹² There was a "Retiring house" but there is left no indication whatever of the location of this house. It was a part of the church plant and was probably near the spring for convenience.

The meeting house was rectangular in shape, measuring twenty-four by fifty feet.¹³ It had doors in the two ends, facing north and south, with the pulpit in the center of the fifty foot west side toward the spring. Presumably there were a number of small, high, horizontal

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 2:465, October, 1852.

¹¹Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹²William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 40.

¹³Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

windows, each having been formed by the removal of a section from a wall log. The window added in 1766 at the back of the pulpit toward the spring was a horizontal window measuring twenty-four by fifteen inches. These openings were framed and fitted with wooden shutters.¹⁴ The roof is not referred to as such, so it is judged to have been the commonly used clapboards and the cost included in the fee of the builder. Below the ground sills of the building there was done a careful job of underpinning by a stone-mason.¹⁵

The interior of the sanctuary was severely simple but being natural to the wilderness was most certainly a holy place for the worshippers. The floor was the ground over which the sanctuary was constructed.¹⁶ The pews were backless hand-made benches, probably small logs split with the smooth-hewn surface up and supported by wooden legs driven into auger holes. Only labor is listed in the cost of them.¹⁷ All the benches faced the center section of the church, where the pulpit was located against the west wall.

The pulpit space was six by eight feet, facing across the narrow width of the sanctuary. Its furnishings were primitive and only temporary, with the clerk's seat the only oddity the modern eye would notice. In the will of Colonel Patton, made September 1, 1750, he made provision to ". . . leave £10 out of the aforesaid debts [of the church to him] when Colected to be Layed out by the Minister only for a Pulpit & Pulpit Cloth."¹⁸ It was after Patton's death and Craig's removal, on May 27, 1766, that the session made a bargain with Edward Walton to build a pulpit to occupy a larger space. Their record is of interest:

In order to prepare for a pulpit to Be Erected in tinkling Spring meeting House twelve feet Square to Be groved & Lath'd at the Back of the pullpit the pulpit to Be made in the Same mode of the Church pulpit in town only the Clarks Seat to Be made Les & the pulpit to Be made about Six Inches Broader in the Back.¹⁹

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 28. This stone-mason, Alexander Douglas, did work for James Patton, as is shown in an Augusta County Court Judgment, 1749, Box 387, Bundle A. He was a member of Craig's congregation.

¹⁶The first title to this land given to a settler was given by William Beverley to William Thompson, 22 November 1744, Orange County Court Records, Deed Book IX, 205.

¹⁷Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Robert Black and John Hamilton worked 3 days making the benches. Cost of their labor was 7 shillings, 6 pence.

¹⁸James Patton's Will, original official copy in Augusta County File Box II, item 1 and recorded in Will Book II, 131-34.

¹⁹Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 52. The "Church pulpit in town" was the Established Church which, of course, had the traditionally divided pulpit with an altar.

This small sanctuary had a compact arrangement of its furnishings. There were 340 linear feet of backless benches, as compared with 440 in the present church sanctuary. There was no space for chimney or flue; in fact, the meeting house was without heating facilities! Even so, the minister's record of baptisms shows no decline during the winter months of severe cold!

THE PIONEERS' POWDER ROOM

When we realize that the pioneer family, particularly because of distances and the presence of Indians, attended Sabbath worship as a group, we become aware that the physical necessities, especially of those with little children, pressed them with demands that the single room meeting house and the surrounding wilderness could not possibly provide for adequately. There was provided at Tinkling Spring what they called "the Retiring house."²⁰ It was in this house that fire was kept on the Sabbath of worship. We know very little of the use of this building but the name suggests it might have been the fore-runner of the present day powder room. Through references to similar houses at other churches of that day, we learn that it was frequented by mixed groups.²¹ On one occasion the presbytery "retired to the little house" for an executive session.²² Such a house with its shelter and warmth was certainly used for many purposes, especially if available to both men and women. It was a great comfort in times of severe cold weather and a gathering place for groups at lunch in their all-day worship custom. This house for the pioneer mother, with all her absence of false modesty, where she could nurse and care for her infant child by a warm fire, must have been a Utopian refuge!

FINANCING THE FIRST BUILDING

After the unanimous agreement in the fall of 1742, the work must have been started on the new church structure at least by the following spring. By January 11, 1744/5, under the leadership of Colonel James Patton, the building had progressed far enough that bills had to be paid. Colonel Patton personally paid bills as they came due and on

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 26.

²¹Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, p. 270.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 127.

that date made an accounting with the commissioners. The minutes are as follows:

John Christian Wm Wright John Finley & James Alexander Comm'rs of the Tinkling Sprin Congregation to James Patton Drs

1744/5

11th Jany	To Wm Thomson for the Meeting house Land	16—	7"	7½ ²³	
	To David Edmonson for Drawing the Timber	5"	0"	0	
	To Alexander Douglass for underpinning the Meeting House	3—	15—	0	
	To Thomas Leech for Building the Meeting house	44"	17"	4	
	To James Trimble for Deeds & Surveying	0"	15"	0	
	To Robert Black and Jno Hamilton 3 Days Making Benches	0"	7"	6	
	To 182 feet of 2½ Inch Plank	0"	14"	0	
	To Hawling the same	0	2"	6	
					71: 18: 11½
the Just Ballance Due of ye above }		Due JP	49	2	0½
acount to Collo. Patton 5" 10" 8 }			22: 16: 11 ²⁴		

The commissioners having ordered him to pay the bills made official their plan for repayment in their February meeting:

Whereas Colo'll. James Patton by order of the Com'rs dispurs'd money to Thomas Leech for building the meeting house . . . It is agreed by a majority of the Com'rs that the money Received from the inhabitants for Sd use to be paid to Colo'll. James Patton in order to Discharge Leech for Sd work. Signed per order

Feb yue 7 1744

JNO CHRISTIAN²⁵

The church commissioners met March 1, 1743, in what was probably their first meeting after the election by the congregation of James Alexander as a commissioner, to replace Alexander Breckenridge, deceased. Having been commissioned by unanimous voice of the congregation, they were:

. . . unanimously agreed that Said Commisioners have power & authority to imploy and commissionate any person or persons whome they Shall think fit being members of this Cong'' to assist them for Collecting money . . .²⁶

²³The American colonies were using the English system of money with denominations of pounds (£), shillings (S), pence (D) and farthings.

²⁴Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The same will also be found on page 61 in the settlement of the accounts of the church with Colonel Patton's estate.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 20.

According to the original commission given by the congregation to these men, when they were at an expense in the work, the congregation pledged themselves in these words, “. . . we Do hereby promise to Reimburse them, they allways g[iving] us amonths warning by an adverisment on ye meeting house Door . . .”²⁷

With the meeting house partially built and Colonel Patton having paid the bills, the commissioners were in need of funds from the people. For the discharging of this responsibility according to the agreement with the congregation they displayed their “Adverisment,” including the “commissionated” assistant collectors, in a rare document that supplies the first full list of heads of families at Tinkling Spring.²⁸

DIFFICULTIES IN COMPLETING THE BUILDING

The implication of the record is clear. The church failed to operate smoothly, contention was rife and the financial program did not function. Colonel Patton went unpaid. The pastor’s salary was only partially paid. The building remained unfinished.

In John Craig’s record of baptisms, on Sunday, April 14, 1745, the note is added, “this being the first day we meet at the Contentious Meeting house about half built T. S.”²⁹ Writing later in his life’s story Craig says in part: “their Leaders proud Selfinterested Contentious & ungovernable all of them closshanded about providing Necessary things for pious or Religious uses.”³⁰ On the 9th of June in 1745, the record of baptisms carries a note that has its implication about Patton’s attendance at church. On the margin by the baptisms of that date is this note: “This day Coll. Patton appeared at meeting.”³¹

In the latter part of March 1746/7, in the spirit and custom of the Established Church, the commissioners sued delinquents. They left the record of the Augusta County Justices on that occasion as follows:

WHEREAS this 23d Day of march 1746/7 Came before us Peeter Scholl and James Mountgomry Justices for Agusta County Colo’ll. Jas. Patton John Finlow James Alexander William Wright and John Christian, Com’s for ye tinkling Spring Congratoration and complains that Andrew McClure is indebeted to them 1” 4” 0 [one pound, four shillings and no pence] for building ye tinkling

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15. See Appendix D, I.

²⁹John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, p. 24.

³⁰Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³¹Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Spring meeting house and on hearing plentive and Defendant we give Judgment ye Defendant Shall pay ye plentives 1" 4" 0 & Sevenpence halfpeny Costs of Sute . . .³²

In similar fashion they gave judgment for one pound, fourteen shillings and seven pence half penny against Andrew Kerr, William Smith, Robert Black and John Ramsey. Evidently William Kerr had paid twelve shillings demanded on that first "advertisment" quoted above, for the justices gave judgment "for 0" 12" 7½ costs abalance Dew by him for building the Sd meeting house."³³ The judgment continues to read:

Conditional judgment that James Armstrong shall pay 1" 4" 7½ Costs of Sute tourd building tinkling Spring meeting house providing he Cannot get an order of presbtry or Synod to be Releas'd from Sd Congration in twelve months after ye Deate hereof . . .³⁴

Conditional judgments were also given against William Knot [Nutt], John Miller and James McCaskel.

In January of 1748 the widow of John Preston, Elizabeth Patton Preston, contributed £16.13.10 "To Finishing the Tinkling Spring Meeting House by agreement."³⁵ What the agreement was we are not told. It is possible that it had some connection with the lands deeded to the church the previous November. Recorded in Augusta County,³⁶ November 19, 1747 is a tract of 110 acres of land sold by William Thompson for £15 to Tinkling Spring Commissioners. It included the present church site, being a corner of Thompson's 944 acre tract and adjacent to George Caldwell's land.

³²Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³³*Loc. cit.*

³⁴*Loc. cit.*

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁶Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book I, 444.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Tinkling Spring Polity and Worship

THE policy, used in the building program, of an equal assessment for each head of a family did not apply to the stipend for the minister's salary. Mr. Smith says:

It appears that with the "supplication" which formed the basis of the "call" on which Mr. Craig was settled, there was sent to the Presbytery a list of subscribers, with the amounts which they promised to pay on the 1st Sept., 1741, one year after the installation of Mr. C. This list is preserved. It contains about 70 names. The amount promised by each person is not always stated; but those of 46 persons, in sums varying from 5 shillings to 1 pound and ten shillings, makes up 33 pounds and 16 shillings. What the full amount promised may have been cannot now be ascertained. After twenty-four years' service, Mr. Craig reports the entire receipts from the South side of the congregation at £228 12s. 11d. 3f., an average of about £9 10s. per annum.¹

THE EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY

When the minister's salary was not forthcoming from the subscribers, the delinquents were sued. At the same time that Peter Scholl and James Montgomery, Augusta County Justices, meted out judgments to the delinquents on the building fund, as related above, there was presented by the commissioners a suit against Andrew Cowin, but the charge backfired. The unique experience is related in the minutes this way:

. . . Andrew Cowin being Call'd before us as amember of Sd Congr[egation] to pay twenty Shilling Steeponce Dew for foure years past he haveing made oath yt Mr. Caige never visit nor Exa[mine] him [on the Catechism] in that time nor Done his Deuty as a pastral minister to him ye Sd Cowin our Judgment is that he ye Sd Cowin pay nothing and yt Mr. Craig give ye Com'rs Credit for Sd Sume and Sevenpence halfpeny Costs of Sute . . . this Jutgment giving by order on this the 25 Day of March in the Yeair—1747—by our hands

PETER SCHOLL

JAMES MOUNTGOMRY²

An Augusta County Court Judgment of November, 1747, reveals the spirit of that day in forcing payment of subscriptions made for support

¹Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:464-65, October, 1852.

²Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 24.

of the meeting house and the pastor. Robert Turk was careful with the handling of his funds. When purchasing lands from William Beverley on South River below Waynesboro, he required Beverley to post an £80 bond that the title to the land was good. In the handling of his subscription to Tinkling Spring he was more than careful. His pledge of £1 per year to the support of Mr. Craig remained unpaid from 1741 through 1746. In 1747 the Tinkling Spring Commissioners took Mr. Turk into court and produced as evidence the agreement between the congregation and the commissioners to force the payment of Mr. Turk's subscription of £6. In like fashion Robert Christian was sued November, 1758, on the same charge for failing to pay the sixteen years last past.⁸

When the meeting house was finally usable and the minister's salary subscribed by the members was not being collected even after resorting to the courts, the commissioners set up a policy of rental of seats in the church, ranging from £1.12.6 down to £0.12.0, as a means of collecting the "ministers Stipend."

"At a meeting of ye Com'rs at ye tinkling Spring meeting house on ye 26th of Aprile 1748 then Rented ye Seats as foloweth."⁴ It is not possible from the facts available to learn where various families were seated. On the same day a sexton was employed and James Armstrong was pressed to complete his bargain in finishing his work on the meeting house. A small addition was authorized to be built immediately. We quote the minutes of the meeting for the detail:

At a meeting of ye Com'rs of ye tinkling Spring Congration, and it is agreed yt there should be a man Imploy'd at ye Expence of the Congration at ye Reate of fourty Shilings a yeare During pleasure to keep the meeting house Cleane to open and Shut the Doors and windows before and after Service and as often as thereunto Required by ye minister Elders or Comm'rs to bring in watter for Baptism and to find fireing for the Retiring house &c. it is funder agreed James Armstrong be wrote to to finish ye house acording to bargan by ye Last of June next at furdest on his Refusil or neglect yt Jno. Finlow James Alexander & John Christian or any two of them Shall agree with workmen to finish ye Sd work or to Doe any other worke they See needfull but in particular to build the Little addition on the South Side of ye house immediatly and funder that there should be adverisments Set up at ye meeting house to warn the people to pay

⁸Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted From the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), I, 297, 319.

⁴Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

theire Respective Sumes they are indew Either for Steeponce Due to Mr. Craig
or for building ye meeting house one month after ye Deate of this p'r
26 Aprile 1748 Signed per order JNO. CHRISTIAN⁵

Concerning the addition to the south side of the meeting house, Dr. B. M. Smith, writing a century ago, had this to say:

It is related on good tradition that one prominent member of the Church, to gratify some aristocratic feeling of his lady, had a small addition made to one side of the Church, in which he and family might sit separate from the rest of the people. On his subsequent removal from the congregation, this place was assigned to the few blacks who at that time had been recently introduced into the valley.⁶

Exactly two weeks after the decision of the commissioners to set up a policy of rental of seats, the commissioners and the congregation met at the Tinkling Spring Meeting House. It was Tuesday, May 10, 1748. The commissioners evidently met first and by way of precaution among the Scots took the following action:

At a meeting of ye Comm's of the tinkling Spring Congration, it is agreed that there is not above two famelies to Sit upon one Seate unless Some be unprovided for when ye Seats is full that we the Said Com's Shall place Such famelies or persons in Sd Seats where we see ye most Room they paying their proportionable part of Sd Seats where pleac'd Signed per order

10th of May 1748

JNO CHRISTIAN⁷

.

Then ye people of the tinkling Spring Congration being met chosed their Seats in names as folowing Viz—⁸

The facts as they have emerged thus far in our story seem to reveal a pattern of church polity, not unlike the principles that govern a Presbyterian Church today. The Tinkling Spring people had taken the lead in subscribing to and calling the Reverend John Craig to serve the

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, 2:466, October, 1852. Dr. Smith adds concerning the meeting house, "By well ascertained recollections of aged persons (living in 1849) 'who saw this house' in its decaying state, it appears that the provision as to material was changed, and it was erected a frame building." However, the old minutes are such that they could not allow that change and be accurate in their accounts. There is the possibility, though unlikely, of the log building being replaced by a frame building of which we have no record. Possibly the best explanation of the "well ascertained recollections" is that the little addition was a frame structure and that the log building had been weather-boarded, the appearance of which might be recalled as a frame building.

⁸Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 23. Unfortunately it is not known which seats were chosen by individual families.

"inhabitants of the Triple Forks of the Shenando" as a gospel minister regularly settled amongst them. The congregation elected its representatives (called elders) who along with the pastor exercised authority in determining the policies of the church. The congregation elected the commissioners, who exercised their authority under the direction of the session, to care for the temporal affairs of the church. In matters of importance to the welfare of the church, the congregation was called upon to decide. Their vote was final when the majority had spoken, except where an appeal was made to presbytery.

THE PREACHER—COMMONLY CALLED THE PARSON

Judging from the custom of that day and the tradition at Tinkling Spring, Parson Craig appeared in public in a periwig,⁹ a headdress of false hair closely fitting the head. It is entirely possible that his clerk, sitting with him in the pulpit, was similarly wigged.¹⁰ His coat might have been the long black coat characteristic of the Scottish clergyman of that day, or the clergyman's gown.

The parson was a strong minded, though humble-spirited, man who moved about his daily task with a sense of divine mission. His sense of the sinfulness and unworthiness of the natural man was deep-seated, dating back to his childhood.¹¹ He was uncompromising with his opponents and therefore stern in his denunciation of sin. He declared to the sinners that they would "fry in hell for despising heaven," but at the same time besought them to make choice of God who "set before" them "life, heaven and glory . . . in Jesus Christ." He, with tender affection, urged upon them, "this is your choice . . . your own happiness, your own salvation. . . ."¹²

As a pastor he was diligent and persistent, going from settlement to settlement baptizing children and from house to house visiting the sick. He was not only a good man much beloved by his people, but also a

⁹Miss Betty Bateman, now deceased, for many years postmaster at Fishersville, Virginia, possessed a wig of this old type that had been in the possession of her family through several generations. It was, according to tradition, the wig of Rev. John Craig, first pastor at Tinkling Spring. Miss Bateman was a descendant of John Craig.

¹⁰Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 52. The clerk's seat was cited in the specifications for the new pulpit at Tinkling Spring in 1766.

¹¹The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 1.

¹²John Craig, Sermon on 2 Samuel 23d 5th, p. 37. This is the only sermon found of Mr. Craig's and has been printed under the title, "A Relic of a Great and Good man of the eighteenth century," *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, 6:541-55, December, 1840.

person greatly revered because of his resolute allegiance to Jesus Christ in the face of hardship, opposition and sacrifice.¹³

John Craig's home was his Christian refuge from the world. He loved his home in county Antrim, Ireland and was heartsick with guilt when tempted into being unworthy of his parent's trust and affection. He was the child of their old age and was therefore greatly beloved, but that devotion was seasoned with such discipline that, in later years, it but increased his devotion to home and parents.

In America young John Craig was a lonely man until he established his own home. He relates that it was a "happy" and humble home. In the story of his own life he tells of "Sharp & Sore afflictions heavy to be borne in our . . . family" and relates genuine happiness in the face of trial and grief. When they were expecting the arrival of their first born child, and in the midst of another humiliating experience, he says:

I . . . found my wife in a very Low Condition in which She Continue for five weeks with Some intervall till She was Delivered; During which time almost Every Night & Sometimes for ye Most part of the Night I had to Sit & hold her in My Arms, often Not knowing Whether She was Living or Dead & none in the house but our Selves

.
another trial very Sharp in its Nature . . . My first born Died . . . which was a very Great Grief to us ye parents being again Left alone.

.
God . . . always mixed mercy & Goodness with Chastisements He took my first Child, & left ye Second with me; took ye third and left ye fourth with me; took ye fifth, & left ye Sixth with me: and gave me three More without any farther Breach . . . Yet I found ye Lesson [of submission] Not Easy for Nature to learn . . .¹⁴

Parson Craig was an affectionate husband and father, a faithful provider and diligent in keeping his household Christian.

In his work Craig was a man of earnest prayer and quiet patience laboring with constancy through the pioneer days of privation and loneliness under wilderness conditions that few ministers had the courage to face. He was an unusually humble man, living frugally in the wilderness, and giving evidence of fortitude, faithfulness and fearlessness that reminds one of John the Baptist.

Though he rejected with stern finality the New Side evangelicals as

¹³The Baltimore Magazine, *op. cit.*, 6:541, December, 1840.

¹⁴Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 35, 38.





Figure IX
Two Identifiable Points in the Beverley Manor Survey:
The Beginning Point and the Northeastern Corner

a "danger" that would "overset the foundation" of true religion, his own personal piety and loving appeal to sinners upon the basis of the compassionate suffering of Jesus Christ, makes him appear, after 200 years, to embody much of what the New Side evangelicals sought in their followers. As did they, he preached a heartfelt acceptance of Christ as a personal Savior, a devout endeavor by the Christian to follow Jesus Christ's way of life with the direction and help of the Holy Spirit and the ardent proclaiming of the good news of the gospel to others.¹⁵

The Reverend John Craig was a genuine witness to his Lord and a diligent teacher of the truth of the Word, acting out, upon his wilderness stage in the back parts of Virginia, the ideals of religious liberty and civic freedom which his successors were able to get written into the law of the Virginia Colony. It appears that he was a man sent from God to a particular people at a particular time.

THE SERMON

Having been raised in a Scots-Irish home of culture and means and educated at Edinburgh University, Mr. Craig was unemotional and strictly orthodox in his Calvinistic beliefs.¹⁶ "He was a strong-minded, diligent, and persevering minister, strictly orthodox, and yet pungent in the application of the truth to the conscience."¹⁷ His only sermon that remains was the one written, at the request of his children, after delivery at Tinkling Spring upon dissolution of the pastoral relation, at the end of his twenty-four years as pastor of that church. Though he called it a "short discourse," it contains approximately 7500 words and is divided into fifty-five divisions and subdivisions. Dr. Robert Davidson says, "The sermon follows the exhaustive method . . . The style is plain, unadorned, and strenuous; and it is a manly testimony to Calvinism."¹⁸ The text was from 2 Samuel 23:5, "Yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure; for this is all my salvation, and all my desire."

¹⁵Craig Sermon, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

¹⁶The Baltimore Magazine, *op. cit.*, 6:542, December, 1840.

¹⁷Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky* (New York: Robert Carter, 1847), pp. 21-25. Dr. Davidson gives us his source of information as "MS Letters of the late Edward Graham, of Lexington, Virginia to the author."

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.

Following a 1000 word introduction the sermon is outlined in four sections:

The method of handling this subject is as follows

1. enquire by what means a person or people may attain a covenant right in God so as to call him their own God—
- 2d. Show that it is their tru[e]st interest, highest privilege and honour, to have a God for their own God—
- 3d. How it completes their happiness satisfaction and delight—
- 4th. Improve the whole briefly.

.

APPLICATION

. . . we may see how far the world is mistaken about the believers lot. They look upon them poor and despicable, the offscouring of all things but they are the wisest men, they have made the most excellent choice, and best bargain. Yea they are the richest in all the world tho' to the world oft they seem to have nothing at all yet their portion is immense for all things are their's 2 Cor. 6:10 . . . But to come to a conclusion in this short discourse I have collected together the sum and substance of these doctrines I have delivered to you these 25 years past, namely our miserable state by nature, as under the covenant of works, the rich mercy, meer love, and free grace of God displayed in the new sure and well ordered covenant of grace and Christ the mediator of it the fitness, suitableness, vast interest, large privileges, high honour, and true happiness made over to all interested in the covenant through Christ. As also Christs fullness willingness, and ability to save all that comes to God through him the danger of sin the punishment of sinners Gods wrath and hells eternal punishments—which all out of this covenant out of Christ may yea must certainly expect. As also the glorious reward of virtue piety & true holiness all these that have laid hold on the covenant of grace & received Christ by faith these may expect the favour and love of God, heaven, glory, eternal life, happiness, likewise a way of obtaining an interest in this covenant relation, to God through Christ, the rich privileges, true honour, temporal & eternal happiness of all interested in the covenant of grace through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. . . . And this gospel in the course of providence I have been honoured to preach tho' most unworthy. And as I have—long often and sincerely exhorted, invited intreated and beseeched you my dear people in publick, in private, in secret, to come and take hold of Gods covenant and Christ the mediator thereof and enter yourselves into the bond of it as God and your own consciences are witness . . . if any at all amongst you have not sincerely accepted of and embraced Christ on gospel terms the terms of the new sure and well ordered covenant of grace which should be all your salvation and all your desire, O sinners will you halt and think a little from your career of sin, self conceit pride vanity hypocrisy, wickedness, and folly and hear yea listen attentatively to the best words to you of your sincere friend and pastor now bidding you farewell as to that relation; but Oh how can I leave you at a distance from Christ; and strangers to the God that made you I cannot leave you till I give you another offer of Christ and the covenant of grace. Who knows but you may agree and consent yet to the happy bargain

Some upon like occasions observe to mention their own faithfulness . . . and fail not to represent fully the failings . . . of their people—as for my part I here confess I have come far short (or I fear I have) of what I eternally desire and wished for namely the salvation of every soul under my care I think you may see it was not your gold, or silver, but you, your own happiness your own salvation I keenly searched for and pressed you to secure with all diligence . . . I shall conclude in the Apostles words finally brethren fare well be perfect, be of good comfort of one mind, live in peace and the God of love and peace shall be with you and to him I sincerely commend you who is able to keep you from falling and present you faithless [faultless] before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy to him be glory for ever. Amen. 2 Cor. 13:11 Jude: v. 24.¹⁹

It is well to remember that in those days there were both morning and afternoon messages by the minister. Whether there was a difference in them at Tinkling Spring is unknown from the records left. They were different in some churches. Of course, this was many years before there were Sunday Schools. The old church court records give indications of an attempt to emphasize the teaching work of the minister. For an example, we cite the approval of an overture in that first fully recorded meeting of a Presbyterian church court in America. The Presbytery of Philadelphia, meeting on March 26, 1707, ordered, “. . . That every minister in their respective congregations, read and comment upon a chapter of the Bible every Lord’s day, as discretion and circumstances of time, place, &c., will admit.”²⁰ That presbytery meant this action to be binding is indicated from a recommendation the following year to one minister that he “take into his serious consideration of reading a chapter and making a comment on the same,” and stating that it “is complied with by the rest of the ministers.”²¹ Mr. Craig, being a qualified school teacher,²² may have carried on this type of teaching work in his churches as one phase of his ministry. Since it was a custom in many colonial Presbyterian churches to teach a chapter each Lord’s day, we point it out here as a possible part of their full day’s worship program at Tinkling Spring.

¹⁹Craig Sermon, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 31 *et seq.*

²⁰*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 8.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

²²Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 22. It is said that Mr. Craig taught school after his arrival in the Valley along with his preaching work, but this claim is based solely on tradition. No statement in his record bears out this claim.

THE WORSHIP

The Sabbaths designated for worship services at Tinkling Spring were used exclusively for that purpose. All church business—by session, commissioners and congregation—was transacted on week-days.²³ They walked or rode horse-back to the meeting house on Sabbath morning. The parson, it is said, walked regularly to Tinkling Spring from his Lewis Creek home, a distance of about six miles by direct route. After trouble broke out between the settlers and the Indians, the people carried their rifles and having gathered at the church set a watch at some distance to warn of the approach of hostile Indians.²⁴

The morning service began at ten o'clock and recessed at twelve for a lunch period—no doubt the choicest fellowship period known to the church of that day. "After an hours recess, the afternoon services lasted from 1 o'clock till sunset; and sometimes it was so late that the Clerk found it difficult to read the last Psalm."²⁵

The singing of Psalms was a regular part of their worship. The book from which they sang was, of course, the same as the pastor's copy preserved by a descendant.²⁶ His Psalter might have been the only copy possessed by the gathered congregation, since the clerk lined out each verse before it was sung. His book is *The Scottish Psalter* about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, measuring 2 X $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is bound in leather and has the Scottish form of his initials "I. C." stamped in gold on both front and back. It contains the 150 Psalms of the Old Testament "IN Metre."²⁷

Some of these Psalms were favorites of Mr. Craig's and therefore may have been chosen more frequently. In his handwriting on the flyleaf of his Psalter, Mr. Craig records the following:

Ps'ms to be sung upon particular times & occasions as in ye morning Pms
3: 5: 16: 22: 144
in ye evening 4: 121: 141
for mercy after a sin Committed 51, 102
in Sickness or heaviness 1, 13, 88, 90, 91, 137, 146

²³See dates of business transactions in the Tinkling Spring, Minutes, 1741-1793.

²⁴The Baltimore Magazine, *op. cit.*, 6:554, December, 1840.

²⁵Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁶Miss Lillian Kennerly Craig, Roanoke, Virginia, a great, great, great, great granddaughter of Rev. John Craig has a rare volume of the *Scottish Psalter* owned by John Craig, therefore we believe used at Tinkling Spring.

²⁷John Craig's *The Scottish Psalter* (Belfast: James Blow, 1729), title page.

when recovered 30, 32,
on ye Sabbath day 19, 9, 95
in time of joy 80, 98, 107, 145, 136
before Sermon 1, 12, 119—1 & 5 part
at ye communion 22, 23, 103, 111, 116, 45, 72
for spiritual solace 15, 19, 25, 46, 67, 112, 146
after wrong & disgrace received 42, 69, 70, 140, 144²⁸

The sacraments of the church were a vital part of the worship of the Presbyterian church in colonial America, and Tinkling Spring we judge to be no exception. Mr. Craig baptized about 100 persons each year in his first decade in the Old Dominion and though he itinerated extensively on week-days and baptized many persons on those trips, yet his record of baptisms shows about two out of three baptized on the Sabbath day. These baptisms were largely infant baptisms, though there is an occasional adult listed. The fact is that this sacrament was considered so important that they made "unseasonable calls" upon Mr. Craig to "baptize sick children" and Christians at times took upon themselves the responsibility of unbelievers' children, as when, on January 20, 1741-2, "Mr. James Patton stood sponsor for a child Bap'd named Henery born in his house of a Papish convict servant, a base person . . ." ²⁹

However, for the adult church member, the Communion of the Lord's Supper was the more important sacrament. It was of sufficient value to the church member that sessions frequently refused admittance to the ordinance as punishment in cases of censure.³⁰ As to the frequency and manner of serving the Lord's Supper at Tinkling Spring Meeting House there is no record that has been found. We are therefore dependent upon a few local hints and the general practice known to prevail in the Presbyterian churches of that day. Fortunately our sparse local information and the general practice are each in harmony with the other.

There was a preparation for the Communion then that is unknown today. The pastor visited his church membership prior to the celebration

²⁸*Ibid.*, fly leaf.

²⁹John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, p. 12; Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁰This practice is discussed in Donegal Presbytery Minutes—in particular concerning Rev. Thomas Craighead who had a private difference with his wife on some family affair, and as a result, on his own authority, Saturday night before Communion, suspended her from church privileges. His congregation complained to presbytery in behalf of Mrs. Craighead and the case was opened in May, 1736 and continued almost to Craighead's death in 1739.

of this sacrament with the view to determining the individual Christian's spiritual preparedness to come to the table.³¹ His conference seems to have consisted of an examination of the member as to religious experience and knowledge, the later at times including catechism questions.³² If the member qualified he was presented a metal token required of participants at the Lord's table. The Tinkling Spring Church is in possession of a communion token, said to have been used at Tinkling Spring.³³

It was a widely practiced custom actually to sit down at a table to partake of the bread and wine. It has been the writer's privilege to use that method of serving the elements of the Lord's Supper in a Presbyterian church where they attribute its origin to their godly forebears who were charter members at Tinkling Spring. In the tradition of their fathers and in a spirit of solemnity that is invigorating, they commune at a long narrow table set up across the open space in front of the pulpit. The minister and elders occupy the side next to the pulpit and the communicants, one group following another until all are served, take their places on chairs facing the session. They are served by the elders, first the bread and then the wine; the latter from a common cup in the manner of an earlier day.³⁴

In the pioneer days when the communicant came to the table and was seated, he placed upon the table his token which had been given him by the minister, indicating his having qualified in preparation for admittance. Except the church member possessed a token he did not come to the table. It appears that if the member agreed with the minister's judgment of his case the session was not involved, but if it came to a matter of suspending the privilege of the Lord's table against the wishes of the member it was a matter for session action.

What indications we have tend to confirm this manner of celebrating

³¹Mary McWhorter Tenny, *Communion Tokens* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1936), pp. 422-24.

³²Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

³³This token was presented to the church by Mrs. Laura Wood Bailey, Charlottesville, Virginia, who is a great, great granddaughter of Rev. James Waddel, second pastor of Tinkling Spring. The token is said to have been used at Tinkling Spring by the Waddel descendants, but the date of its use is unknown. Mrs. Bailey's mother was Mrs. Lucy Waddell Wood, granddaughter of Rev. James Waddel's eighth child, Lyttelton Waddell, a teacher of Staunton, Virginia, where Tinkling Spring served the Presbyterian constituency until 1804.

³⁴The church with this practice is the Seven Mile Ford Presbyterian Church, Smyth County, Virginia, where descendants of John Preston settled.

the Lord's Supper as a part of the worship at Tinkling Spring and tradition tells us it was a very important event in the religious life of some of her members.³⁵

What place public prayer had in the Tinkling Spring worship is of interest to us but, like other details of the worship program, we must base our judgment on the few implications available. In this case the implications come from the writings of Rev. John Craig. His autobiography is called, according to Foote's quotation of it, "A preacher preaching to himself from a long text of no less than 60 years: On review of past life."³⁶ This document, consisting of more than 10,000 words, is more prayer to God and conversation with his own soul (as if God were present as he spoke) than it is a review of his past life. If this "text" is indicative, Mr. Craig was a man of long and ardent prayers. A man with such a prayer life must certainly have used considerable time, in that full day of worship, leading his people to the throne of grace. It seems inevitable that with their differences of opinion they laid them bare before the eye of God in public prayer; surely with their sense of sin they unitedly made confession and asked for forgiveness; and most certainly they raised voices with united heart in praise of God for his goodness and blessing. Led by a praying parson the Tinkling Spring worship was well seasoned with public prayer.

A CHURCH OF CHRIST

The formative years of work and worship at Tinkling Spring Church, in the first decade of her existence from the visit of Rev. James Anderson in 1738 to her choosing of seats in a completed meeting house, were years of struggle. But they were years of struggle that brought success. It was a natural thing that their struggles should be recorded for it was through them that the people came to decisions that meant something to their lives and to their church.

To grasp the measure of the success of this people we will do well to draw a few contrasts between the beginning and the end of that

³⁵The late John M. Preston, elder of the Seven Mile Ford Presbyterian Church, related that the tradition of his family was that William Preston, son of the immigrant, rode horseback from his "Greenfield" estate in Botetourt County, Virginia, sixty-five miles back to Tinkling Spring for Communion once a year until the sacrament was provided closer at hand.

³⁶William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 28-29. The first page of the original document is gone, but Dr. Foote quotes from that page to supplement the mutilated part of the original.

first decade. They came wandering in like nomads, squatting on lands to which they had no titles, but in 1748 they had settled in homes and were making "improvements" that were worthy of a steady Christian people. They came as individuals, or at best in small groups; they became, in that brief time, a community with interest in roads, government and the church. As they began, their strong personalities clashed like steel against steel but they were clearly growing toward a democracy in which no one person was dictator. In the beginning they appeared to be a spiritually perplexed, persecuted people but through their persevering faith and work, in spite of many setbacks and imperfections, they came rapidly to be known as a Christian Society of Presbyterian persuasion, exerting an influence where now the churches of Staunton, Waynesboro, Hermitage and Stuarts Draft continue to carry on that which they began. The early days of these people were accompanied with uncertainty and fears but as they lived together they created a way of life that they later considered worthy of defending with their lives.

Tinkling Spring had by the middle of the 1700's become a Christian church of Presbyterian beliefs serving the Lord in a frontier wilderness among people who proved themselves worthy of the Church of Christ of which they were a part.

The VIATOR, a regular contributor to the pages of *The Watchman of the South* in the middle of the 1800's, waxed eloquent as he traveled among the graves of the Scots-Irish of the Valley:

Were the graves to give up their dead and the dust be fashioned into bone and sinews and put on flesh like the forms that mouldered there, you would gaze upon the determined visage of the men and the calm decision of the matrons—the toil-worn frames, the labor-hardened hands of a generation that loved a church without a prelate—a generation that fled from the oppression that harrassed their ancestors for centuries, and like them ungovernable in their demands for the unalienable rights of man—a generation of men and women that accomplished in their poverty, what wealth cannot purchase, and reared another generation to hazard death for freedom of conscience and liberty of person—"for a State without a King". Such an one you may find at Tinkling Spring, in Augusta County, Virginia.⁸⁷

It is very hard to realize the extent of Christian activity in that first decade in this territory we now call Augusta County. The record of

⁸⁷VIATOR, contributing editor, "Tinkling Spring," *The Watchman of the South*, 7:177, June, 1844.

baptisms kept during that time for this area and centering at Tinkling Spring speaks volumes in its summary statement at the end of September 1749:

the year being Ended the Number Bap'd by me 114, of wc 67 males & 47 females. Glory to God who is Daily adding Members to his visible Church.

The whole Number Bap'd By me these 9 years past 883, of which 463 males & 420 females.³⁸

³⁸Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

CHAPTER NINE

The People Live and Labor in Peace and Watchful Waiting

THE people who settled in Augusta County were seeking a peaceful abode where they could live unmolested by landlord, church prelate or tyrannical government. They selected the rich lands by bold springs and speedily united to establish meeting houses for worship. They sought spiritual leaders as soon as they became fixed communities. When dissenting ministerial services were provided they were no longer satisfied with "Squatter's Rights" but proceeded to make their titles legal for homestead purposes. These lands were first settled without conflict with the Indians, for none occupied the Valley as their settled home. It was claimed as a possession by conquest of the Indian Confederation of Six Nations as a hunting ground and through it they traveled north and south. This Indian traffic to and fro consisted of groups on peaceful pursuit, and war parties on raids against other tribes.

Before 1750, Tinkling Spring people on Christian's Creek and South River, like others in Augusta County, lived in log homes sparsely equipped with simple furniture. They were without wheeled vehicles, doing their travel by foot or horseback. There were no court days, except beyond the Ridge at Orange Court House, before 1745; and regular church gatherings were unknown before 1740. The population of the territory authorized as Augusta County has been estimated, from the lists of people available, to be about 2500 in 1742.¹ A very general estimate on the same basis, along with lists of Tinkling Spring members and contributors, would place approximately 500 citizens within the bounds of the Tinkling Spring congregation.²

THE MILITIA

Law and order were assured for the Valley through the Orange County Court. Justices in that court, prior to the functioning of the Augusta Court, include Valley names as follows: Samuel Givens, John Lewis, John Finley, Benjamin Borden, John Buchanan, John McDowell,

¹Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 46.

²Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, pp. 2, 5, 19.

Andrew Campbell and James Patton.³ These were nearly all Presbyterians and three of them Tinkling Spring members. We note that the outstanding Tinkling Spring leader, James Patton, was recommended "as a fit and proper person to be added to the Commission of the Peace for this County" on June 25, 1741.⁴ He was sworn in as a Justice of the Peace February 24, 1743.⁵

Constables were provided for various communities to enforce the law. Of special interest in the local community were the appointments to serve in this capacity: John Christian and John Carr (Kerr) in 1739, William Smith in 1741 and James Caldwell in 1743.⁶ All these were members of Tinkling Spring.

The task of enforcing the law and keeping order in the Valley was too great an undertaking for a few constables. The Indians were generally civil—though some were murdered by them—but their normal way of life, even as travelers through the community, clashed with what the settlers considered their rights. The grazing cattle, for example, were for the Indian objects of the hunt; individual ownership of domestic animals they chose to disregard. They marched in companies of twenty to fifty and when they requested meals that were refused, they simply walked in, prepared, ate, destroyed and carried off food as they pleased. Since they went armed, resistance meant a fight to the death.⁷ The French agitation of the Indians against the English increased immeasurably the latent danger in this situation.

At the Orange County Court, November 3, 1741, William Beverley qualified as County Lieutenant of Orange and Augusta Counties.⁸ On May 27, 1742, the court clerk recorded:

James Patton Gent having taken the oaths prescribed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of ye oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy & the Abjuration oath & Subscribed ye Test was sworn to his Military Commission of Colonel of Augusta County accordingly.⁹

Immediately upon Patton's being made Colonel of Augusta County, a petition from the Augusta inhabitants was forwarded to the Virginia

³Orange County Court Records, Order Book II, 47; III, 345, 347-48; IV, 49.

⁴*Ibid.*, II, 404.

⁵*Ibid.*, III, 347.

⁶*Ibid.*, II, 3, 29; III, 7, 348.

⁷The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 26.

⁸Orange Order Book, *op. cit.*, III, 54.

⁹*Ibid.*, III, 155.

Governor and Council, who referred it with approval to the House of Burgesses. Their action is reported on Thursday, June 10, 1742:

Mr. Fitzhugh, from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, reported, That the Committee had had under their Consideration, the Petition of the Inhabitants of that Part of *Orange* County, called *Augusta*, to them referred; praying, That a Tax of 2 *s. per Annum* may be laid on every tithable Person in that Part of the said County of *Orange*, called *Augusta*: And that a Duty may be imposed on all Horses and Cattle, drove thro' the said Inhabitants, from the Northern or Southern Provinces: And a Penalty of 5 *l.* for every offence, may be inflicted on Persons killing Deer, out of Season; and the Offenders be bound to their good Behavior. And that the Captains of the Militia, at every General Muster, in *September*, Yearly, may receive the said Tax, Duty, and Fines; and pay the same to Col. *James Patton*, *John Christian*, and *John Buchanan*, or some other Persons, who may be empowered to lay out the Money arising therefrom, in hiring persons to kill and destroy the wolves among the said Inhabitants; and in relieving their Poor, clearing Roads, and building Bridges: And that the said *James Patton*, *John Christian*, and *John Buchanan*, may perform the same, without Fee or Reward; and may account for the Money arising, as aforesaid, before the Captains of the Militia.¹⁰

One week later this recommendation was passed by the House of Burgesses and Augusta County had its first civic organization apart from Orange County, with Tinkling Spring men standing forth as designated leaders.

About this same time, June 5, 1742, the House of Burgesses asked the Governor to issue a writ for a new election of Burgesses from Orange County. Henry Downs, elected from Orange, had been expelled from the House upon proof that he had been convicted of felony and theft before his election, and the other representative, "Robert Slaughter was declared not duly elected." Robert Cunningham, a Tinkling Spring member, was a member of the House of Burgesses following this date, though not listed in a regular election. It seems clear that he must be one of those chosen to fill the Orange County vacancies in the House, along with George Taylor to fill the other.¹¹

The Augusta County Militia companies were formed in 1742, under the necessity of protection against hostile Indians on the frontier. The militia was, however, civil as well as military, for in these companies the taxes were levied and collected. Every man belonged to a company,

¹⁰H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1742-1747, 1748-1749* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1909), pp. 45, 56, 60, 64-68.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. viii, 7, 11, 53, 189; Augusta County Court Records, Order Book I, 98, 321.

usually the one where he lived, possibly two different companies if he owned land in two places. Some men belonging to a company did not render military service, even in time of war.¹²

The organization was set up with William Beverley, Esq., as County Lieutenant. He probably held this position because of political ties in the state capital at Williamsburg, for he was not a resident of Augusta County. Colonel James Patton, next in rank, actually bore the responsibility of the militia and their training. The Valley militia was organized into twelve companies with a captain at the head of each. These officers were sworn into their military commissions in Orange County in the summer of 1742. These captains were John Smith, Andrew Lewis, John Buchanan, James Cathey, John Christian, Samuel Gay, Peter Shoull, James Gills, John Wilson, Hugh Thompson, George Robinson and John McDowell.¹³ Eight of these captains were in Beverley Manor, as was also Colonel James Patton. Three of the captains—Andrew Lewis, Samuel Gay and John Christian—were Tinkling Spring men.

John Christian's muster roll of seventy-five men reads like a Tinkling Spring subscription list. It includes Armstrongs, Bells, Blacks, Breckenridges, Caldwelles, Campbells, Christians, Cunninghams, Hendersons, Johnstons, Lewises, Maxwells, Millers, Moodys, McClenahans, McClures, McColloughs, McDonalds, Robinsons, Russells, Thompsons, Scotts, etc.

Unfortunately the muster rolls of several companies, including Andrew Lewis' and Samuel Gay's have not been preserved, but those recorded list 413 names.

INDIAN TROUBLE AND WATCHFUL WAITING

Some of the Indians were friendly to the settlers of Augusta, while others were hostile. The first white person known to have been murdered by the Indians was John Breckenridge whose family lived on the ridge back of the present Church of the Good Shepherd, near Folly Mills. His grave became a point on the survey of William Nutt's land—"... a red oak by John Brackenridge grave, who was murdered

¹²F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), pp. 139-40.

¹³Jos. A. Waddell, "Militia Companies in Augusta County, in 1742," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 8:278-83, January, 1901, citing the Preston Papers QQI, 10-17.

by the Indians."¹⁴ The exact date of this murder is not certain, but is thought to have been the occasion for a petition to Williamsburg for arms in 1738.

In December, 1742, a party of northern Indians, on their way south, were entertained and given whiskey. They proceeded through the Valley disturbing the whites by foraging for food. The people complained and Captain John McDowell in Borden's Tract called out his company at the order of Colonel James Patton, who instructed him to conduct the Indians beyond the settlements. As McDowell's men conducted the Indians southward, all the white men except one passed a lame Indian who lagged behind. This last man shot near the Indian to force him to move more rapidly. This shot brought on a fight in which Captain McDowell and seven of his men were killed.¹⁵

That same day Colonel Patton dispatched a letter to the Governor:

Hon'd Sir

Augusta County, 18 Dec., 1742

A parcel of Indians appeared in hostile manner among us, killing and carrying off horses, etc. Captain John Buchanan and Captain McDowell came up with them this day and sent a man with a signal of peace to them, which man they killed on the spot and fired on our men which was returned with bravery, in about 45 minutes the Indians fled leaving eight or ten of their men dead on the spot, and eleven of our men dead, amongst which is Captain McDowell. We have sundry wounded. Last night I had an account of the Indians' behaviour and immediatly traveled towards them with a party of men and came up within two or three hours after the battle was over. I have summoned all the men in our county together in order to prevent them from doing any further damage and (but by God's assistance) to repell them force by force. We hear of many Indians on our frontier. I beg your Honour's Directions and Assistance both as to ammunition and men. The particulars of the battle and motions of the enemy I have not now time to write you.

I am, Y'r Honour's M't Obed't Serv't.

JAMES PATTON

P.S.

There are some white men supposed to be French amongst the Indians. Our people are uneasy but full of spirits and hope their behavior will show it for the future, not being any way daunted by what has happened.

To the Hono'ble Will'm Gooch Esq'r, &c'a.¹⁶

This clash with the Indians put the whole settlement on guard. The conflict did not spread due to firm handling and a positive policy of

¹⁴Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book I, 319.

¹⁵Kegley, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Charles E. Kemper, "The Early Westward Movement in Virginia, 1722-34," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 13:12-14, July, 1905.

¹⁶Kemper, *op. cit.*, 13:12, July, 1905.

friendship on the part of the colonial Government at Williamsburg, even to the point of paying reparations to the Indians on this occasion. The years following this experience were years of caution and watchfulness, but peace prevailed for thirteen years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War. In this time the settlers developed a way of life so much to their liking that they were ready to defend it with their lives.

THE AUGUSTA COUNTY COURT ORGANIZED

The first Augusta County court was formed December 9, 1745. Twenty-one Justices of the Peace, having been commissioned by Governor Gooch, October 30, 1745, took office as follows: James Patton, John Buchanan, Peter Scholl, Robert Campbell, Robert Poage, Thomas Lewis, Robert Cunningham, Richard Woods, Robert Craven, Adam Dickinson, John Anderson, John Lewis, George Robinson, James Bell, John Brown, John Pickens, Hugh Thompson, John Finla, John Christian, James Kerr and Andrew Pickens. Seven of these—James Patton, Robert Cunningham, John Lewis, James Bell, John Finla [Finley], John Christian and James Kerr—were members at Tinkling Spring. James Patton, commissioned by the governor previously, qualified as sheriff of the county. William Beverley by letter offered two acres of land and a building at his Mill Place for the court house.¹⁷

Later the acreage was increased and James Patton and others were ordered to view and receive the court house land offered by Beverley. They advised "non-acceptance" finding ". . . the land entirely ill convenient and useless, being most part of it on a barren hill or mountain . . . no spring being included in the whole 25 acres."¹⁸ The whole matter, including the correspondence with Beverley, was sent to the Virginia House of Burgesses in Williamsburg for decision, where Beverley's influence overruled the grievance and the location of the Augusta County seat was fixed at its present location—then called "Beverley's Mill Place," later named Staunton.

The sheriff was ordered by the court to provide shackles, bolts, handcuffs and fetters of iron.¹⁹ At a later date "stocks" were constructed

¹⁷Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, I, 1, cited in Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800*, (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), I, 13.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, I, 102, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 22.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, I, 2, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 13.

and used.²⁰ For women convicted as "common scolds," the court action of August 29, 1751, provided equipment for punishment: "Ordered that the Sheriff employ a workman to make a Ducking Stool for the use of this County according to Law, and bring in his Charge."²¹ Thirty-nine lashes at the whipping post meted out to Elizabeth Smith for stealing, indicates the severity of their punishment for that offence. Slaves were hanged for murder and house-burning, and their heads displayed on posts by the roadside!²²

The county court concerned itself with religious as well as secular affairs. Except for the ordering of roads cleared to Tinkling Spring, one of the earliest such actions is found on May 20, 1747, when Robert Young and Daniel Curlew were indicted for "breach of the Sabbath" and James Burk for "prophaner of God's name by common swearing."²³ On May 20, 1748, the court licensed its first dissenting preacher, Rev. Andrew McKay.²⁴ (John Craig, pastor of Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring since 1740, had been licensed by Orange County Court previous to the organization of the Augusta Court.)

A deposition in court, in 1801, supplies the information on the first reference found to a school in the county. "John Finley, aged above 60 years. Deponent went to school in 1747 in the house mentioned . . . The house was on James McClure's land."²⁵ James McClure's land was located between Tinkling Spring and the present site of Waynesboro, Virginia.

The first will recorded in Augusta County was that of Robert Wilson, a Tinkling Spring member.²⁶

AUGUSTA PARISH VESTRY

After setting up the Augusta County Court in 1745, it was in order to elect vestrymen for the parish. This was done in 1746, when the "Freeholders and Housekeepers" selected a Scots-Irish vestry, to be headed by James Patton, the builder and outstanding leader of the

²⁰*Ibid.*, I, 46, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 18.

²¹*Ibid.*, III, 197, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 47.

²²*Ibid.*, VII, 281, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 98; see also Order Book VIII, 324; XIV, 362; XVIII, 186.

²³*Ibid.*, I, 199-200, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 28.

²⁴*Ibid.*, II, 20, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 35.

²⁵Augusta Circuit Court Records, Section "I" Executions, April, 1801, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, II, 28.

²⁶Augusta County Court Records, Will Book I, 1.



Figure X

The Tinkling Spring and Indian Relics, Arrow Heads and a Stone Pipe Stem, Found Underground Nearby

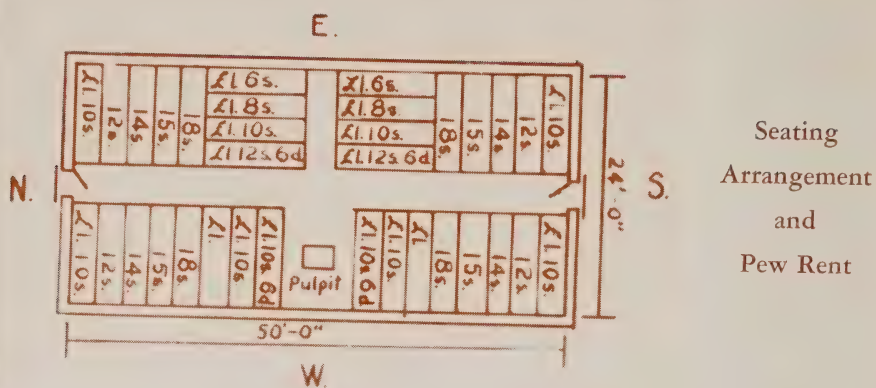


Figure XI

The Tinkling Spring Log Meeting House as it is Described in the Church Minutes (From a painting by Anne C. Brown)

Tinkling Spring Meeting House. Of the other eleven vestrymen, it has been said that but one was genuinely a Church of England member. Even his "genuineness" may be questioned when we read in Mr. Craig's record of baptisms: "October 1746, Mr. John Madison, a Ch'd Bap'd named Thomas."²⁷ But since he is the *only* father that the Reverend John Craig addressed as "Mr." in nine years, recording 883 baptisms, maybe he was genuinely Church of England after all!

The first recorded meeting of the vestry of the Augusta parish was on April 6, 1747. John Madison was elected clerk. The vestry records the recommendation of a rector in these words:

The Reverent Mr. John Hindman having Produced Letters from under the Hands of the Honourable ye Governour and Commissary directed To Colo James Patton setting forth his ability as a Minister.²⁸

Mr. Hindman was educated and ordained, by Donegal Presbytery in 1742, as a Presbyterian minister. He had preached in the Valley of Virginia and had relatives here, as court records clearly show. On Sunday the 5th of April, the day before Mr. Hindman appeared before the Augusta Vestry, Rev. John Craig records that the Charles Campbells appeared for the baptism of their daughter, Elizabeth, sister of William (who was later the Revolutionary War General of King's Mountain fame). Following the baptismal record is the note, "This day John Hindman attend having turned his coat and now appears in quality of a Church of England Parson."²⁹

The Presbyterian vestrymen keeping the affairs of the Anglican Church under proper control, proceeded to drive a bargain with Mr. Hindman, in these terms:

The Vestry agree to Accept of him conditionally, Viz—That the said Hindman will not insist on the Parishes Purchasing Glebe Lands, building a Glebe and such other necessities as are Prescribed by Law for the space of Two years untill

²⁷John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, p. 32; George Maclaren Brydon, *Virginid's Mother Church* (Volume II; Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952), II, 117-38. As to the relationship of these Presbyterian Ulster Scots to the Established Church of England, it must be borne in mind that to be a public official and draw a salary from the government they were required by law to comply with the regulations on compulsory attendance at the established church. It appears that the answer of these Scots to this unpalatable demand of the law was to take charge of the vestry, which they could do legally, and thereby nullify the law.

²⁸Augusta Parish Vestry Book, the Established Church of England, 1746-1780, p. 1.

²⁹Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

the Parish be more able to Bear such Charges and that he agree to Preach in this Court House and in People's Houses of the same Perswasion in the Different Quarters of the Parish as shall be most convenient and that He Administer the Sacrament in the Court House Instead of a Church and in Different Quarters of the Parish as aforesaid unless his Honour the Governour thinks proper to Reverse the same which shall not be by Complaint of sd Hindman or any Person for him.³⁰

Mr. Hindman's service as a "Church of England Parson" was brief. He died the following year, in the Peaked Mountain community near his sister, Mrs. John Fletcher.³¹ John Stevenson of the same community had supplied Hindman with funds to go to England for Episcopal ordination. A part of this debt was unpaid at the time of his death. However, his estate was sufficient to take care of it. Mr. Hindman is said to have been buried in the old cemetery at the Massanutten Cross Keys Presbyterian Church, successor to the Peaked Mountain Meeting House.

It was a matter of special effort on the part of John Craig to abide by Presbyterian rules and yet give no offense to the Established Church. He wrote:

... in this Case providence ordered Matters So that I obtain'd their approbation & Esteem when we were Erected into a County & parish, and had ministers inducted, of which we had two they both in their turns wrote to me Making high Demands, I gave no Answer but still observed our own Rules where there was No positive law against them.³²

The vestry directed in July, 1747, that the Glebe lands be purchased convenient to Colonel Patton's place. He agreed to make liberal contributions if the church was erected there. However this plan was abandoned and a more convenient place selected, on which John Lewis undertook the construction of the "Public Buildings of Augusta Parish" for 148 pounds.³³

In spite of protests against them from Church of England members and vestrymen, the dissenting Presbyterians held with legislative approval their positions as Vestrymen in the Augusta Parish. A resolution in the House of Burgesses, dated November 30, 1748, says:

That the Petitions of the Churchmen of the Vestry of *Augusta*, in the County of *Augusta*, and of other Churchmen of the said Parish, for turning several

³⁰Vestry Book, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Brydon, *op. cit.*, II, 128.

³¹Augusta Will Book, *op. cit.*, I, 249.

³²Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

³³Vestry Book, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27; Brydon, *op. cit.*, II, 125.

Dissenters, now acting as Vestrymen of the said Parish, out of the said Vestry; be rejected.⁸⁴

THE PIONEER WOMEN

The pioneer mother was too frequently forgotten in the records. She was brave, resourceful, industrious and devout. Her days were filled with hard work. Her skill was challenged to the limit to provide her household with vegetables from the garden, meals prepared over the hearthstone and clothes from the linsey-woolsey which she had woven. The training of the children was her task, in learning, work and worship. But out of the austere simplicity of life there came to her a satisfaction in the freedom of action and thought. She lived in faithful devotion to "her man," who braved the dangers of a wilderness to establish their own home, in which they were beholden to no man. If the record is too silent concerning this noble soul of early days, her children rise up to proclaim her worth with an eloquence beyond words.

Consider for example the Campbell family of Tinkling Spring. John Campbell emigrated from Ireland to America in 1726 with his large family. From that one emigrant household have come many notable statesmen, brave warriors, honest business men and earnest Christians. Mr. and Mrs. John Campbell had inner qualities to contribute to their descendants. Though the record is limited concerning Grace Hay, this mother of the Campbell tribe was inevitably a large contributor to their intelligence, character and faith. These pioneer parents lived, loved and labored for the welfare of their posterity.

But contrast the personal worth of this family with their worldly goods (or lack of them!), as revealed in the appraisement of John Campbell's estate recorded in the Orange County Records:

A bill of praisment of the Deseast Jno Campbell is as followeth

	L	S	D
To 2 mears	8"	0"	0
To 1 cow and calf	1"	10"	0
To 1 chiram and 2 Killers	0"	4"	0
To 1 tub and 2 piels and 2 dishes	0"	4"	0
To 5 nogens and 3 trushers	0"	1"	0
To 2 pots and 1 paire pot Hooks	0"	10"	6
To 1 fraying pan and two puter Dishes	0"	8"	0
To tins and a paringer	0"	1"	6
To 1 flax wheel	0"	4"	0

⁸⁴H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1742-1747, 1748-1749* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1909), p. 310.

To 2 bells and 4 links of Iron	0''	7''	0
To 1 woman's Sadle and Bridle	1''	10''	0
To 3 shets and one paire of Blankets	1''	4''	0
To 31 Dozen of yearn	0''	18''	0
To 2 bages	0''	2''	0
To 1 plantation	20''	0''	0
To Linen Cloth	2''	16''	6
Money in the contrey	62''	12''	10
The Total of the whole	104''	11''	8
We the under Subscribed hath prized the above as you may see November ye 14th 1741			

JAMES CALDWELL
WM NUTT
WM THOMPSON⁸⁵

ADVANCEMENT IN PROSPECT WHEN DISASTER STRIKES

The Tinkling Spring minutes tell us explicitly that the first organization was at the instigation of the Reverend James Anderson. His only visit to the Valley was in 1738, which was evidently the founding date of the Christian Society called the "Congregation of the Triple Forks of the Shenando." The "South Side of the Congregation" planned before Mr. Craig's arrival to have her own meeting house. This section of the congregation, later called Tinkling Spring, can claim the honor of having Mr. Craig "ordain'd as their Pastor" by Donegal Presbytery in 1740.

It appears from the record that the Tinkling Spring Meeting House was formally organized upon Mr. Craig's arrival with thirty-eight heads of families. Within five years that number had increased to seventy-seven heads of families. In this half decade the church had doubled its membership, in spite of the loss of one fourth of its charter members who advanced with the frontier.⁸⁶

There appears to have been an agreement in the old Triple Forks Congregation that the section of the congregation which might first find itself able to support a pastor alone, could have the services of Mr. Craig. The Tinkling Spring section took congregational action that may be interpreted to have been to that end:

At a meetting of ye tinkling Spring Congration it is agreed by amajority of ye inhabitants then met that ye arears the congation is now in Should be Lay'd on

⁸⁵Orange County Court Records, Will Book I, 180.

⁸⁶Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 5, 26; Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, p. 196; The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 23.

ye Seats as they are now Regulated for ye full Labours of a minister 13th Nb'r 1753

the above to be Regulated by James Alexander & Jno Christian⁸⁷

A memorial to Donegal Presbytery indicates that this arrangement was made by the congregation about the year 1756.⁸⁸

However, this bright prospect was smothered by disaster. The story is told in the diary of a young Presbyterian minister, Rev. Hugh McAden, who was traveling through Augusta County at this time. On July 5, 1755, he "... Rode To Widow John Preston's Saturday evening, where I was very kindly entertained, and had a commodious lodging." And on Sunday he preached in "the new courthouse." After a second visit to North Mountain, a week later, he:

Came to . . . the Forks . . . where I preached the second Sabbath of July to a considerable large congregation . . . Rode home with Joseph Lapsley, two miles, from meeting, where I tarried till Wednesday Morning.

Here it was I received the most melancholy news of the entire defeat of our Army by the French at Ohio, the General killed, numbers of inferior officers, and the whole artillery taken. This, together with the frequent account of fresh murders being daily committed upon the frontiers, struck terror to every heart. A cold shuddering possessed every breast, and paleness covered almost every face. In short, the whole inhabitants were put into a universal confusion. Scarcely any man durst sleep in his own house—but all met in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications, to defend themselves from such barbarians and inhuman enemies, whom they concluded would be let loose upon them at pleasure.⁸⁹

This was the reaction to the slaughter of the two British regiments, on July 9, 1755, commanded by General Edward Braddock, when the French and Indians ambushed his forces five miles from Fort Duquesne, at the forks of the Ohio River. General Braddock and 1,000 of his men were slain. Colonel George Washington conducted the retreat of his own militia and the British forces. Colonel Dunbar, who succeeded to the command of the British forces, retreated to winter-quarters in Philadelphia, though it was midsummer. This defeat and the retreat left the western frontier undefended, except by local militia, against the incursion of the Indians.

⁸⁷Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸⁸Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:467, October, 1852.

⁸⁹William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), pp. 162-63; Waddell, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-5.

Colonel James Patton, prior to this disastrous defeat, had been made County Lieutenant of Augusta. He was at the time of the defeat in Williamsburg representing Augusta County as a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia and active on the 8th and 9th of July leading the legislative assembly to prepare for protecting the Augusta frontier against the dangers already known. In response to an "Address," handled by Patton and others before Governor Dinwiddie, asking for funds and two companies of rangers for Augusta County, the Virginia Governor replied:

In answer to your Address of Yesterday . . . I shall give Col. Patton Orders to raise another Company in Augusta where Captain Andrew Lewis now is, with Fifty Men of our Forces.⁴⁰

On that same day the governor wrote Captain Andrew Lewis of Augusta, in part:

You was order'd to Augusta with yr Co'y to protect the Frontiers of yt Co'ty. We have lately a Messenger from thence giv'g an Acc't of some barbarous Murders committed on Holston's River w'ch has greatly intimidated the Settlers. Colo. Patton being here he carries up blank Com'o's for Officers to raise one Co'y of Rangers of 50 Men for the further protect'n of the Inhab'ts.⁴¹

Colonel Patton traveled from Williamsburg to Augusta with ammunition, evidently in haste, though he could not have been aware of the tragic events happening on the Ohio. On July 14, 1755, he commissioned as a Captain his nephew, William Preston, to raise a company of rangers in Augusta, filling in Governor Dinwiddie's blank commission.⁴² It was that day or the day following that the news of Braddock's defeat arrived.

The chaos that ensued on the Virginia Frontier is attested by many documents; none are more pungent with horror than the thirteen-page, so called "Preston Register," 1754-1758, "A Register of the Persons who have been either Killed, Wounded or taken Prisoner by the Enemy in Augusta County, as also of such as have made their escape."⁴³ Indians,

⁴⁰H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1752-1755, 1756-1758* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1909), pp. 291-92.

⁴¹Robert Dinwiddie, *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758* (R. A. Brock, editor; Richmond, Virginia: The Society, 1883-84), II, 91.

⁴²Kegley, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴³Lyman C. Draper, *Draper Manuscripts, Preston Register, IQQ83*.

allied with the victorious French, unrestrained by any principles of civilized warfare, ravaged the frontier, killing, scalping men, women and children indiscriminately. The atrocities came nearer and nearer the Augusta Settlement of Beverley Manor. Colonel Patton, having seen Captain Preston's Rangers through the initial organizational stages, in order to halt the stampede of settlers fleeing their homes on the frontier, set out soon after the 21st of July, 1755, with a poorly guarded wagonload of ammunition to supply this need of the southwest Virginia frontier militia and settlers. Being the executive head of the county his presence would boost the morale of the defenders and give him first-hand information on the confused situation.

Amid this confusion the people of Craig's congregation appealed to him for advice on fleeing the frontier as other congregations were doing. His reply was in full support of the brave action of Patton's defense. He branded fleeing as:

. . . a scandal to our nation . . . a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith and a noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity.⁴⁴

The Tinkling Spring congregation and community were to have their purpose of patriotic defense challenged to the limit of the people's capacity by another tragic disaster. An article in the September 1755 issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published in London, England, under the title, "Journal of the War in America" seems to be an authentic contemporary report of this disaster, when Colonel Patton was slain by Indians at Draper's Meadow, July 30, 1755:

Col. *Dunbar* has by several marches from *Fort Cumberland*, which is said to be invested by the *French*, retreated to *Philadelphia*, so that the borders of *Virginia* are left in a manner defenceless, and the colony is in great confusion, the *French* and *Indians* making incursions on the frontiers, and destroying all they find. Col. *James Patoun*, a member of the *Virginia* assembly, as he was going from thence with ammunition for some men who had been appointed to stop these inroads, left the guard that attended the waggons, and rode a little out of the way to see some friends, proposing to overtake the convoy at the end of a few miles, but such was his misfortune, that he fell into the hands of some *Indians*,

⁴⁴William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 32-33.

who had just murdered his friends and their families, and not discovering his danger till it was too late, he was also inhumanly murdered upon the spot.⁴⁵

Returning to the Tinkling Spring purpose of advancement and "ye full labours of a minister," it was inevitable that such a move was not wise, even if possible, at such a time. Mr. Craig's experience may have been typical. The fortifications of homes and churches cost him one third of his estate.⁴⁶ Dr. Smith said, "The Indian war had however prevented the consumation of their plans."⁴⁷

Colonel Patton's will reveals something of the confidence held in the Reverend John Craig and the session at Tinkling Spring. After a full commitment of his soul to God through the mercy and merit of his Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and committing his body to Providence, he requested:

... if convenient to where I resign my last breath to be buried at the tinkling Spring where my wife now Lies ... should any maner of diferencis arise betwixt my Executors they are to Leave all such to the decision of the Minister & Elders belonging to the tinkling Spring Congregation whose award seigned by any seven of them shall be final & no lawsuits to be Comensed only against he that Refuses to stand to the above award.⁴⁸

⁴⁵"Journal of the War in America," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 25:474-75, September, 1755.

⁴⁶Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 32-33. It was no doubt on this occasion that the Augusta Stone Church was used as a fort.

⁴⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, 2:467, October, 1852.

⁴⁸Augusta Will Book, *op. cit.*, II, 131-34; original with James Patton's seal intact, File Box II, Augusta Court Records, Clerk's Office, Staunton, Virginia.

CHAPTER TEN

Excerpts from the Autobiography of John Craig

A PREACHER preaching to himself from a long text of no less than sixty years: On review of past life.

I was born August 17th, 1709, in the parish of Dunager, County, Antrim, Ireland, of pious parents, the child of their old age, tenderly loved, but in prudent government, and by early instructions in the principles of religion as I was capable of receiving them, which had strong effects on my young and tender mind, (being then about five or six years of age,) and engaged me to fly to God with prayers and tears in secret, for pardon, peace, guidance and direction, while in the world, and to fit me for death; and what appears strange to me now, the just thoughts and expressions that were given to me, and the strict care of my conduct, lest in my childish folly, I should sin against God; and the correct desire I had to know more of God and my duty to him, made me diligent, and the task easy, to learn to read the word of God, which then and ever since gave me a great delight and pleasure: and though I endeavored to conceal my little religious exercises and acts of devotion, my affectionate and tender parents discovered my conduct, and turn of mind, and thirst after knowledge, which raised in them pleasing hopes, and engaged them contrary to their former designs, to bestow upon me a liberal education.¹

. . . observe, thou had no Choice of ye Age or place of ye world where to be born or of what parents but . . . how happy a Choice thy God has made for thee both with Respect to time & place when & where heathen Ignorance & Barbarities are No More, and popish Cruelties . . . & flames for Sake of Conscience and Cause of Christ was at an End. And Episcopal Zeal for Conformity . . . fined for preaching & hearing ye word of God, Prisons, Butes of pine Thumikins . . . gallows & the like acts of Cruelty acted in thy fathers Day & before it; the Blood and Sufferings of many thousands for the Cause of Christ & a Good Conscience had Glutted ye Bloodthirsty appetites; & Cooled & quenched that Devouring fiery Zeal in ye Brittish Dominions before thou was Born

But God gave thee thy Lot in ye morning of Britains Union and Most flourishing State when & where peace, Liberty of Conscience to protestants prevailed over all ye Brittish Dominions. Yea ye very Parish where thou was Born, was at that time Remarkable for the Modest Sober Religious Conduct of the people inhabiting that place, & for a faithfull able & Diligent Pastor ye Rev:d Alexander Brown whose Name is Ever Dear to thee

.
O my God make me truely Sensible of thy Great Goodness in ordering my Lot, without my Choice, in pleasant times & places

¹William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 28-29.

But to Return to ye historical Review of my life. when I was Sent to School to Learn ye Language a new Scene opened to me which before I was a Stranger too: having Never Seen ye vice folly and wickedness that So much prevail in the world: yea Some of my Schoolfellows not hesitating, as it Suited their tempers & Interest in their little trifling Concerns; to lie Cheat Curse Swear and profane ye Sabbath quarrel fight &c—which made Sin appear to me more odious & hatefull; and God more Mercifull Long-suffering & patient that Spared them

.

About ye fourteenth or fifteen year of my age I went to ye Rev:d Alexand:r Brown who Baptized me and after Examination Admitted me to ye Lords Table which prov'd a mighty Support against temptations and gave much Delight Comfort & Consolation Many a Sweet Communion Sabbath I Enjoy'd in my Native Country, Sometimes brought to the Banqueting house under ye Banner of Love Ravished with Love. And for all this wanted Not my thorn in the flesh which often brought me very Low.

As to my Conduct & Diligence for the Space of Eight or Nine years at School I never Received one Stroak or So much as a Sharp Rebuke from all the Masters I was With; But Still gained ye favour of them all.—I Spent Some years after Reading Algebra, Mathamaticks, Logicks, Metaphysicks, pneumaticks, Ethicks, under ye Care of able masters Geography & history both Ecclesiastick and profane & then went to Scotland to the College at Endenburgh & attain'd ye Degree of Master of Arts Anno Domini 1732 [1733].

As above observed in ye first Eight or Nine years of thy Life God was Graciously pleased to lay ye happy foundation of virtue & piety in thy mind, without much Resistance being then pliable & tender.—But oh Strange to think of it! What obstinate Resistance was made to ye Spirit of God in his Carrying on ye work of Grace, and a Life of holiness in ye next twelve or thirteen years of thy life.—these Enemies appearing in their turns—Pride, Self Conceit accompany'd with Ignorance, passions, Lusts, appetites, a Rebelious Will, yea ye whole Army of Natural Corruptions, Evil Company, Love to Vanity and a vain World,—and to Strengthen all, Satan by his insinuations & temptations, a Constant prompter of every Sinfull wicked Inclination all these under the appearance of friends to thee active to please thy Corrupt mind . . . what powerful Enemies are these, till Christ Subdue & Restrain them Discover their Deceit & Danger, Make the Soul hate & abhor them & fly from them

.

When I left my Native Country & went to Scotland being then among Strangers, I Soon Discover'd the Loss of being Distant from all these Whose Conversation Counsel & Directions had been most pleasant and profitable to me; this made me with More Earnestness fervency & frequency apply to God, who had formerly Supported Guided & Directed me that he would Continue to Do me Good, and Bless me in my Lawfull Designs, & give Success to my Endeavours to fit me for his Service in ye world. and on My part was Carefull in Choosing my Companions, frugal as to my Expense, Diligent in my Studies, was happy in all these Cases took out my Degrees &c. and in my way home, went to See & be acquainted with Some of my Relations in Scotland, among others an old

uncle and Aunt, for this uncle I was Named, and he Design'd me his Heir of a Little Laird-Ship worth about Sixty pounds a year as I was told having No Children of their own.—they were Kind to me, and offer if I would Stay with them and See them Decently Buried at their own Expence they would Leave me Heir of their Estate and they were Each of them between 80 & 90 years of age. I Express'd my obligation to them thankfully and told them I had very affectionate & Loving Parents which had Done a Great Duty for me, and that I must Consult with them before I Could Leave them for their approbation, which I believ'd to be my Duty. this Answer pleased them well So I took my farewell & Came home in Aprile 1732 [1733]

I found my Dear Parents & Relations all well to my Great Satisfaction & Stay'd with them about two years in which time I was Sorely Distress in body and mind how to Stear my Course thru the world So as to please God, Do Good to man, and to Secure my own Eternal happiness.—As to the world & my Support in it My prospect was promising Enough, My fathers patrimony having Now portion'd of all his Children but my Self & yet Rich Considered as a farmer, and My Uncle's Estate

But all this Could Not Satisfy my Mind, Nor answer the Ends of my Long Labour & Studies which had Steadily been with a view to the ministry (if it pleased God to qualify me for it and Call me to it) But when I was at the College I heard ye flouts, & Saw the affronts Cast at ye Mess Johns (ye phrase there used to Express the Students of Divinity) and being more able to Discover ye weight Charge of that office, these together with the low opinion I had Conceived of my own abilities for Such an important office had now Changed my mind Intirely from that office or any Desire after it.

Now ye mind Rov'd a New plan was Laid & with keeness Entered upon. I Resolved the Next year to attend ye Physicians hall, Setting apart from 9 to 12 oClock Every Night whilst others Deverted themselves or Slept, to Read Kiel's anatomy & other helps to fitt me for my Next years Design My Chamber meat was pursueing that Study which was a Great help to me in my Design but this I Kept Closs from my Parents and all my Relations which I knew would not approve of it nor Support ye Charge with this view, and So I design'd to Deceived them to procure a Support under ye Design to Study Divinity more fully. this was ye Cause of my affliction & Distress of mind which brought me very Low But Secret to all. but as I kept it Secret God Saw it & punished me openly in Such a manner as I Could See my Sin in the very Correction for it; & now bless God for it

When I Came home I brought the itch with me To Cure my Self of this Disorder, I would try my new Skill to blood & take Phisick; I was bleed by a friend knowing & well Experienced in that business; but after Some Days ye orifice fester'd and Swel'd about ye Bulk of an hasel Nut threw me into a fever which Continued ten Days; the orifice in that time got well, but my whole arm and hand Swel'd to a wonderfull Size; various means were used and ye Swelling Declin'd & went away I thought all was well (but all that did not yet humble me) ye whole arm instantly Swel'd again to an higher pitch than before, ye pain more Exquisite turn'd Black ye Skin feeless and in a week ye Sweling Siz'd on ye body Back & Breast Swel'd high, and I think within also, which made me

whise in breathing to be heard out of Doors—All hope of Life was Now lost by my Self, & all that Saw me, believing it to be a Mortification & Now past Cure having Sized ye Body, and that in a few hours I must be in Eternity. altho my pain was great beyond Expression, I Still Enjoy'd my Reason but what was all these pains to ye agonies of ye mind then Conscience Roar'd like a Devouring Lyon, and in a most Sharp and terrible manner accusing me of my Deceitfull & unsteady Dealing with God Before whom I Expected instantly to appear, and to Cheat & grieve the hearts of my Loving & affectionate parents then Standing weeping over me, piting & Lament my Sufferings, tho they knew but little of the Dreadful Agonies I was then Labouring under their tears but increased my Misery as knowing my Secret Designs Rendered me unworthy of their Love then was I fully Convinc'd of ye Evil of my New Design and that God had take me in the trap in the very way of Life I Designed to follow, & to Cut me off in it; Because my Pride Ease and Liberty to Live at Large, had Led me off from the Desire of Serving him in ye way I had Resolved upon, as Laborious Difficult and a Despised office amongst ye fashionable part of the world. Now ye mask was taken off and I was fully Convicted of my fault;— this was a Dreadful Crisis of Life to me! And as a Guilty Humble Penitent brought me to the Throne of Grace for mercy & free Grace, Sincerely Confessing Sin, Earnestly Asking pardon, firmly Resolving & promising amendment if ye mercifull God would Grant Life & Days.

My Requests was offered up thro Christ in Great Earnest but weak faith; I Could Say I Desired Life but Could not Say I had hopes of Life.—but Goodness and Mercy in God to me, was above & beyond my Expection and weak hope; he was my Phisician when Given up by men Removed all ye Danger in a few Days, to my admiration & Joy, and happily fixed my Mind on My first Design Curing ye De'ase of body & mind at once. Gave me ye use of my hand & arm as before.—I was about Six months under this Correction and I hope it answered the End to me.—

Being Now willing to Serve God in any office Station or Relation he Pleased to fit me for & Call me too; or in any place where he pleased to Send me. Patrimony & Estate had then little weight in my mind being well Convinced that God who Saved my Life from Death, would Support it whilst he had any Service for it. So I Cast my Self upon his Care and Earnestly pray'd for his Direction.

America was then Much in my mind accompany'd with this Argument, that Service would be most pleasing and acceptable, where most Needfull & wanting which rais'd in me a Strong Desire to See that part of ye world

But I had Resolved Never to be Rash in determining affairs of weight importance any more, and began to think of that affair deliberately. to Leave my Dear and most affectionate Parents Now very old, my Relations acquaintances & Sweet Companions Some of them very Dear to me with all my prospects of a way of Living and thousands of Dangers & Difficulties appearing in ye way which appear'd hard to Get over, but for these things, my mind was Determined believing it to be my Duty to venture thro all opposition I Consulted my parents & friends who Did not much hinder my Design but grieved at my thought of Leaving them but above all I Earnestly Cry'd to God for his Direction that he would Restrain or Encourage me as he Saw would tend to his Glory & my happiness Still my mind was Steady

at that time I had a Dream or vision Representing to me; as it were in Minature the whole that has happened to me of any importance these thirty-five years yea the very place I have been Settled in these thirty years, I knew it at first Sight & have Done here what was Represented to me there.—But thought little of it then, tho often of it Since.—My mind being fully Settled & Determined; I prepared for my Long Voage.—

Having taken farewell of my friends & Country (no Easie task) we went on board at Learn June: 10: 1734 and in ye kind providence of God Landed all Safe at New Castle on Delaware ye 17th of August following being born in ye old World & landed in the New the very Same Day of ye year & hour of ye Day, which I then observed. in the Passage I was Sore afflicted with Sea Sickness which brought me very Low; but Recovered both health & Strength before I Came a Shore. I Escaped a very Eminent danger of being Lost in a Manner almost miraculous without any mean but ye kind hand of providence being accidentally Cast over board in a Dark & tempestuous Night, Lay as on a bed of Down on my back, on the Raging Wave which tost'd me back on ye Ship's Side where I found holds & Sprung aboard & none aboard knew of it nor Did I Speak of to any while at Sea.—this Evidence of Divine Care I ought Ever to Remember with a Gratefull & thankfull heart to his praise & Glory who made the proud wave a bed but not a Grave to Swallow me up without Remidy

When I Came ashore I mett with an old acquaintance the Rev'd Benjamin Campbell then Minister of New-Castle he had been in the Country Some years, and was very kind & friendly to me in Every Respect; he was a very Judicious Gentleman, Gave Me a just account of the Country, and with Care advised me to Seek aliving in a heathy place of the Country tho poor, gave me an account of the Ministry & of men of parts among them which turn'd out Greatly to my advantage. he was then Ageish, & Died about two months after Greatly to my Grief

The Synod of Philadelphia Mett in September 21 1734 where I attended having Several Letters of Recommedation from Ministers in Ireland to their Correspondent ministers here and then had an opportunity to Deliver them they were of Service to me for the ministers used me as well as a Stranger Could Expect on that account—

It Gave me both Grief & Joy to See that Synod, Grief to See their Small Number & mean appearance, Joy to See their mutal Love, & Good order, & men of Solid Sense among them & Steady to ye Presbyterian Principles & against all innovations which began to appear at this Synod from an overture Read publicly by the Rev:d Gilbert Tennent Concerning the Receiving of Candidates into the Ministry & Communicants to the Lords table &c which he imbibed from one Mr. Freelinghouse a Low Dutch Minister which Notions was then openly Rejected, but afterwards prevail'd So far as to Divid the Synod & put ye Church of God here into ye utmost Confusion not yet Rooled out tho Endeavoured^a

I now wanted a fixed Residence, finding it unsafe unprofitable & Expensive to wander about. But to find a place healthy where I Could gain my Bread and

^aSee *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), pp. 106-8.

be under ye Care of a minister able to help me was at that time very Difficult. —this I Endeavoured to find at Several places and times for three months, but Still fail'd, which Greatly Distress'd my Mind as if God . . . had No Service for me here, but Such was the Love of God to me a poor Stranger that he would not Suffer me to Settle, but where I had all the things Desired to answer the Good End I had in view; I Saw here that a Steady Dependence on God far Exceeds humane Wisdom he at Last brought me to a healthy place, an home, a main-tainance, a faithfull & able friend a Sincere Christian ye Rev:d John Thompson of Chesnutlevel whose praise is Deservedly in ye Church, as being ye instrument in the hand of God of forming her into an organized Body here, & Defending her while he Liv'd

Now I began to foreget my Sorrow having my home with a poor but akind Stranger, and ye Sweet and improving Conversation of So Good & kind a friend here I Liv'd in Love & peace till ye year 1739 and then Remove to augusta County in ye Colony of Virginia

I taught School one year, and Read two years more Being Still affraid to Engage in So weighty a work & office; But being invited by ye Presbytery I entered on trials & was Licensed by ye Presbytery of Dunegal in Pensilvania in ye year 1737, but was Still more affraid to undertake ye Charge of a Congregation tho I had Several Calls Given me, till I was Sent to a new Settlement in Virginia of our own Country people near 300 Miles Distant.—they were Encouraged to Settle there by ye honorable Sr: William Gooch then Governour of Virginia a Good man & a father to the frontiers in the Colony who allow them the Benefit of the act of tolleration.—No Presbyterians being Settled as an organized body in the Colony Since it was first Settled that I heard of.

from ye Dream I had before I left Ireland when I came to ye Settlement knew it to be the plot in Christs Vineyard where I was to Labour (I must Say I thought but Little of it which perhaps was my Sin) from them I had a Call & Durst Not Refuse it altho I well Saw that it would Be attended with many & Great Difficulties; but Seing this So Clearly to be ye Call of providence, & if I Should not Despise ye Day of Small things, & that he Could perfect his Strength in my weakness, Granting Every Necessary qualification, Gift & Grace, for Carrying on his work and Support ye agent Called by him to Do ye work, under Every Difficulty & Danger falling in the way while faithfull thus with a Steady Dependence on God for Light and Direction, aid and assistance, prudence & understanding I accepted their Call pass'd ordination trials & was ordain'd as their Pastor & Received by their Commisioners in Dunegal the last of August 1740

Look Back, O my Soul, with wonder & admiration, on the wisdom & Goodness of God, who So happily Connected the various Dispensations of his providence; that mercy Love & tender Care appears in the whole; as also a wise Discipline to train up & inure by Degrees for more trying Dispensations that Might fall in thy Lot; as thy Sore affliction while aboard ye Ship, was a mean Reason to prevent thy going home, when So much Discouraged for want of a Residence Suited to thy Designs.—Gods Care of thee when Lying on the tempestuous wave, was a Strong argument with thee that he would not Leave or foresake thee in an Inhabited Country.—thou hast Seen, he would not give a

Residence till he brought thee to ye very place thou Earnestly wish'd and pray'd for.—tho thou Couldst hardly believe that there was Such an opportunity to be had in ye Country

having Devoted thy Service to God in ye ministerial office if he Call'd thee to it. thou then Saw ye Labour great ye Support Small, ye Charge heavy ye Esteem And authority Little: this had its affects on thy mind to which add the fair prospect thou hadst of making a fortune in the Merchandizing way in a Sober Religious family & perhaps ye most wealthy in the Province, these were No Small Temptations. Yet God assist thee to overcome all, to Engage in the Service of God and trust him for thy Support which he never fail'd in to this Day but has granted to thee Agur's prayer [Proverbs 30]

.....

This is ye Last Scene of my Life to the End of my 60th year to which all ye preceding part was but as a preparative as to Labour, trials, temptations, Grievs, Dangers, Losses, Crosses &c

When I Came to the people of my Charge they Received me in the Most friendly manner, whose friend Ship (Except a very few) Continued Steady these thirty years to our Mutual Comfort. In this I have been Most happy. but Destitute of all Conversation Direction or Advice of Fathers or Brethren for more than ten years being about 200 Miles from ye Nearest Presbyterian Minister the place was a New Settlement, without place of worship, or any Church order, A wilderness in a proper Sense and a few Christians Settled in it, with Numbers of the Heathen [Indians] traveling among us, but Generally Civil tho Some people were Murdered by them about that time. they March in Small Companies from twenty to fifty Sometimes more or Less. they must be Supply'd at any house they Call at with victuals or they become their own Stewarts & Cooks Spairing Nothing they Chuse to Eat or Dring in the house and Carries with them bread and Meat as they please which was troubleSome Expensive & Sometimes dangerous for they Go all Arm'd for war in their way.

A Company passing kill'd Some Cattle & horses, Some neighbours Mett went & Enquired why they Did So? Ye Indians Gave them No Answer, but fir'd upon ym the English Returned ye fire made ye Indians give way; in that Skirmish Eight men of ye English were kill'd & Severals wounded, & fifteen of ye Indians was kill'd, ye Rest fled. ye unExpected News Ran Swiftly Thro ye Settlement which Greatly alarmed all the Inhabitants Next Day amore dreadfull Alarm Came of 500 Indians at ye Lower End of ye Settlement murdering all they Could find about ten miles off the people gethered together & all yt Could Carry arms went to meet them & happily found ye Report false But ye Cries of women & Children Left without any Defence to Depend on was very Shocking to me the times was Distressing, as we were far from Lidon few of our Selves & fewer to Espouse our Cause heartily for these Difficulties I was obliged to bear a part.—

Another thing that gave me Great Concern, was how to Act So as to maintain Presbyterian order & Rules of Government in our Church & So as not to Give offence to ye Establish Church, and Government with whom I had to Do. and in this Case providence ordered Matters So that I obtain'd their approbation & Esteem when we were Erected into a County & parish, and had ministers in-

ducted, of which we had two they both in their turns wrote to me Making high Demands, I gave no Answer but Still observed our own Rules where there was No positive Law against them.—

Another Distressing affair to me being alone was the Division of our Church, having Seen ye Conduct of ministers and People when I was in Pensilvania; that Maintain'd these New Doctrines Examined ye Contraversie, had free Conversation with both parties apply'd to God for Light and Direction in yt important Concern, which was Done with time & Deliberation, Not Instantly; I attain'd Clearness of Mind to Join in ye protest against these New and uncharitable opinions & ye Ruin of Church Government

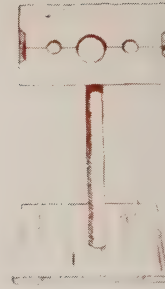
This Gave offence to Some two or three families in my Congregation; who then Look'd upon me as an opposer of ye work of God, as they Call'd it an Enemy to Religion &c. And apply'd with all keenness to their holy & Spiritual teachers, to Come & preach & Convert the people of my Charge & free them from Sin & Satan and from me a Carnal Wretch, upon whom they unhappily Depended for instruction to their Souls utter Destruction.—they flying Speedily Came and thunder'd their New Gospel thro Every Corner of my Congregation, & Some of them had ye assurance to Come to my house & Demand a Dismission for Some of my Subscribers who had invited them being tented with these Notions formerly; but Providence So order'd that affair yt they Gain'd None of my people more that I know of, my moral Character Stood Clear & Good Even among them but they freely Loaded me with these and ye Like—poor, blind, Carnal hypocritical Damn'd wretch—this Given to my face by Some of their Ministers and when I administered ye Lords Supper to my people they mockingly Said to their Neighbours going to it, what are you Going to Craig's frolick?—I thought then that God had given me a Difficult plot to Labour in alone, among Strangers, not knowing how to trust any, in danger by the heathen, Reproached by Some of my own people & Nation, our Religion from our own Conduct our Enthusiastick & uncharitable Notions became the Test of ye wicked & profane. and had not God in his Great Goodness Directed Supported & Encouraged me I would fled from ye place as from an Enemy but I Ever Call'd upon him in trouble, & he Never fail'd to help

To Chuse a Session to please ye people & mySelf and to unite their affections when ordain'd Cost me much thought and Labour and God Granted that Blessing also which was the Strength & Stay of ye Congregation. it was Large by Computation about thirty miles in Lenth & Near twenty in breath the people agreed to have two Meeting houses. Expecting they would become two Congregations which is Now Come to pass (this prior to my Relation to them)

That part Now Called Tinkling-Spring was most in Number & Richer than the other & forward had ye publick Management of ye affairs of ye whole Settlement, their Leaders proud Selfinterested Contentious & ungovernable all of them Closshanded about providing Necessary things for pious or Religious uses, and Could Not agree for Several years upon ye place or Manner where & how to build their meetinghouse, which Gave me very Great trouble to hold them together their Disputes Rose So high a Difference happened between Coll. John Lewis & Coll James Patton both Living in that Congregation which Continued while they Liv'd Which of them Should be highest in Commission & power which was hurtful to ye Settlement but Especially to me; they were



LEG IRONS



WHIPPING POST
OR
PILLORY



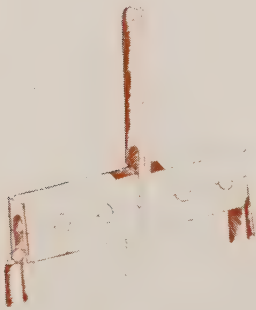
HANDCUFFS



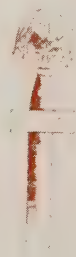
DUCKING STOOL



NOOSE



STOCKS



MURDERER'S HEAD
ON POST

Figure XIII
Instruments of Punishment in Early Augusta County

Jealous of my interest with the people to Such a Degree that I Could Neither Bring them to friendship with Each other Nor obtain both their friendships at once Ever after; they both had Good interest with ye people of their own party; and one of them always by turns bitter Enemies to me which was very hurtfull both to my peace & Interests, they by turns Narrowly watched Every Step of my Conduct—marred my Support to ye utmost of their power—use their interest with ye people to Drive me from the place or Starve me out for want of Support but to no purpose, for the people always intertain'd a Good opinion of me. My Character always Stood Clear, tho they hurt my Estate very much this Continued for 13 or 14 years till Coll. Patton was murdered by the Indians at that time he was at peace with me after his Death Coll. Lewis was friendly to me till he Died here God maintain'd my Cause & Supported me under base & Cruel usage but their wicked Devices Did not Die with them my Estate Still Suffers by it and ye Congregation Continues a vacancy, the old Contentious Spirit Still Remaining amongst them

To give one of many instances how basely I was us'd Coll. Patton being a Magistrate Send his precept to the Common Constable an 100 [pound] penalty to bring me immediately before his worship designedly to fall out on the Sabbath day ye Constable as Soon as Divine Service was he Carried me off (I knowing No Cause or Reason for it) as the Vilest Criminal. when I appear'd before him he asked me Some questions about a Run away Servant and what he had Reported I had Neither Seen ye man nor knew anything of ye matter. but his Design was to terrify & affront me, and provoke me to Speak Something in passion whereof he Might accuse me & Drive me from my Charge and all this because I would Not become his Creature to Serve his interest

But a Just God after he had born with him & prospered his Designs for awhile Sent a Summons for him unexpectedly Suddenly by merciless & Cruel officers to answer more important questions & before a more awfull & Just Judge than he ask'd of me.

As to ye other part of the Congregation Now Called Augusta the people were fewer in Number & much Lower as to their worldly Circumstances; But a Good Natur'd prudent Governable people, and Liberally bestowed apart of what God gave them for Religious & pious uses, & now Enjoy ye benefit in a Decent & becoming Manner, to their Great Satisfaction, Always unanimous among themSelves Loving & kind to me these thirty years, with whom I Enjoy'd ye Greatest Satisfaction & Serve them with pleasure. they Support me under the persecution (for it Deserves No better Name) of these ambitious men of the other part of the Congregation I had No trouble with these about their Meeting house but to Moderate & Direct them when Mett: they Readily fixed on the place, & Agreed on ye plan for building it and Contributed Cheerfully, Mony & Labour to Accomplish the work; all in ye voluntary way, what Every man pleased.

These hints will Serve to bring to Remembrance the whole Scenes of toil Labour & Suffering; and Satisfaction Comfort & pleasure Enjoy'd till the war brok out when Coll. Washington was Defeated at Broad Meadows.

Look Back O my Soul with Admiration wonder & Love at the wise Dispensations of Providence perfectly Calculated for thy Good & truest happiness.—here was a Rod to Correct and a Staff to Support thy Heavenly father Saw both needfull for thee, & in Love Sent them both to thee.

The Rod Gaured thee from Pride Luxury Self Conceit; made thee watchfull Diligent & faithfull in thy office; taught thee to Live by faith Not by ye people's Subscriptions; kept thee a Constant & Steady Dependent on heaven for wisdom & prudence, for Direction & patience, how to Speak, act, and Suffer, So as Not to Offend God, or give offence to men: but to advance God's Glory, and promote the happiness of all the people of my Charge Even these that treated thee ill

As to my private or Domestick State of Life, when fix'd in ye Congregation I found ye unseasonable Calls, to visit the Sick, & baptize Sick Children and ye Like; prov'd troubleSome to ye place where I Lodg'd, and Not willing to trouble others it gave the More to my Self; which wearied me of that State of Life. I then purchased a plantation & began to improve upon it, and June 11: 1744 married a Young Gentle woman of a Good family & Character Born & brought up in ye Same Neighbourhood where I was born Daughter to Mr. George Russel: by whom I had nine Children Six Now alive and three Dead, & have been both happy in ye Relation hitherto, tho Not without our troubles trials and afflictions our fortunes being Small we Endeavoured to increase it by our Labour Care and frugal Management which we Cheerfully Comply'd with as our Necessity Required: but God was pleased to try us with many Sharp & Sore afflictions heavy to be born in our persons family & Estate.

Having prepared a little house we Sett up housekeeping having Neither Servant Nor Slave to help us, only Employing hirelings when we Could find them; the toil of Serving our Selves we Esteem'd No Burden.

The first Distressing Circumstance which happened to us was when My wife was Great with her first Child Coll. Patton Sends ye Constable with a precept of an 100 [pound] penalty to bring me before him None of us knew for what I was to be Carri'd prisoner before him; My Wife Never having Seen Ministers used in Such a Manner, Was very much terrify'd, fearing Some Dreadfull Evil She knew Not what, to befall me. but Go I must & did (but She took uneasie immediately) he had Some trifling questions to ask me. when I had Resolved them he Let me Go, I had about 14 miles home & found My wife in a very Low Condition in which She Continue for five weeks with Some interval till She was Delivered; During which time almost Every Night & Sometimes for ye Most part of the Night I had to Sit & hold her in My Arms, often not knowing Whether She was Living or Dead & None in the house but our Selves; our Sufferings we Conceal'd as far as we possibly Could, least we Should be made the Jest of Some that waited for our halting. this was hard to bear, but God permitted Something harder to follow which Distressed me Even beyond Expression

While my wife was in Labour which was tedious and hard [women being with her] I being alone in alittle house near where she was; Sometimes Reading, Sometimes Meditating, and offering up my Requests to heaven Suitable to my present Circumstances at that time:

.

This happened May 29: 1745

. . . My first born Died october 4: 1745 being four months & Six days old which was a very Great Grief to us ye parents being again Left alone.

In a few weeks after providence permitted New trials to fall in our way of a Different kind from these mention'd. I had purchased a Stock of horses breeding Mares, & Cows ye Best I Could find in ye Settlement. Upon which our Little mony was laid out for our use.

But in two or three weeks they all Died (I mean from the first yt Died to last was Dead) I had Neither Child horses Nor Cow Left me; Now in Job State Except his personal affliction I must travel afoot for No horse of my property that Came on my plantation Liv'd above three or four Days, I had Severals in the woods and brought them home as I had need when ye Rest was Dead but all of them Died I Could not Discover their Distemper tho I Search with all Diligence their Carcases, Nor Did it Reach farther than my property. It was Court time, & we had many Strangers lodged with us taverans then being few their horses went & fed with ours when Dying with the Disorder But theirs were all Safe & well; & after Some time when a friend Lent me an horse to Ride it was Safe and well & So of all I had borrowed till Spring

but what Convinced me fully, My Brother Liv'd with me on the place and our Cattle pastur'd together all the Summer, and feed together always Night & Day and Not one of his Died tho they Eat that very food that mine had Slobbered upon & Could not Eat when Dying; and they were all fat & Strong would Scarcely Eat fodder ye food in ye woods being then Good, it was in ye Month of December 1745.

During that time my wife went & milk'd a fine young Cow that Gave a large quantity of milk for Supper to our Selves & Some Strangers that was with us we all Supp'd plentifully and by morning light She went out & found that Same Cow Dead Stife and Cold, & this put us in Great fear Lest ye milk Should have affected us with ye Same Disorder but none of us was ye worse for it, only we . . . feared that when the Stock was destroyed we might Suffer in our persons Nothing Else being Left us: but our fears was mercifully Disappointed and our worldly loss give us little trouble when we our Selves were well . . .

It was then Reported that ye Cattle was kill'd by Witch Craft, and indeed for Several Reasons that appeared to me in observing that Scene of affairs I Really thought then & Now; that God had permitted Satan and his Emissaries to Destroy them to try my patience and Dependence on God: but I Conceal'd my opinion Carefully Guarding my whole Conduct . . . So as Not to give offence to God or man; wellknowing the Divel had higher Designs than to kill Brutes.

Another Report was Raised that I used Charms and named Neighbours as the instruments of our loss both these were Directly False; Yet more Effectually answered Satans Designs against me; as it open'd a door for Some of my Adversaries who watched my Steps to alienate ye affection of my friends; who Speedily improved ye opportunity thinking they had now Gain'd their End Immediately by their authority Called & qualify'd wittnesses to prove these Charges against me Contrary to Justice or Equity as being both the accuser & Judge; but Greatly to my advantage, as they Could find Nothing against me themselves being Judges which both Confused & Disappointed them Greatly, hoping by that means they Could have Driven me away with Shame & Disgrace, which they Desired to Do. But when my innocence appeared So Clearly the people wondered at my prudence & patience under So many Sharp trials & hard treatment.

God Continued to Exercise me with trying Dispensations in my family; to teach me patience and Resignation to his will: but always mixed mercy & Goodness with Chastisements He took my first Child, & left ye second with me; took ye third and left ye fourth with me; took ye fifth & left ye Sixth with me: and gave me three More without any farther Breach to this day . . .

As my family Encreased So Did my Care & Expense to prov'd for them food & Raiment & what Education I Could afford them as it was both Expensive & Difficult to be had in this wilderness ye people of my Congregations was all New Settlers, & Generally of Low Circumstances their own Necessities Called for all their Labours, they Could or did Do little for my Support Except a few, and Consequently fell Greatly in arear. Yet to avoid the vile Reproach of Greed Commonly Cast on ye Clergy, & to prevent Reflections of Some who were No friends to my interest, & of the Established Church willing to find anything to Cast in our teeth of this kind.—I Carefully observed Never to Demand Stipend, or for Marriage, or Supplying vacancies But when and what they pleased to give & Received thankfully as if it had been a meer Bounty tho I kept a Just & Clear account of what I Received . . . Yet one of my Congregations Refuse to pay their Arrear which they acknowledge to be Sixty nine pounds after I gave up my Charge of that Congregation Some years I modestly Desired them to pay ye Ballance Due. this Conduct obliged me & my family to be both industrious and frugal, and God So blessed our Endeavours . . .³

What made the times distressing and unhappy to all the frontiers, was the French and Indian war, which lay heavy on us, in which I suffered a part as well as others. When General Braddock was defeated and killed, our country was laid open to the enemy, our people were in dreadful confusion and discouraged to the highest degree. Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon, were for flying to a safer place of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, and a noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity . . . They required me to go before them in the work which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate. The people very readily followed, and my congregation in less than two months was well fortified.⁴

Dr. Foote, to whom we are indebted for this last section of the Craig autobiography because of the loss of pages from the original, in his *Sketches of Virginia*, adds:

Mr. Craig urged the building forts in convenient neighborhoods, sufficient to hold twenty or thirty families, secure against small arms, and on alarms to flee to these places of refuge, one of which was to be the church. The proposition was acted upon generally.⁵

³The Autobiography of John Craig, pp. 3 *et passim*.

⁴Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 32-33.

⁵*Ibid.*, II, 32.

PART THREE
CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS IN ACTION

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Days of the French and Indian War, 1755-1763

THE travel records of itinerant missionaries in Augusta County, Virginia, give us a clergyman's glimpse of mid-eighteenth century conditions. The road condition and situation at the county seat are of interest in the Moravian travel diaries of 1753:

On October 19 . . . They gave us bad news that beyond "Augusti" Court House the way is so bad that we would hardly be able to proceed

On October 22 . . . We found two passable roads. Bro. Gattlob and Nathanael proceeded us on the left hand road. They met a woman, who informed them about the way. Then they came back to us again and we took the road to the right

On October 24 . . . We came to "Augusti Court House", a little town of some twenty houses, surrounded by mountains on all sides. This whole district is settled by Irish [Scots] and English people. Immediately behind "Augusti Court House" the bad road begins. (There are two roads here, the one to the right goes to Caroline.) The road ran up and down continually, and we had either to push the wagon or keep it back with ropes which we had fastened to the rear. . . . [We] went to several plantations to buy feed for our horses. But the people had none themselves. However, they were very friendly and regretted that they could not help us.¹

The Reverend Hugh McAden, New Side Presbyterian, having been licensed in 1755 by New Castle Presbytery, was sent to preach in the vacancies in Virginia and North Carolina. His first lesson in the school of experience from a fellow presbyter in Pennsylvania was that it was "remarkable" for a minister to try to visit in "both sides" of the division that was then raging over revivals—called Old Side and New Side. Mr. McAden's experience in Augusta County is given us by Dr. Foote and is in part as follows:

On Thursday, the 19th, he set off up the valley of Shenandoah, of which he says: "Alone in the wilderness. Sometimes a house in ten miles, and sometimes not that." On Friday night he lodged at a Mr. Shankland's, eighty miles from Opecquon, and twenty from Augusta court-house. On Saturday he stopped at a Mr. Poage's—"stayed for dinner, the first I had eaten since I left Pennsylvania."

¹William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, editors, "Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 12:143, 145-47, October, 1904.

From Staunton he went to . . . Samuel Downey's, at North Mountain, where he preached on the fourth Sabbath of June, according to appointment, and being detained by his horse, preached there the fifth Sabbath also. The same cause detaining him another week, he consented to preach in the new court-house on the first Sabbath of July. "Rode to widow Preston's Saturday evening, where I was very kindly entertained, and had a commodious lodging." This is probably the widow of John Preston, whose family have since been so famous in Virginia. . . . On Monday he rode out to John Trimble's, more encouraged by the appearances at North Mountain than in Staunton. On Tuesday he passed on to the Rev. John Brown's, who was the first settled minister of Providence and Timber Ridge. "Here I was vehemently desired by Mr. Brown to preach in one of his places, having set apart a day of fasting and prayer, on the account of the wars and many murders committed by the savage Indians on the back inhabitants. To this I agreed, having appointed the Forks of James River for the next Lord's day, where I could easily reach on Saturday. So I tarried, and preached at Timber Ridge on Friday, which was the day appointed, to a pretty large congregation. . . . Great attention and solemnity appeared throughout the whole assembly; nay, so engaged were they that, though there came up a pretty smart gust, they seemed to mind it no more than if the sun had been shining on them. But in a little time the Lord turned it so about that we were little more disturbed than if we had been in a house."²

Let us note in this record that Mr. McAden neither recognized the presence of Rev. John Craig nor visited his meeting houses. However, he visited in the homes of both the Poages of Augusta Stone and the Prestons of Tinkling Spring. These, or others of Craig's congregation, no doubt brought about Mr. McAden's consent "to preach in the new court-house on the first Sabbath of July." Though the Preston kindness is recognized, the Staunton reception was less encouraging than was John Trimble's at North Mountain. The implications here are that Mr. Craig was holding his own congregation in line with the Old Side but all around him the New Side evangelical fervor was growing at a spirited pace.³

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IMPROVE AS PEACE IS SOUGHT

While the pioneer settler in Augusta lived, during his initial stay, principally on the wild products of nature, he was not content to live Indian style for long. His first domestic "industry" was the neighborhood grist mill run by waterpower in which the Indian corn was ground into meal.⁴ Domestic animals were in use almost from the beginning.

²William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), pp. 162-63.

³The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 27.

⁴Augusta County Court Records, Order Book I, 8, 49.

It appears that the earliest sale of a product to the outside trade was pelts of deer and buffalo. From the standpoint of a "money crop," hemp was the first leading product. The British navy was dependent on it for rope, and the back parts of Virginia supplied good hemp land.⁵ Flax raising was also begun at an early date, being used in the pioneers' "linsey-woolsey" clothing. It appears that the production of flax did not exceed the local demand. However, there was set up in 1767 a "fulling mill" in the county and John Caldwell, of Tinkling Spring, prepared to manufacture "linseed oyl." Tobacco was tried in the Valley but without success;⁶ even cotton was given a try.⁷ All these crops—cotton, hemp, flax and tobacco—are of interest now only because they have ceased to be a part of the economic life of today in this area.

Among the successful products of the Valley pioneer that continue today are corn, wheat, horses, hogs and cattle. Corn was at first a necessity for food but soon became a popular grain crop.

Dr. Freeman H. Hart in his book on the Valley of Virginia writes concerning produce and trade:

Wheat ranked next to hemp in production. Scores of flour mills had been erected by 1763, some with independent proprietors and others as adjuncts to the larger plantations. By 1775 the north Valley was exporting large quantities of both flour and wheat, and the southern counties were not far behind. . . . Corn was another popular grain crop. . . . Horses, cattle, and hogs rivaled wheat and flour as Valley products. In addition to their value in the raising of grain, horses had an especial appeal. They provided the frontiersman, ever interested in moving on when he hears of better lands elsewhere, with the necessary means of transportation. If raised for the market, horses were easily sold. Since such accessible and mobile property provided unusual temptation for the idle and vicious, the ready sale proved a bane as well as a blessing. As a result, horse stealing became the chief criminal problem of the frontier. The colonial legislature offered ten pounds reward for the apprehension of such thieves.

It was easier to raise cattle than horses; the expense was lower and there was less likelihood of theft. . . .

William Crow, a merchant of Staunton and later of Botetourt County, who dealt largely in cattle, usually drove his herds to such markets as Winchester, Philadelphia, and Fort Pitt, as well as to eastern Virginia. Driving a large herd through such open country, in which there were more cattle than fences, without accumulation or loss was a difficult task—and Crow was sometimes charged with picking up cattle that were not his own. It was his custom to gather his herds, numbering from 150 to 200, as he moved north, and on one occasion when his

⁵Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11.

⁷Augusta County Court Records, Survey Book I, 42.

herd grew from 131 to 141 within a few miles, the wife of a prominent settler remarked that "Crow's drove increased damnable."

To one of his complainants Crow is reported to have said, "You are like to make me a cattle thief." The reply was, "I never called you a thief but you took my cow." Because of this and other similar difficulties, he was haled into court and required to pay for the cattle that might or might not have voluntarily joined his herd. Crow was a forerunner of the cattle herders of the Great West.⁸

This improved economic condition is reflected nowhere more vividly than in the improvement of "Sunday Clothes." We find the deer skin and linsey-woolsey being replaced to some degree at an early date by serge, satin and silk. An inventory of James Leister, a Staunton merchant, recorded May 13, 1761, lists a large stock of goods among which are the following items:

. . . Broad Cloth . . . Scarlet serge . . . Shalloon . . . Blew Calimanco . . . Damask . . . gingham . . . printed cotton . . . Black Velvit . . . Tafity . . . dark ground Calicoe . . . Cambrick . . . silk Caps . . . Blew hair Buttons . . . Neck laces . . . Rugs . . . Scarlet mantles . . .⁹

The labor of the early Valley settler was supplied at the beginning by the members of the pioneer family, the father relying largely on his wife and children for help. A report in 1756 on Valley population indicates that less than five per cent were slaves.¹⁰ At Tinkling Spring ". . . a small addition made to one side of the Church . . . was assigned to the few blacks who at that time had been recently introduced into the valley."¹¹ James Patton, Tinkling Spring officer, as early as 1738 traded in indentured servants¹² and at the time of making his will in 1750 owned negro slaves, of whom five are named.¹³ A son-in-law of John Lewis, William Crow, listed as a Tinkling Spring contributor, traded in convict slaves in Augusta County.¹⁴ The Reverend John Craig, pastor

⁸Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13.

⁹Augusta County Court Records, Will Book III, 150-54.

¹⁰Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 15, citing Chalmers Papers, Virginia section.

¹¹Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of the Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:466, October, 1852; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26.

¹²Lyman C. Draper, Draper Manuscripts, Peter Burk's Indenture Covenant with James Patton, 1738, IQQ4.

¹³Augusta County Court Records, File Box II, James Patton Will, recorded in Will Book *op. cit.*, II, 131-34.

¹⁴Augusta County Court Judgments, March 1768, cited in Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), I, 347; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

of Tinkling Spring and Stone Meeting House, owned indentured servants¹⁵ and slaves.¹⁶ By 1763 the Valley had an estimated population of 20,000 whites and a thousand blacks.¹⁷

The Tinkling Spring Church with nearly a hundred heads of families just prior to the French and Indian War of 1755-1763 was a leading factor in giving moral fiber and, therefore, permanent qualities to the way of life indicated in the continually improving economic structure of the Shenandoah Valley. The importance of the sterling quality and resolute determination of the Valley people, as it was exhibited in the Tinkling Spring people under the leadership of Colonel James Patton and Rev. John Craig, can be appreciated only in its proper perspective against the background given us by the historians. Preston Davie tells us in clear tones some of the issues that gave importance to the details within the range of our study:

Originally that part of the Great Trading Path, which traversed Virginia, lay only a short distance above the falls-line of the Virginia Rivers emptying into Chesapeake Bay on its western shore. But as the white settlers from the Jamestown settlement pushed up these rivers as the colony expanded, and, by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, came into closer proximity with the Great Trading Path, clashes between the white settlers and parties of the Five Nations warriors using it, increased to the point that a general war with that confederation threatened. To avert this, the then Governor of Virginia, Lord Howard of Effingham, in 1687 journeyed to Albany in the Province of New York, where meeting with the Sachems of the Five Nations he negotiated the first Treaty of Albany. By it, among other things, the Sachems agreed to move farther west that part of the Great Trading Path lying in Virginia, so that as changed it skirted the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge Mountains. This first Treaty of Albany eased the situation for nearly a generation; but an ever increasing tide of land-hungry white settlers thrusting westward beyond the falls-line of the Virginia Rivers, where Tidewater Virginia ends and Piedmont Virginia begins; by the second decade of the eighteenth century again came in such close proximity to the Great Trading Path of the northern Indian confederation that danger of a general conflict being precipitated again loomed. And so in 1722 Lieut-Governor Spotswood of Virginia, as his predecessor Lord Howard of Effingham had done in 1687, also journeyed to Albany in the Province of New York and after much ceremony, speechmaking, and passing of wampum tokens—in accordance with the custom of the Indians—negotiated with the Sachems of the Six Nations the Second Treaty of Albany. By it, among other things, that part of the Great Trading Path which lay within Virginia was again shifted still farther west, this time across the Blue Ridge Mountains to extend

¹⁵Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, VII, 462; VIII, 122.

¹⁶Augusta Will Book, *op. cit.*, VI, 505-6; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁷Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

for much of its length through the Great Valley of Virginia. For a time this shift again averted the danger of a general conflict with the potent Confederation of the Six Nations. By the 1730's, however, the tide of white settlers, spilling across the Blue Ridge Mountains, and southward from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland into the Great Valley of Virginia, once again came into dangerous proximity with the Great Trading Path of the Indian Six Nations, and their trading, hunting and war parties using it.

Another and even more portentous threat was now also beginning to loom on the political horizon at about this time, namely, increasing tension between the French and British in their ancient rivalry for supremacy on the North American Continent. Not until 1755, however, was this rivalry to culminate in the French and Indian War which ended French ambitions in North America.

Meanwhile the French were increasing their activities in furthering an ambitious design to construct and garrison a cordon of forts a short distance west of the western frontiers of the British settlements in North America. This cordon was planned to extend from French Canada to French Louisiana; halt British westward expansion; confine its settlements in North America to a comparatively narrow belt along the Atlantic seaboard; and thus preserve for French colonization the rest of the North American Continent except the territory held by Spain. If successful this design would have made France supreme in North America, and have given it a mighty colonial empire which in size dwarfed the mother country, a price indeed worth contending for.

The British counter strategy was to expand its settlements on the Atlantic seaboard in North America (which extended from the French Canadian border to Spanish Florida) westward fast enough and far enough to make the French design impracticable.

In the race thus precipitated, the western frontiers of these British settlements in North America on the Atlantic seaboard and their immediate hinterlands became, of course, the scene of action for the contest, both for the long drawn out activities which preceded the French and Indian War (1755-63) and the war itself.¹⁸

Dr. Joseph A. Waddell recites for us the salient features of the "Treaties with Indians," participated in by Tinkling Spring men, which brings it closer home to Augusta County people:

On the 2d of July, 1744, a treaty was concluded at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between Thomas Lee, member of the Council of State and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Virginia, and William Beverley, Colonel and County Lieutenant of the county of Orange and member of the House of Burgesses, Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Virginia, and twenty-five chiefs of the Six United Nations of Indians. In consideration of four hundred pounds, current money of Pennsylvania, paid partly in goods and partly in gold money, the Indians renounced their right and claim to all the lands in

¹⁸Preston Davie Letter VI, 18-19.

the Colony of Virginia, and acknowledged the title thereto of the King of Great Britain. This is known as the Treaty of Lancaster, and the instrument was witnessed by James Patton, Robert Brooke, Jr., James Madison and others. The deed was proved in the General Court and ordered to be recorded, October 25, 1744.

Some dissatisfaction having arisen among the Indians in regard to the Treaty of Lancaster, a conference was held at Logstown, on the Ohio, in 1752, between chiefs of the Six Nations and Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax and James Patton, Commissioners of Virginia; and another deed was executed by six chiefs, consenting to the deed of July 2, 1744, and promising to assist and protect British subjects settled "on the southern or eastern part of the river called Alleghany." This deed was dated June 13, 1752, and was witnessed by George Croghan, Thomas McKee, William Preston and others.¹⁹

Concerning "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752," Dr. R. A. Brock, editor of *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, tells us that James Patton, of Tinkling Spring "kept a journal (since lost) of the mission."²⁰ However, at a later date, in connection with the printing of a journal of that treaty, another authority says, "Perhaps the Journal printed here is the one kept by Patton."²¹

The Virginia House of Burgesses, giving instruction for Augusta County in their first defense against the Indians in 1738, was determined to keep peace with the Indians:

. . . John Lewis, Gent . . . Capt over such of the Inhabitants as live in Beverly Mannor . . . that neither he nor any of the men Under his Command do on any pretence whatsoever offer any Violence to any of the said Indians . . .²²

The same purpose was evident in the last negotiation through the bountiful presentation of gifts and wampum belts in token of friendship by James Patton at Logg's Town in 1752. Tinkling Spring men, carrying out Virginia Colonial policy, were outstanding in their effort to keep peace with the Indians, but forces beyond colonial control were at work intensifying the struggle with the Indians on a national level and uncontrollable acts of young Indians and impetuous whites reflected

¹⁹Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), pp. 88-89.

²⁰Robert Dinwiddie, *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758* (R. A. Brock, editor; Richmond, Virginia: The Society, 1883-84), I, 8.

²¹William G. Stanard, editor, "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 13:143, October, 1905.

²²H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1930), IV, 414.

that intensity in violent bloodshed on the extended frontiers of Augusta. Attack and counterattack followed each other as hatred and determination for revenge mounted until open warfare became inevitable.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie, imperial-minded colonial executive of Virginia, 1751-1758, appears to have been one of the first to grasp the significance of the controversy over the "Gateway at the Forks" of the Ohio.²³ He wrote Colonel James Patton, head of the Augusta County Militia, in January, 1754, that the English position must be strengthened in order to support those already building a fort there and ordered Patton ". . . to draw out the Militia of Y'r Co'ty and from them make a Draft of 50 men . . . prevail w'th that Number to enlist in a voluntary Manner . . ."²⁴ Augusta men were remiss in their response, possibly reluctant to go to the Ohio to help build defenses while their families remained at home without protection against Indian incursions; but on March 23, 1754, in Augusta County Court, nine men, headed by Tinkling Spring's Captain Andrew Lewis "were listed for his Majesty's service, [and] took the oaths."²⁵ The following month Governor Dinwiddie issued a proclamation promising a land bounty, as inducement to volunteers, but still got a meager response from Augusta.²⁶

In this time of indecision when securing of troops was difficult, there were many who agreed with those who, like the Reverend Alexander Craighead and his Windy Cove congregation, left their homes to find security in retreat rather than fight the Indians. It is reported that about this time Colonel James Patton was challenged to know why the Valley inhabitants should remain and defend the area from the Indian attacks. His reply was to the effect that the Governor and Council of Virginia had granted the liberty for freedom of worship in the Valley to Ulster Scots in exchange for their willingness to defend the frontier. Duty to country and honor before God, to Patton, demanded defense in loyalty to the colonial government. This firm resolve, based on Godly principle brought forth results. In the Augusta County Courts of 1753 and 1754

²³Louis Knott Koontz, "Washington on the Frontier," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 36:397, October, 1928.

²⁴Dinwiddie, *op. cit.*, I, 50.

²⁵Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, IV, 129.

²⁶F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 207.

men qualified in large numbers for commissions in the military service²⁷—no doubt for local defense. However, aggressive warfare against the Indians on the Ohio, while women and children were exposed to Indian incursions at home, did not appeal to the Augusta militiamen.

In September of 1754, upon complaints from the Augusta frontier, Dinwiddie turned his attention to protecting frontier settlers by ordering Captain Andrew Lewis and forty or fifty men to march immediately to the Augusta County frontier; there Colonel Patton was to direct the defense so as to make it effective against "the Incursions of small Parties of Indians, and I suppose, some French." William Wright, Ensign, Tinkling Spring's schoolmaster, was to accompany Captain Lewis on his return to Augusta.²⁸ Early in 1755 Ensign Wright was ordered to remain "at the Fort You lately built"²⁹ while Captain Lewis was ordered to Winchester.

In that summer came the news to Augusta of the disastrous defeat by Indians at Fort Duquesne,³⁰ followed three weeks later by word of Colonel Patton's death at Draper's Meadow.³¹ In view of the distressing circumstances, it was no discredit to small groups who fled the exposed frontier rather than risk their lives with the odds overwhelmingly against them. The decision to risk the dangers of defense in Parson Craig's thickly settled congregational area not only took faith and courage but also included the perils of an aggressive strategy that involved the pioneer leaving his home exposed while on expeditions in distant places. While there were those who deserted the Augusta frontier, many of Mr. Craig's congregation rallied to meet the dangers they faced in order to preserve their newly gained rights.

Tinkling Spring names are found in the fall court claims of 1755 for service to the militia: James Alexander, John Atkins, Samuel Black, William Thompson, George Caldwell, William Christian, John Galespy and Charles Patrick for "Patrolling," and Andrew Scott for a horse "impressed." Others filed claims for "wagoning," "going on an express" and "guarding arms and ammunition."³² However, in one day's court record a month later, there appear nine heads of families with the phrase

²⁷Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, IV, 7 *et passim*.

²⁸Dinwiddie, *op. cit.*, I, 315-17.

²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 499-500.

³⁰*Ibid.*, I, 515.

³¹Draper, *op. cit.*, The Preston Register, IQQ83.

³²Augusta Order Book, *op. cit.*, IV, 490-91, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 69.

following, "removed out of County,"⁸³ indicating removal for fear of Indian incursions.

The year 1756, as the previous year, was filled with incidents of excitement and significance. Three times that year the Staunton court had brought before it men whose loyalty was questioned. There was "John O'Neal, tried for speaking treasonable words, acquitted, but committed for abusing the Government and cursing the Bible."⁸⁴ Others were "convicted of threatening to favor the inroads of the enemy Indians," "bound to good behavior for having spoken disrespectfully of the Government" or committed to jail as "a suspected person."⁸⁵

Dr. Joseph A. Waddell condenses the story of the expedition against the Indians in 1756 into these words:

The colonial government adopted measures of defence, and Washington was commissioned as colonel and commander-in-chief. The officers next in rank to him, chosen by himself, were Lieut.-Col. Adam Stephens and Major Andrew Lewis.

The depredations of the Indians led to what is known as the "Sandy Creek expedition," early in 1756. The leader was Maj. Andrew Lewis, and among the captains were William Preston, Peter Hogg, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, and Robert Breckenridge. These companies, says Campbell, appear to have been already guarding the frontier when called upon for this new service.

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Two volunteer companies, under Capts. Montgomery and Dunlap, joined the expedition, and a party of friendly Cherokees, under Capt. Paris. Capt. David Stuart, of Augusta, acted as commissary.

The expedition rendezvoused at Fort Frederick, on New river, then in Augusta county, and the whole force amounted to three hundred and forty men. While waiting at the fort for horses and pack-saddles, Messrs. Craig and Brown, the pioneer clergymen of the valley, preached to the soldiers.

Maj. Lewis started from Fort Frederick on February 18, and reached the head of Sandy Creek on 28th. Before the middle of March, the supply of provisions began to run low; and soon afterwards, some of the party were rescued from starvation by the killing of several elks and buffaloes. On March 11, ten men deserted, and finally the whole body, except the officers and twenty or thirty of the privates, declared their purpose to return. It is said that they were ordered back, when within ten miles of the Ohio, by a messenger from Gov. Dinwiddie. It required two weeks for them to reach the nearest settlement, and during that interval, they endured great suffering from cold and hunger. Some of the men who separated from the main body, perished.⁸⁶

⁸³*Ibid.*, V, 1-23, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 70-71.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, V, 29, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 72.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, V, 43, 186, 188, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 72-73.

⁸⁶Jed. Hotchkiss and Joseph A. Waddell, *Historical Atlas of Augusta County, Virginia* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins & Co., 1885), p. 10.

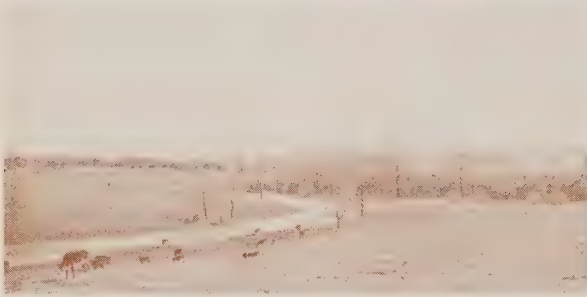
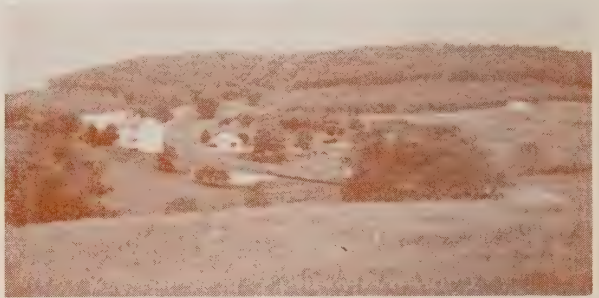


Figure XIV
The Remains of the John Lewis Fort in 1937



Elder James Kerr's home site at the confluence of Long Meadow Run, Christian Creek and Middle River

The Caldwell homes on the old site where the family settled prior to 1740—old remodeled log home on left



"Springhill"—hill in foreground and spring at left—where James Patton lived on South River of Shenandoah

The probable site of Parson Craig's home on Lewis Creek about midway between Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring



Figure XV
Homesites of Early Meeting House Leaders

Tinkling Spring was well represented in this effort. The Reverend John Craig, Tinkling Spring pastor—in line with sentiments previously expressed³⁷—was present and preached to the troops. Others of Tinkling Spring had a part, notably: Lewis, Smith, Preston, Breckenridge and Stuart. William Preston's journal written at the time is in part as follows:

Monday, ye 9th day of February, 1756, In persuance to ye orders of Major Lewis, dated the 4th inst., I marched from Fort Prince George, with my two Lieutenants, 2 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, and 25 Privates. We had one waggon load of dry beef, the wt. 2000 lbs. We traveled 15 miles the first day and lodged at the home of Francis Cyphers, on Roanoke, and early on Tuesday morning, being the 10th, we proceeded on our journey as far as Richd. Hall's about 15 miles.

Wednesday, the 11th, marched to New River; informed that Capt. Hog's compy was but a little behind us. As we marched by the Cherikee Camp we saluted them by firing off guns, which they returned in seeming great joy, and afterwards honored us with a war dance.

Thursday, 12th, heard a sermon preached at Capt. Woodston's Camp, by Rev. Mr. Brown.

Friday, 13th: reviewed by Major Lewis. The number reviewed was about 340, Indians included, being the Companies of Capt. C. Hog, Preston, Smith, Overton, Woodston, and Pearis, with the Cherikee Indians. Rev. Mr. Craig preached a military sermon, text in Deuteronomy. Two Captains commissions given by Major Lewis to two head Cherokee Warriors named Yellow Bird and Round O.

Sat. 14. A company of volunteers, 25 in number, under Capt. Delap . . . joined us.

Sunday 15th, James Burke brot word that Robert Looney was killed nigh Alex Sawyers, and he had himself one horse shot and five taken away by the Shawnee Indians

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Friday 20, Switched one of the soldiers for swearing, which very much incensed the Indian chiefs then present . . . Some of our Indians deserted.

Sat. 21, Major Lewis, Capt. Pearis and the interpreter went to Col. Buchanan's place, where they met the Indians who had deserted us, and induced them to return, which they did.

.

Tuesday 24, Crossed two mountains and arrived at Burke's Garden. Had plenty of potatoes which the soldiers gathered in the deserted plantations.³⁸

In the midst of the mixture of peoples in this Indian War, there came in 1756, a most unusual incident in Mr. Craig's ministry. While hunt-

³⁷Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 39, cited in William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 32-33.

³⁸David E. Johnston, *A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory* (Huntington, West Virginia: Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1906), pp. 24-29, citing William Preston's Journal.

ing for game in a wood near Staunton, Mr. Samuel Givens, of Stone Meeting House section, found a famished native of Algiers, Africa. Though unable to speak English, he soon learned enough to communicate a few ideas, including the facts of his own unfortunate experiences that led to his being an unwilling associate of the French and finally a prisoner. It was learned that his name was Selim. After food and care had restored his health he was brought to an Augusta Court day. Here he came in contact with Mr. Craig and requested the privilege of going home with him to learn more about the Christian religion. He was unable to converse freely in English, but Mr. Craig found in the Greek New Testament a common language for their exchange of ideas. It is said "In a fortnight he obtained what Mr. C. considered a competent knowledge of the Christian religion, and was baptized in Mr. C's church."³⁹

FORTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIER

The colonial government, upon petition from the inhabitants of Augusta for a "chain of forts" and the Governor's specific recommendation for the same, ordered "That a chain of forts shall be erected" for the purpose of stopping the "violent outrages of the enemy, and to protect the inhabitants in their lives and properties."⁴⁰ By order of the Governor "a Council of War" was held at Augusta Court House, July 27, 1756, to consider and determine the location of forts to be erected. Of the twelve men who composed that Council of War the following were Tinkling Spring members: Colonel David Stuart, Captains William Christian (son of Gilbert), Robert Breckenridge and James Lockhart.⁴¹ David Stuart was baptized as an adult by Mr. Craig in 1747, and William Christian was later a Tinkling Spring elder.

In October of 1756 George Washington made a tour of inspection of the frontier. The situation was critical. His subordinate, Major Lewis, was away from his Beverley Manor home while Washington was in Staunton. He lodged in a "Tavern . . . at Augusta Court House" for

³⁹J. Lewis Peyton, *History of Augusta County, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Samuel M. Yost & Sons, 1882), pp. 114-16; Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company [n.d.]), I, 341-48.

⁴⁰H. R. McIlwaine, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1756-1758* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1909), p. 349; William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), VII, 17.

⁴¹Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 136. The forts they decided upon are a part of the final series of forts as seen in Figure 18, opposite p. 178.

three pounds, eleven shillings and three pence, October 1-5. His distress over the Augusta Militia is best expressed in his own words in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie:

Halifax, 10 October, 1756.

Sir,

I wrote your Honor from Winchester, that I should set out the next day for Augusta. I accordingly did with Captain McNeill; and hearing at the Courthouse that the Indians still continue their depredations, although not so openly as at first, I applied to Col. Stewart, then present, to raise a party of the militia, and said I would head them, and march to Jackson's River to try to scour the woods, and, if possible, fall in with the enemy. He gave me very little encouragement to expect any men, yet desired I would wait four days, until Monday, and he would use his endeavors to collect a body. Until Tuesday I waited, and only five men appeared. This being too inconsiderable a number to expose to a triumphant enemy, I was advised to apply to Colonel Buchanan for men . . . I set out immediately for his house, attended by Captain Preston, who was kind enough to conduct me along, and acquainted the Colonel with the motives that brought me thither. He told me with very great concern, it was not in his power to raise men . . . The inhabitants are so sensible of their danger, if left to the protection of these people, that not a man will stay at his place. This I have from their own mouths, and the principal persons of Augusta County. The militia are under such bad order and discipline, that they will go and come when and where they please, without regarding time, their officers, or the safety of the inhabitants, but consulting solely their own inclinations. . . . Perhaps it may be thought I am partial in my relation, and reflect unjustly. I really do not, Sir. I scorn to make unjust remarks on the behavior of the militia, as much as I despise and condemn the persons, who detract from mine and the character of the regiment. Were it not, that I consulted the good of the public, and thought these garrisons merited redress, I should not think it worth my mention. I only want to make the county sensible, how ardently I have studied to promote her cause, and wish very sincerely, my successor may fill my place more to their satisfaction in every respect, than I have been able to do.⁴²

These reports indicate leaders who are aware of the strategy necessary to meet the Indian dangers and in contrast the public who, though they deplored the Indian incursions, are too independent and concerned with local defense to organize for more united and strategic defense. However, this background makes even more heroic the traditional story of little Arthur Campbell. Arthur was the second son of David Campbell and Mary Hamilton, who baptized their three sons at Tinkling Spring. Arthur was baptized January 15, 1744. Dr. Waddell tells his story briefly as follows:

In the year 1757, there was a fort near the point where the public road from Staunton to the Warm Springs crosses the Cow Pasture river. At this fort,

⁴²Kegley, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-41.

during the year mentioned, was a boy who was born in Augusta county in 1742. The boy was named Arthur Campbell, and he had volunteered as a militaman to aid in protecting the frontier. Going one day with others to a thicket in search of plums, the party was fired upon by Indians lying in ambush, and young Campbell was slightly wounded and captured. He was taken to the vicinity of the great lakes, and detained a prisoner for three years, when he made his escape and returned home. About six years before the revolution, he removed to the Holston river, now Washington county, his father and family soon following. He was afterwards prominent in the assembly and the state convention of 1788, as well as during the revolutionary war. One of his sons, Col. John B. Campbell, fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing of the army under Gen. Scott. Gen. William Campbell, the hero of King's mountain, also a native of Augusta county, was Arthur Campbell's cousin and brother-in-law.⁴⁸

Andrew Lewis of Tinkling Spring, though taken prisoner, played an important role in the establishing of Fort Pitt on the Ohio in 1758. Dr. Waddell relates the story in part as follows:

Another expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne was set on foot early in 1758. It was under command of General Forbes, a meritorious British officer, but in a feeble state of health. Washington was still commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, now consisting of two regiments . . . Washington gathered his regiment at Winchester, several of the companies being recalled from Augusta, and from that place was ordered to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived on the 2d of July, and was detained there till the middle of September. The troops being scantily supplied with clothing, Washington equipped two companies, under the immediate command of Major Lewis, in hunting shirts, and that style soon became all the fashion.

Colonel Bouquet, who commanded the advanced division of the army, took his station at Raystown, in the centre of Pennsylvania. General Forbes arrived at that place in September, and ordered Washington to join him there. Bouquet then made a further advance, and, while upwards of fifty miles from Duquesne, sent on a detachment under Major Grant to reconnoitre. This body consisted of eight hundred picked men, some of them British regulars, others in Indian garb, a part of the Virginia regiment, and commanded by Major Lewis.

Arrived in the vicinity of the fort, Grant posted Lewis in the rear to guard the baggage, and, forming his regulars in battle array, sent an engineer to take a plan of the works, in full view of the garrison. When he was completely thrown off his guard, "there was a sudden sally of the garrison, and an attack on the flanks by Indians hid in ambush. A scene now occurred similar to that at the defeat of Braddock. The British officers marshaled their men according to European tactics, and the Highlanders for some time stood their ground bravely, but the destructive fire and horrid yells of the Indians soon produced panic and confusion. Major Lewis, at the first noise of the attack, left Captain Bullitt with fifty Virginians to guard the baggage, and hastened with the main

⁴⁸Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 11; John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1907), p. 324.

part of his men to the scene of action. The contest kept up for some time, but the confusion was irretrievable. The Indians sallied from their concealment, and attacked with the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian brave, whom he laid dead at his feet, but was surrounded by others, and only saved his life by surrendering himself to a French officer. Major Grant surrendered himself in like manner. The whole detachment was put to the route with dreadful carnage."

Captain Bullitt rallied some of the fugitives, and made a gallant stand. He finally drove off the pursuing Indians, and then collecting as many of the wounded as he could, hastily retreated.

.

No doubt many Augusta men were in the affair just mentioned; but Andrew Lewis is the only one of them whose name we know. . . .

The army of General Forbes resumed its march in November, Washington commanding a division and leading the way. Nearing Fort Du Quesne, the ground was strewn with human bones, the relics of Braddock's and Grant's defeats. Arriving in sight of the fort, the place was found to be abandoned. The French, not exceeding five hundred in number, deserted by the Indians, and without a sufficient supply of provisions, had set fire to the fort and retreated down the Ohio in boats. On the 25th of November, Washington marched in, and planted the British flag on the smoking ruins. The fort was repaired, and the name changed to that of Fort Pitt.⁴⁴

In 1759 the English captured Quebec "Capital of New France," and in 1763 the Treaty of Paris divided the French possessions in America between England and Spain.

TOLERATION EXPANDED BY CIRCUMSTANCES

By the time of the outbreak of the Indian War, the Reverend John Craig had two other ministers of the Old Side associated with him under the care of Donegal Presbytery. The Reverend John Thomson seems to have removed in 1744 from Pennsylvania to the Valley of Virginia, and without specific charge, did itinerant preaching work.⁴⁵ The Reverend Samuel Black was called to Rockfish and Mountain Plains Meeting Houses, where he settled in 1747.⁴⁶

The New Side Presbytery of New Castle, in 1747, sent the Reverend Samuel Davies as an evangelist to Hanover in Virginia, where the great

⁴⁴Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

⁴⁵Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), pp. 355-57. No record remains of Rev. John Thomson's work as an itinerant except an occasional fleeting glimpse, as trips to North Carolina in 1744 and 1751, the publication of an Explanation of the Shorter Catechism in Williamsburg in 1749 and the record of his death in Centre, North Carolina in 1753.

⁴⁶Edgar Woods, *History of Albemarle County in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, Printers, 1901), p. 362.

spiritual hunger and ready response to his message challenged him to settle. Through the efforts of the New Side adherents led by Davies, representing the Presbytery of New Castle, there were settled in the Virginia Colony by 1755 the following ministers: the Reverend Messrs. John Todd at Providence in Louisa County; John Brown at New Providence and Timber Ridge and Alexander Craighead at Windy Cove in Augusta County; Robert Henry in the Caldwell settlement on Cub Creek in Charlotte County and at Briery in Prince Edward County; and John Wright in Cumberland County.

The dissenting ministers and meeting houses west of the Blue Ridge were licensed by the county courts. Governor William Gooch by personal letter had promised freedom of worship to the Ulster Scots as long as the ministers complied with the Act of Toleration.⁴⁷ This seems not to have been the case east of the Blue Ridge. When Rev. Samuel Davies arrived in Virginia in 1747, having been ordained an evangelist to preach in the colony, particularly in Hanover County, he proceeded first to Williamsburg where he secured his license to preach in four meeting houses.⁴⁸ His places of preaching overlapped the lay work of Hunt, Watkins and Morris, who were under indictment for unlawful assembling for divine worship, and was successor to the work for which Rev. John Roan had been indicted in Williamsburg.⁴⁹ Even after securing for himself the proper credentials, Davies was later severely rebuked when license was refused for an associate who was ordered out of the Colony and threatened with a £500 fine if he preached. There was talk at the time of Davies endangering his own license.⁵⁰ In 1750 the General Court cancelled all licenses of ministers and meeting houses issued by county courts in eastern Virginia.⁵¹

Dr. Foote says:

What was not granted to petition and argument and English construction of colonial law, was yielded to the force of circumstances. The French and Indian war, commonly known as Braddock's war, which, after many provocations and preliminary atrocities, broke out in its fury in 1755, by the strange agency of fire and sword, the tomahawk and scalping knife, plead the cause of freedom

⁴⁷*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 145.

⁴⁸Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 550-51.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 498-99.

⁵⁰William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850), I, 159-66.

⁵¹Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

of conscience with a success hitherto unknown. Rev. Francis Makemie had appeared before the civil authorities in Virginia, Maryland and New York with some success; Rev. Samuel Davies and his coadjutors had laid the cause before the Governor and Council of Virginia, repeatedly, and had gained something for freedom of conscience; but houses for public worship could not be occupied without permission from the civil authorities, and each application for a house of worship was heard on its own merits. The opinion of the Attorney General of England had been obtained in favour of the dissenters in Virginia, but that had no effect upon the action of the General Court of the colony, who maintained their own construction of their own laws, one of which they claimed the Act of Toleration to be. Mr. Davies had visited England, and the dissenters sympathising with him and his people and the dissenters in the colony, and in the provinces generally, held frequent councils, and their committee armed him with their best devices after his return, to aid him in the arduous struggle for religious liberty. But what had not been gained by English interpretation of law, by appeals to the law of nature, or by equal administration of law, was wrought out by sterner agencies. The chains, that were not loosed, were broken.

. . . The frontiers of Virginia were generally inhabited by dissenters from the Established Church, and principally of the Presbyterian creed and forms of worship; and these frontiers were all exposed to Indian depredations. . . . During the confusion of this savage warfare, the Presbyterians, east of the Blue Ridge, chose houses for worship and occupied them without license or molestation. . . . West of the Blue Ridge, the inhabitants were generally dissenters, coming into the province such, there was always less difficulty in obtaining license for houses of worship, than in those counties east of the Ridge, where no dissenters, or but few, had settled, and those that appeared were converts from the established church. The terrible scourge of war, which fell heaviest on the dissenters, brought with it some ease in matters pertaining to conscience; people were permitted to worship where they pleased when the expectation of invasion oppressed the whole body politic.⁵²

Whitefield wrote in his journal in 1747:

As I came along, I saw Mr. Davis. He is licensed, as are the four houses; but there is a proclamation issued against all itinerants. . . . In Virginia, for the present, the door is shut . . . Satan has attempted to stop the progress of the everlasting gospel in Virginia; but I believe he has overshot himself.⁵³

This appears to have been a condition prevailing only east of the Blue Ridge. If it interfered with the work west of the Blue Ridge no record can be found of it.

The Reverend John Craig had pioneered in religious liberty in Virginia, having secured license to preach from the county court, and did

⁵² Foote, Virginia, *op. cit.*, I, 307-9.

⁵³ Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 241, citing Whitefield's Journal of 1747.

uninterrupted itinerant preaching in numerous places for seven years before Samuel Davies arrived in the Colony of Virginia. He went so far as to perform marriage ceremonies,⁵⁴ an act strictly forbidden to dissenting ministers in eastern Virginia, and so far as can be found there was never an indictment against him for his religious activities; but even in the Valley the war gave him, as a loyal patriot, greater freedom in view of his parishioners' defense against the Indians. Thus through Craig's courageous pioneering, and Samuel Davies' brilliant preaching and claims for legal recognition of the dissenters, the circumstances of war gave religious freedom a toe-hold in the Virginia Colony and greatly expanded toleration.

HANOVER PRESBYTERY ESTABLISHED IN VIRGINIA

The New Side Synod of New York on October 3, 1755, in response to a petition:

. . . setting forth ye Necessity of erecting a new Presbytery in Virginia: the Synod therefore appoint ye Rev'd Samuel Davies, John Todd, Alexander Craghead, Robert Henry, John Wright, & John Brown, to be a Presbytery, under ye Name of the Presbytery of Hanover: & yt their first meeting shall be in Hanover on the first Wednesday of December next . . . & that any of our Members, settling to the Southward & Westward of Mr. Hogg's Congregation, shall have Liberty to joyn the Presbytery of Hanover.⁵⁵

Hanover Presbytery held its first meeting December 3, 1755, with Messrs. Craighead and Wright reported absent. It was a brief meeting, but an item of interest to the Old Side men—Craig and Black—of Donegal Presbytery was a petition from the Michael Woods settlement near the mountains in Albemarle requesting gospel ordinances by a supply. Presbytery granted the supply but requested that pains be taken to set the appointment outside the bounds of Mr. Black's congregation.⁵⁶ Mr. Davies supplied them and, upon making his report in 1756, Presbytery set forth a six-point defense of their encroachment upon territory claimed by Mr. Black's Old Side Congregation.⁵⁷

One of the last acts of the New Side Hanover Presbytery, before being reconstituted under the Union of Old and New Sides was to:

. . . appoint the last Wednesday of June [1758] to be observed by all the

⁵⁴Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵⁵Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1755-1758, p. 1; Records, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁵⁶Hanover, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

Members of their Congregations as a Day of public fasting & Prayer, on account of the present Situation of our Public Affairs; & the want of divine Influence on the means of Grace.⁵⁸

After a full exchange of views on the subject of union, the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia and the New Side Synod of New York met in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia: "The plan of Union was agreed upon between the Synods of New York and Philadelphia, at their meeting at Philadelphia, May 29th, 1758."⁵⁹

In the reorganization of Presbyteries, the Old Side ministers and congregations of Donegal Presbytery in the central area of the Valley of Virginia were placed with the New Side Hanover Presbytery. One of their first acts was an address to the Governor of the Colony, including a request:

The Presbytery Sir, have nothing to request for themselves, but that your Honour would secure and continue to them, the peaceable and unmolested Enjoyment of the Liberty of Immunities of the Act of Toleration, as understood in England, while they comply with its Requirements, and conduct themselves as dutiful Subjects.⁶⁰

These privileges "as understood in England" had been secured for the Valley dissenters in 1748, and Craig with his associates had been enjoying them for a twenty year period.

The student of Tinkling Spring history has the impression that in the union the spirit of reconciliation and unanimity might have been more genuine, particularly in Virginia, except for the steel-willed individualist, Rev. John Craig, and his success in the Valley of Virginia. He had successfully repelled the "New Light" evangelists from his congregation—why should he now be forced to join them? He had been practicing freedom in public worship through an itinerant ministry for eighteen years—why should he be forced now to join with those in Virginia who had been restricted in this privilege? As the record is read, there is a feeling of admiration, touched with pity, in seeing Craig fight with courage a battle that he would inevitably lose.

First, let us look at the record of the Synod of Philadelphia of May

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁹Records, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁶⁰Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1758-1769, p. 5. See George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and The Political Condition Under Which It Grew, 1727-1814* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952), II, 72-77, 165-66.

26, 1757, indicating how separated Rev. John Craig was in his isolated wilderness from that body:

Upon reading the absents from Donegall, it was observed that Messrs. Black and Craig have neglected attending on the Synod for some considerable time. [Seven years, in fact.] Ordered that Mr. McDowell write to these brethren, and signify that the Synod expects either that they will attend or write, and that in case of failure, the Synod will be obliged to disown them as members. Ordered likewise, that he write Mr. Craig, and inform him that Mr. Alexander Millar is received as a member, and that he install him some convenient time before the first of August next; and also, that he give him to understand that it is the judgment of Synod, that he ought to be content with the bounds fixed by the committee appointed for that purpose.⁶¹

The Tinkling Spring Session, from a misdated minute, is believed to have been divided on the question of adherence to Hanover Presbytery:

Att the meeting of the Sason and we put it to vote and Ed hall and John Ramsey was for the hanover Presbytery—August 15 1768 [1758]⁶²

The Minutes of Hanover Presbytery, September 27, 1758, give Mr. Craig's reaction to Union:

A Letter from Rev'd Mr Craig to the Presbytery in the Name of the Brethren formerly of the Synod of Philadelphia, was read, expressing their Willingness to correspond with the Presbytery, but requiring some Time to obtain some farther Intelligence from the Pby of Donnegal, and desiring the Pby would not encourage the Malecontents at Rock-Fish in Mr. Black's Congregation.⁶³

Dr. Leonard J. Trinterud, of McCormick Theological Seminary, the present day student of Colonial Presbyterianism, calls this the "Union Without Love" and enlarges upon the Virginia situation in the words:

It is not surprising that, in spite of the many professions of forgiveness and reconciliation recorded in the formula of reunion, trouble soon broke out anew. As early as the second assembling (1759) of the reunited synod, serious strife was resumed. At this meeting Cross had been elected moderator, but had declined the chair because of age and infirmity. A former New Side man, Richard Treat, was chosen instead. An attempt was made by the three former Old Side men who were in the Valley of Virginia, Black, Craig, and Alexander Miller, to have themselves and two former New Side men, Brown and Hoge,

⁶¹Records, *op. cit.*, p. 224. Mr. Craig attended the following year, the third time he had attended in his ministry.

⁶²Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁶³Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

constituted a presbytery distinct from Hanover Presbytery. They argued that they were at a great disadvantage in having to travel to Hanover County for meetings of the presbytery. The synod denied the request, saying that Hanover Presbytery was too small to be divided. They did, however, order that the meetings of Hanover Presbytery be held alternately in the Valley and in Hanover County. They promised also that, if no reason then unknown should later emerge, the Valley might be organized into a separate presbytery as soon as it had six or seven regular ministers.

Offense was taken at this decision, for Hanover Presbytery was predominantly New Side, whereas the proposed presbytery would have left the Old Side in control of the Valley. Moreover, the synod's argument against a presbytery of only five members was weak, since, in the reunion, Lewes Presbytery had been erected with only five members. In principle the synod may have been correct, but a precedent had been set. The issue was complicated by a number of other factors. The three former Old Side men, Black, Craig, and Miller, had belonged to Donegal Presbytery before the reunion and had refused categorically to leave that body and join Hanover Presbytery. Also, Donegal Presbytery, through Black, was trying to assert its authority in the Valley in spite of the synod's orders. Black's congregation, moreover, was seeking to be rid of him because of "his confessed immoralities." Later Black was again suspended from the ministry for misconduct, and Miller was deposed from the sacred office for immoralities. The characters of these Old Side men may, therefore, have had something to do with the synod's refusal to erect them into a presbytery that would control so important an area as the Valley of Virginia.⁶⁴

Like the conciliatory spirit of the parent synod of New York, the New Side element of the Presbytery of Hanover showed every sign of a genuine desire to "unite" with the Old Side element of the Valley. Anticipating the criticism that was to come to synod in 1759, they set presbytery to meet at "New Providence in Augusta" April 25, 1759. In part the record follows:

Mr. Craig and Mr. Miller having desired a private Conference with the other Ministers of the Presb'y, informed them, that their Way is not clear as yet to joyn as full Members, because they look upon themselves as still belonging to the Pby of Donnegal, and that Pby still claims them as its Members; and for other Reasons too tedious to particularize; and therefore they desire to be admitted to sit as Correspondents 'till the Synod's Pleasure be farther known.

The Pby after Deliberation came to this Conclusion—That as the Synod expressly nominated the above said Gentlemen to be Members of the Hanover Presbytery, it is not in the Power of the Pby to dissolve their Relation to it, but do still in their judgment approve of the Synod's Decision. —Yet as it seems to them, that the Non-admission of these Members as Correspondents at present, would not consist with that genuine Peace and Harmony in the Churches, which the Union between the Synods was intended to promote; & as the Synod

⁶⁴Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), pp. 152-53.

is to meet so soon, when the Matter may be more fully considered; and they humbly presume the Synod will excuse their little variation from their Order for the sake of Peace; they agree, as far as it is in their Power, to allow Mr Craig & Mr Miller, to act only as Correspondents at the present session. And they earnestly desire this little Irregularity may be ascribed entirely to the Ardour of their Zeal to Maintain and promote the Peace of the Churches in these Parts, and to express their Benevolence and Forbearance towards their Brethren.—

As Messrs Craig and Miller had a Proportion of Supplies appointed them with the other Members of the Pby. among the Vacancies and elsewhere, and have not fulfilled these Appointments, the Presbytery refer them to the Synod to give their Reasons for their non-Compliance, and order the Clerk to send a Copy of this Minute to the Moderator of the Synod.—⁶⁵

Probably as a response to this Christian forbearance by presbytery, Messrs. Craig and Miller “agree to preach” as appointed for supply work.⁶⁶

The May 1759 meeting of synod, having refused to set up a presbytery in the Valley of Virginia, at a special meeting of Hanover Presbytery, July 18, 1759, at Rockfish Meeting House, Mr. Craig and John Finley, presumably the Tinkling Spring elder, were registered as regular members in attendance.⁶⁷ When presbytery met in Providence Meeting House in Louisa, in the fall of 1759, special attention and trust were expressed in Old Side Valley men. Mr. Miller was asked to preach the opening sermon; Mr. Craig was elected Moderator of Presbytery and Mr. Miller, Clerk! This amicable relationship continued to develop, as evidenced by the decision of presbytery “to meet at Stone Meeting House in Augusta” in April 1760.⁶⁸ James Gillespie, Tinkling Spring elder, attended this meeting of presbytery in 1760,⁶⁹ and John Finley attended the fall meeting in Prince Edward County, where presbytery heard the opening sermon by Mr. Craig and decided “to meet at Tinkling Spring M. House in Augusta” for its spring meeting, April 1, 1761.⁷⁰

This Tinkling Spring meeting of Hanover Presbytery might well receive our brief attention, not only to show Mr. Craig’s having become an integral, amiable part of it but also to see the extent and nature of its constituency and work.⁷¹ There were in attendance eight of presbytery’s eleven ministers and eight ruling elders representing churches. At least

⁶⁵Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pp. 36-39.

half of the membership of presbytery were close friends of Mr. Craig, either as earlier Old Side associates or elders from homes where he had baptized children. The presbytery heard requests submitted for supplies to preach in seventeen vacant meeting houses, seven of which were in North Carolina. The Reverend Richard Sankey of Buffalo in Prince Edward County, son-in-law of Craig's former friend, the late Reverend John Thomson, was "continued" as moderator of presbytery. The easing of Old and New Side tension is implied when the ministers reported on the fulfilling of assigned appointments, the minutes reading, "Mr. Craig all his [filled] but one at Rockfish which he forgot."⁷² Imagine Craig forgetting Rockfish a few years earlier when the "New Lights" were being sought in nearby Woods Gap!

The presbytery occupied itself, as was its custom, with the social problems of its constituency. The first item concerned ministers:

Mr Wright complained to the Pby against Mr Miller, as being joyned with Mr Black in aspersing his Character . . . & other unchristian Treatment of him.⁷³

The following presbytery tried the case and found, ". . . that Mr Black is criminal & censurable . . ." and that ". . . Mr Miller's Behaviour in this affair deserving an Admonition . . ." and "The Pby finally recommend to Mr Wright, suitable Care & Prudence in his Conduct."⁷⁴

Though dealing with an indelicate matter, the presbytery record in the case of a church member shows the brethren's effort at a Christian solution to an ugly problem:

D---- M----- having been kept from Church Privileges five or six Years because a Bastard Child was sworn to him, the Pby after faithfully and solemnly warning him of the Guilt and Danger of lying to God, & imposing on this Judicature, he having produced a Certificate of his good Behaviour from his Neighbours, do admit him to sealing Ordinances, he repeatedly professing his Innocency.⁷⁵

Another item of interest more intimately connected with later Tinkling Spring history is "Trial Parts" of Candidate James Waddel. He had, in the fall of 1760, ". . . offered himself on Trial as a Candidate for the Gospel Ministry . . ."⁷⁶ They set a special meeting of presbytery

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35.

to hear the assigned trial parts, report of which was made at the Tinkling Spring meeting, “. . . in all which he gave very pleasing and Satisfactory Evidence of his knowledge . . .”⁷⁷ After further trial parts and examination:

The Pby do license & appoint him to preach the Gospel as a Candidate for the holy Ministry & heartily recommend him to the acceptance of the Churches.⁷⁸

Mr. Waddel declared, “. . . the Doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith . . . as the Confession of my Faith”⁷⁹ and was appointed to supply in vacant meeting houses in Virginia and North Carolina “at his Discretion.”⁸⁰ The meeting of presbytery came to a close on April 4, 1761, after deciding to return to Tinkling Spring as the place of their fall meeting.⁸¹

The fall meeting was called to order on Friday, October 7, 1761, at Tinkling Spring Meeting House with nine ministers and seven elders present.⁸² Mr. Craig was chosen moderator. Licentiate James Waddel had won hearty approval of his preaching during the summer in vacant meeting houses, as is evidenced by the following minute on the opening day of presbytery:

The following Calls were put into Presbytery for Mr Waddel, viz, one from upper falling & the peeks of Otter—one from Nutbush & Grass Creek—one from Brown’s M. House, & Jennings’s Gap—one from the Forks of James River in Augusta—and one from Hallifax, none of which he thought fit to take under Consideration.⁸³

However, two days later:

A Call was presented to Mr. Waddell from Bedford, which he took under Consideration till our next.

Mr Waddel is appointed half the Time betwixt this & our Spring Pby, in Bedford; & the Remainder of his Time at Discretion, but chiefly to the People that have presented Calls to him.⁸⁴

On Thursday, June 17, 1762, the committee, appointed by presbytery for the purpose met in the “Harris’s Creek M. House in Prince Edward”

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁸*Loc. cit.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸⁰*Loc. cit.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 43.

and, after hearing Mr. Waddel's final trial parts, proceeded to ordain him to the ministry.⁸⁵ At the fall meeting of presbytery in 1762, "Mr Waddel accepts of a Call from Lancaster & Northumberland Counties, in which the Pby heartily concur."⁸⁶

Another matter of great interest to that day, and cause of division within the church, was presented to the fall meeting of 1761 at Tinkling Spring and reported in the minutes as follows:

Doctor Cupples having charged Mr Sankey with not delivering a Letter of his to the Presbytery, to be publickly read, but only delivered it to a Party, the Pby declare the Charge was false, and that Mr Sankey did present it to the Pby, and not to a Party; but not having Time, it was referred to the next Sederunt, and read accordingly with Mr Miller's Animadversions on it, & his Reasons in support of the Scotch Version, and against Dr Watts' Imitation, the Consideration of which is put off till our next Presbytery.⁸⁷

This question of singing hymns instead of scriptural Psalms in Presbyterian meeting houses was a divisive issue at this time in Augusta County. On October 12, 1762, soon after the organization of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania—an organization committed to the singing of Psalms only—there was a request from Augusta to send supplies to fill vacant pulpits.⁸⁸ The week previous to this request to the Associate Presbytery, Hanover Presbytery had side-stepped a decision on the issue in the following manner:

In answer to the request from Hico relating to Psalmody the Presbytery are not yet agreed in their Sentiments, nor have they come to any Determination on that Head; but recommend to the People mutual forbearance, & that they take care not to introduce any thing that may cause Division among themselves, but to exercise Patience, till the Affair be issued by the Pby or Synod.⁸⁹

The presbytery a year later heard another petition on the subject and answered as follows:

In Answer to the Petition from Mr Henry's Congregation respecting Psalmody, Mr. Todd read from the Minutes of the Synod, the following Extract, viz. Q. "Does the Synod so far approve Dr Watt's Imitation of David's Psalms, as to allow such Ministers & Congregations Liberty to use them, who judge it most

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 46, 51.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁸⁸J. C. Galloway, and others, *The Centennial History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1803-1903* (Charleston, South Carolina: Presses of Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., 1905), p. 538.

⁸⁹Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

for their Edification.—A. As a Number of our Members have never particularly considered Dr Watts's Imitation, they are not prepared to give a full answer to the Question: Yet as it is well approved by many of this Body, the Synod have no Objections to the use of said imitation by such ministers and congregations as so incline, until the matter of Psalmody be further deliberated upon, and in the mean Time recommend it to the Members of this Body, to be prepared to give their Sentiments respecting this Subject, at our next Session.”—⁹⁰

Let it be noted in connection with these two meetings of Hanover Presbytery in 1761 at the Tinkling Spring Meeting House, that from 1759 through 1769 presbytery met west of the Blue Ridge ten times—at New Providence once, at Brown's Meeting House once, in called meetings at Stone Meeting House twice, and at Tinkling Spring six times. During this time, Mr. Craig was moderator of presbytery six times!

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 66.

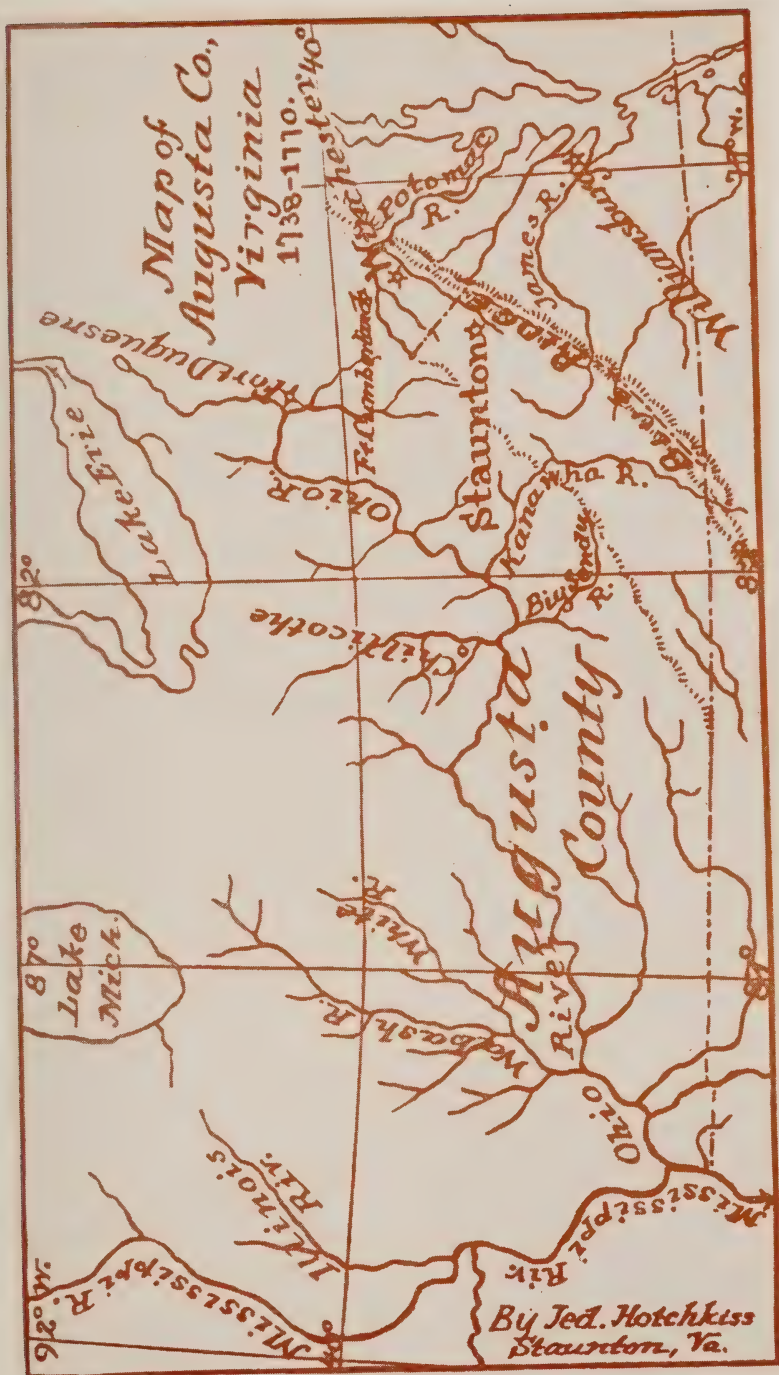


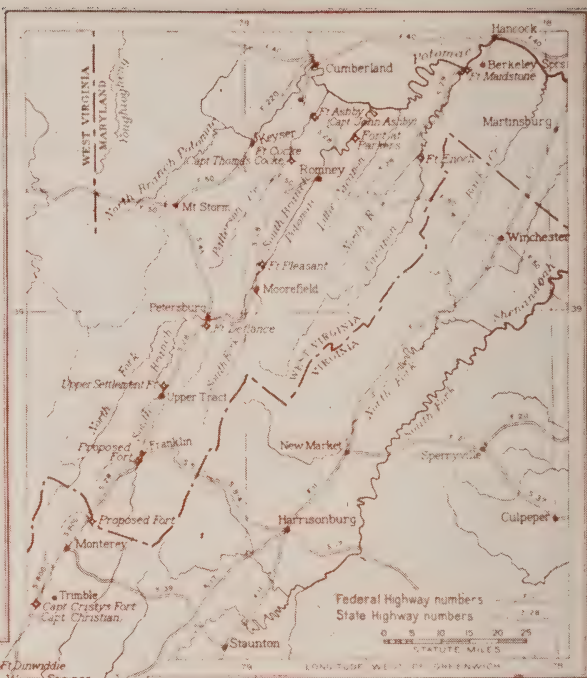
Figure XVI
Augusta County, Virginia, 1738-1770

WASHINGTON'S CHAIN OF FORTS

This map shows the location of the 21 frontier forts recommended by George Washington to keep the Indians out of Virginia. Some of the forts had been erected previous to Washington's survey of 1756.

Others were erected as a result of that visit, while four were never constructed.

By a search of old records, the National Geographic Society has definitely fixed Forts Mayo, Blackwater, and William, which have not hitherto appeared on any modern map. The Society's research disclosed that the "Fort at Dickenson's" in Washington's plan is identical with Fort Young, and not to be confused with a Fort Dickinson on Cowpasture River, 31 miles distant; and that Washington's "Fort at Cocke's" was on Patterson Creek and not at Friend Cox's, at the mouth of the Little Cacapon.



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Figure XVII

The Valley's Fort Defense Against
Indians Planned at Staunton in 1756

CHAPTER TWELVE

Days of Tension, 1764-1774

THE signing of a peace treaty between the English and French in 1763 did not end the trouble with the Indians. However, the Shawnees and Delawares submitted sullenly to the signing of a peace treaty with the whites in 1764 after an invasion of their settlements on the Ohio.¹

It was about this time that another Indian raid came close to Tinkling Spring people, though not inside the congregation. John Trimble, who married John Moffett's widow, Mary Christian Moffett, lived on Middle River between Staunton and the present village of Churchville. In addition to Mr. Trimble and his wife, there was in the home a son, James, and Mrs. Trimble's daughter, Mrs. Catherine Moffett Estill, wife of Benjamin Estill, a contributor at Tinkling Spring Meeting House. A group of Indians—possibly just after killing Alexander Crawford—came along Middle River and raided the home, killing John Trimble and capturing Mrs. Estill and her half-brother, James. All known records omit any reference to Mrs. Trimble in the experience. They made off with four horses loaded with plunder, these two white prisoners and a negro slave boy belonging to the Trimbles. Captain George Moffett, son of Mrs. Trimble, quickly organized a rescue party and went in pursuit of the raiders. Dr. Waddell's record is in part:

The morning after the murder of John Trimble, Captain George Moffett, his step-son, and the brother of Mrs. Estill, was in pursuit of the enemy, with twenty-five men collected during the previous night. The Indians had fifteen hours' start, but Moffett and his party rapidly gained on them. The fact that the pursuers moved more rapidly than the pursued was a well known one in Indian warfare, the latter being generally encumbered and losing time in the effort to conceal their trail. In the morning of the fifth day, the whites in front of their party discovered the Indians on a spur of the Alleghany Mountain, and upon a consultation it was concluded to pause in the pursuit and make an attack after dark.

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Some of the prisoners were tied with tugs, while the women and boys were unconfined. Mrs. Estill was sitting on a log sewing ruffles on a shirt of her

¹Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 199.

husband, at the bidding of the Indian who claimed her as his prize. James Trimble was at the spring getting water. The Indians had barely time to get their guns before the whites were upon them. At first, most of the startled prisoners ran some distance, and becoming mingled with the Indians, it was impossible for the rescuers to fire; but discovering their mistake, they turned and ran to their friends. Then the firing began on both sides. The negro boy was shot, and from the blood discovered on the trail of the flying Indians, it was evident that several of them were wounded.

Moffett and his party desisted from the pursuit, and collecting the stolen property and removing to a distance, spent the night. Early next morning they began their homeward journey. . . . The Augusta men reached home unhurt, except one, who was wounded in the mountain pass, and was carried on a litter. The loss of the Indians was six killed and several badly wounded.²

CRAIG'S PASTORATE CLOSES AT TINKLING SPRING

The Reverend John Craig was called to Augusta County in the Colony of Virginia in 1740 by the Triple Forks of the Shenando congregation (the constituency of which centered in the Beverley Manor land grant) and was installed as their pastor by Donegal Presbytery in Pennsylvania.³ There appears to have been a clear understanding in this informal "Christian Society," instituted by Rev. James Anderson in 1738,⁴ in regard to two matters.

First, it was understood that there were to be two meeting houses,⁵ one in the south part of Beverley Manor and another beyond the Beverley Manor to the north. These two places of worship came to be known as Tinkling Spring and Stone Meeting Houses. The second agreement was that the first of these groups to become able and willing to do so was to have Mr. Craig's full time as its pastor. Though there is evidence that Tinkling Spring planned such a move in 1753, the plan did not materialize.⁶ Tinkling Spring and Stone Meeting Houses continued as a "Congregation" with two places of worship with Mr. Craig as pastor until after the Indian war.

The Hanover Presbytery Minutes of the spring meeting, Thursday, May 5, 1763, in the Tinkling Spring Meeting House, are in part:

pursuant to ye Original Agreement between Mr. Craig's people; ye people of

²*Ibid.*, pp. 194-95.

³Donegal Presbytery, Minutes, 1732-1750, pp. 150, 195-96; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 1.

⁴Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁵The Autobiography of John Craig, p. 28.

⁶Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:467, October, 1852; Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Stone-Meeting-house have demanded a Separation from ye Tinkling Spring Cong'n.

The presb'ty order yt ye affair be prepared for our next.⁷

The following spring meeting, again assembled at Tinkling Spring Meeting House, left minutes on Thursday, May 3, 1764, that:

The People of Stone Meeting House addressed the Presbytery for a separation between them and tinkling Spring; but all Parties not being prepared, it is deferred till our next, & then to be finally determined.⁸

At the fall meeting of presbytery, in Cumberland County, October 3, 1764, the first item of business, following "Supplications for Supplies," is that:

Mr Craig is dismissed from the Tinkling Spring, and sustains the pastoral relation as to the Congregation of Stone meeting House only.

The elder representing Tinkling Spring at this meeting was John Finley. He put in a request for a supply assignment at Tinkling Spring but none was made except, ". . . ministers in Augusta County, are left to their own discretion, in supplying."⁹

In contrast to Mr. Craig's pronouncement on the stewardship of his people—favorable to Stone Meeting House and disparaging to Tinkling Spring—the presbytery seems to see less difference in its recommendation:

. . . to the people of tinkling Spring and Stone meeting-house to pay off the arrears due to Mr Craig, by next Spring Presbytery, which is to meet at Stone meeting house . . .¹⁰

Mr. Craig preached his farewell sermon at Tinkling Spring in November 1764. Upon the request of his children this sermon was given to them with this request, "You may read this to a friend that you know has a tast for it but give it not away to any . . ."¹¹ This "short discourse,"¹² is sufficient in length to give a healthy sample of Mr. Craig's

⁷Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1758-1769, p. 61.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 74; Craig Autobiography, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

¹¹John Craig, Sermon, Text 2 Samuel 23:5, footnote attached to "My dear Children."

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 32.

warm evangelical fervor in preaching and his love for the Tinkling Spring people with whom he had often differed. Dr. Benjamin M. Smith, a later pastor of Tinkling Spring, submitted the sermon for publication in December 1840, with the following note: "A Relic of a Great and Good man of the eighteenth century . . . by the Rev. John Craig, of Augusta County, Virginia . . ." ¹³ Mr. Craig attached a note at the end of the sermon:

Delivered at tinkling Spring at the desolving of the pastoral relation between that people and me, which continued a little more than 24 years and ended regularly and friendly November: 1764. ¹⁴

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

Tinkling Spring people, with Rev. John Craig as their pastor, pioneered in the practice of religious freedom in the Colony of Virginia. They set in motion here an idea that was ultimately worthy of the support of all the God-fearing citizenry of the Old Dominion when her position on this issue became important in the national decision. Her men, though reluctant in aggression, were invaluable in defense against Indian cruelty. They were among the stalwart leaders that turned the tide in the frontier phase of the French-British struggle out of which grew the short-lived English rule over America. Tinkling Spring's first quarter of a century of service left her a changed and weakened meeting house group. Alexander Breckenridge, James Patton, John Preston, Archibald Stuart and John Lewis were dead by this time; John Finley, an active elder, disappears from the record, probably transferring his efforts to Brown's Meeting House; and families now removed entirely, or in part, were the Breckenridges, Lewises, Prestons, Campbells, Bells, Thompsons and others. Staunton, following the resignation of Mr. Craig, requested supplies and, though too weak to do so, proposed building her own meeting house. ¹⁵ While Tinkling Spring men were prominent in the Augusta County Militia, the leadership of other county affairs had passed into other hands. However, when the town of Staunton was chartered in 1766, about half of her trustees were Tinkling Spring men, and the Augusta Vestry continued a "majority of

¹³ John Craig, "A Relic of a Great and Good man of the eighteenth Century," *The Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, 6:541-55, December, 1840.

¹⁴ Craig Sermon, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 77.

dissenters.”¹⁶ The people had definitely faltered in their stewardship responsibility to the meeting house. The payment for the first log building had been completed only one year before Craig resigned¹⁷ and they continued in debt to Mr. Craig. This debt plagued them on every hand, even when they sought supplies for the pulpit on Communion Sabbath. At the presbytery meeting in May 1767:

A verbal Petition for Supplies & the Administration of the Lords Supper was presented from the Congregation of the Tinkling Spring; the Presbytery appoint Mr. Sankey to administer that Ordinance there on the 4th. Sab: of this Month, & Mr. Black to assist him. Tho’ Mr. Craig might have objected to the above Appointment on Acc’t of a Claim on said Congregation of Arrears due to him; yet being desirous of the good of that People, he consents to the Administration of the Lord’s Supper amongst them: but not so as to give up said Claim to their Arrears.¹⁸

Tinkling Spring had served her Lord and her country nobly in the past, but she faced the future with a depleted number and a generally weakened condition following the French and Indian War.

THE WHITE MASSACRE OF INDIANS IN AUGUSTA

It appears very significant that the worst known breakdown of law and order in Augusta County came at this time. However, it is with pride that the Tinkling Spring historian notes the stamina of her men in striving for the enforcement of justice, and with equal pride the absence of her number among the lawless. The worst of these experiences is printed in the Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia and in the Bancroft Transcripts in the Library of Congress.¹⁹

The friendship of the Cherokee Indians during the war had, in spite of disappointments, proved to be of genuine value to the Virginia Colony. Cherokee chiefs were sent to England to confer with the king in order to assure their cooperation for the future. The murder of several Indians in Craig’s congregation in Augusta early in 1765 “. . . nearly resulted in an uprising of the *Cherokees*, and but for the timely efforts of Colonel Lewis war would have certainly resulted.”²⁰

¹⁶William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), VIII, 438; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 214

¹⁷Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁸Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁹John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1907), pp. xx-xxv.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. xx.

The circumstances and persons involved are set forth in a letter by Colonel Lewis to Governor Francis Fauquier.²¹ The Governor replied, stating that he presented the problem to the Council and the House of Burgesses and that immediate steps would be taken to make amends for this outrage, and that he was to "*send express*" a messenger to the Cherokees assuring them ". . . that I am taking every step to bring the criminals to justice . . ."²²

Colonel Lewis a month later reported to the governor that among the dead Indians was a son of a former chief of the Cherokees, a fact that would make more certain their retaliation unless drastic steps were taken to prevent it. He had two of the accused murderers arrested but public sentiment did not support this punishment of men who had killed "Savages."

Organized mobs delivered these men from the hands of the law. Colonel Lewis was forced to declare that he could not enforce the law locally without help from the capital.²³ The indignation of the Augusta citizens against this effort to bring to justice those who had murdered Indians allowed the outlaw organization of "The Augusta Boys" whose proclamation offered a reward for the arrest of Colonel Lewis and some of his law enforcement associates.²⁴ The governor reported all these affairs to the Board of Trade in England. His report on "The Augusta Boys," June 14, 1765, admitted the government's inability to enforce the law under the circumstances and advised ". . . the wiser course to pursue was to be extremely prudent, rather than attempt vigorous action in *Augusta County*."²⁵

Incidents such as these produced a conviction that, though it had been averted from time to time, inevitably there would come a bloody conflict between Indians and whites that would leave one the victor and the other the vanquished people.

CONTRIBUTION TO CHURCH EXPANSION WESTWARD

The ministry of Rev. John Craig, centering at Tinkling Spring in the early days of his pastorate, was a tower of strength and light to the hearts of Godly men pioneering in an uncharted wilderness. To tabu-

²¹*Ibid.*, p. xx.

²²*Ibid.*, p. xxi.

²³*Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

²⁵*Loc. cit.* See Appendix A, IV.

late fully the part that Tinkling Spring played in that great spiritual task is next to impossible because of scant records; but that she played a very great part is conspicuously evident from the records available.

The preliminary to settlement was the patenting of lands in which James Patton, John Lewis, William Preston and others took the initiative.²⁶ The earliest ventures in land purchase by these Tinkling Spring men were on the Cowpasture and Calfpasture Rivers. Then followed immediately their purchases in what is now Southwest Virginia, but at that time was within old Augusta County. While properly located lands form the stable foundation for establishing strong churches, the character and life of the spiritual organization is made up of those who settle the land.

On the Little River of the Calfpasture were found, about 1750, the following with a spiritual heritage from Tinkling Spring: Gays, Ramseys and Blacks; with the same heritage on Great River of Calfpasture were Crocketts, Gays, Millers, Hamiltons and Campbells. Other Presbyterian homes in this area where Craig had in 1747 and 1749 baptized children were William Jamison, Robert Bratton and John Miller. "Upper Calf-Pasture" first appears in the Hanover Minutes in 1759 and among the few elders reported before 1800 is found James Ramsey,²⁷ undoubtedly a near relative, if not the oldest son of Elder John Ramsey of Tinkling Spring.

The colonial government's offer of "bounty lands" on the frontier, as a reward to those who fought the Indians, led many of the best and most enterprising of the Ulster Scots' second American generation to join the trek to the west. The strength of the southwest settlements is suggested in the mission of Mr. Craig to the southwestern part of Virginia in 1769. The minutes of Hanover Presbytery suggest the ties with the old Beverley Manor settlers when we note names and families. It was in the spring of 1768 that the presbytery authorized Mr. Craig's mission:

Ordered that Supplies be appointed. Mr. Craig six Sabbaths at Craig's Creek and Reed Creek, & places interjacent: & that Mr. Craig's Congregation may not

²⁶Meredith Leitch, Map of Colonial Land Patents and Grantees, Calfpasture Rivers, Augusta County.

²⁷Delemo L. Beard, "Origin and Early History of Presbyterianism in Virginia," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1932), p. 280.

thereby sustain too great a Loss, the Presbytery appoint Messrs. Black, Brown, & Cummings to supply it one Sabbath each.

Ordered that the Clerk, with one Member more, give Mr. Craig proper Instructions about the Regulation of the Vacancies where he is appointed to supply.²⁸

It was a year later, 1769, at the spring meeting of presbytery, convened at Tinkling Spring Meeting House, that Mr. Craig reported. The minutes relate:

... Mr. Craig, not being present at our last, returned an Acc't of his Mission, which was appointed by last Spring Pby, which being very Satisfactory, is ordered to be recorded in the Pby Book, which is as followeth.

Names of Congregations	Families Living	Representatives
1. Sinking Spring on Cautaba & James River [Located across Sinking Creek from Fincastle—continues to be the Fincastle Church]	75 £40	{ Jno Miller Joseph Cloyd Ed. Sharp Benj: Hawkins Thos. McFerren Robt. Finley Andrew Woods
2 Craig's Creek [Served the people on the lower end of Craig's Creek and along the James River]	45 28	{ Malcom Allen Jno Crawford Jas Wilson Jas Robinson Sam'l Lawrence
3 Denean [Near the present Amsterdam, Virginia, toward the Cloverdale community]	70 40	{ Jas McCowen Dav'd Cloyd Wm Preston Wm Fleming Robt Brekenridge
4. New Antrim [Served the people of Peter Creek and adjacent Roanoke River area in the present city of Roanoke, Virginia, vicinity]	43 30	{ Andrew Boyd Robert Poage Neal McNeal Wm Bryan Thos Tosh
5 New Derry [Located in the forks of the road from Lafayette and the U.S. Highway 11, near Elliston, Virginia]	36 45	{ Joseph Barnet Robt Richy David Robinson Sam'l Woods Wm Berd Sam'l Croket Hugh Croket Jas Robertson Jas Mountgomery

²⁸Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10.

Names of Congregations	Families Living	Representatives
6 New Dublin [Continues to be an active church near Dublin, Pulaski County, Virginia]	45 £45	{ Joseph How Sam'l Colvill John Tylor Samuel Cloyd Jas Montgomery
7. Boiling Spring [Probably located near Fort Chiswell and served the people on Lower Reed Creek in present Wythe County, Virginia]	42 26	{ Robert Montgomery David Sairs Wm Sairs Nathaniel Welcher William Herbert
8. Unity [Served the people settled on the waters of Holston River and Reed Creek]	45 40	{ James Harris James Davies Jas Hollis George Brakenridge Sam'l Montgomery

(October 14, 1768)²⁹

That this outstanding service of Mr. Craig earned for him prestige as an extension worker is evidenced by the following action taken in 1769:

. . . very strongly recommended to each Phy & to each Minister and Wellwisher that they should to their utmost promote Collections and Subscriptions for the new jersey College, and . . . appointed . . . Mr. John Craig and Mr. John Brown, or Mr. Thos. Jackson, for the western parts of Virginia, as Commissioners of the Synod for that purpose . . .³⁰

The next spring, 1770, they reported "their Six Weeks, in collecting Benefactions," submitted "their Accounts and the Money" for presbytery to send to the College Trustees. Presbytery asked the collectors to keep the money until ". . . they had found a Sure Person to carry it to the Trustees . . ."—a means of transportation not found until 1772.³¹

Of the forty-six "Representatives" Mr. Craig ordained in the eight new meeting houses in Southwest Virginia, at least the following six came from a Tinkling Spring background: John Miller, Robert Finley, William Preston, James Davis, William Fleming, Robert and George Breckenridge. Possibly half of these forty-six heads of families had

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

³⁰Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1769-1785, pp. 2-3. Princeton was once called the College of New Jersey.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 20, 44-45.

come from the Old Triple Forks of the Shenando congregation area where Mr. Craig had served since 1740. At one time, when asked how he had found suitable material for church officers in the wilderness, he replied in his rich brogue, "Where I cudna get hewn stones, I tuk dornacks." He was likely thinking of this group of men.³²

It appears there were six heads of Campbell families in Tinkling Spring prior to 1750—Charles, David, James, John, George and William—but after 1750 there are but three Campbells left with a bare half-dozen subscriptions credited to all of them. The Campbell families were on the move to the southwest! Dr. Foote quotes a Campbell family historian concerning immigrant John Campbell:

... all his descendants, were raised and educated after the strictest manner in the Presbyterian church, and a large portion of them became members in that Church.³³

In 1765 John Campbell, grandson of the immigrant, along with Dr. Thomas Walker, explored the western wilderness and purchased for his branch of the Campbell family an ancient survey near the headwaters of the Holston River and called it "Royal Oak." This young man—then twenty-two years of age—and his younger brother, Arthur, (both of whom their parents had dedicated to God in the Sacrament of Baptism administered by Rev. John Craig at Tinkling Spring) secured the consent of the family for Margaret, their eighteen year old sister, to accompany them to the Holston to make the necessary improvements for the whole family to settle at Royal Oak.³⁴

The removal of the whole family was made to the Holston a few years later. The father and mother of John, Arthur and Margaret were David Campbell, youngest son of the immigrant, and Mary Hamilton, his wife. They brought the remainder of their large family: sons James, David, Robert and Patrick, and daughters Mary (wife of William Lockhart), Martha, Sarah and Ann.

³²Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 465; Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky; with a Preliminary Sketch of the Churches in the Valley of Virginia* (New York: Robert Carter, 1847), p. 24. Dr. Davidson tells us that "A dornack is a rough mis-shapen stone, generally rejected by builders."

³³William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 117.

³⁴*Ibid.*, II, 117-21.

Presbytery took knowledge of their presence on the Holston in 1770 by directing Rev. Charles Cummings to tour the vacancies:

. . . recommending it to him to begin at Hall's Meetinghouse [near present Lexington, Virginia] and to go as far as the royal Oak on Holsten, and to spend at least six Weeks in that Journey.⁸⁵

The Reverend Goodridge A. Wilson, D. D., pastor of the Royal Oak Presbyterian Church, Marion, Virginia, 1922-1937, writes:

It is a verified fact that when she was 18 years old Margaret Campbell accompanied her brothers to this land in the Southwestern wilderness and kept house for them for two years while they were getting their Cabins built, Clearings made, and otherwise preparing for the coming of their parents and the rest of the family. A story handed down by word of mouth says that Margaret agreed to come on condition that her brothers would see to it that a church was built on their land, and that 10 years later, in 1776, the brothers made good on that promise.⁸⁶

The depth to which Margaret Campbell's life and faith had been influenced by her early Christian training under Mr. Craig's ministry at Tinkling Spring is emphasized in the letter of David Campbell, ex-Governor of Virginia, in 1851, related by Dr. Foote:

. . . In two or three years after the removal of her father and mother, she married David Campbell, and in 1781, removed to the country, afterwards forming the State of Tennessee, and in 1784, to the place where her enterprising husband erected first a block-house, and afterwards Campbell's Station. She was a most intelligent, mild, and placid woman; always thoughtful, and always calm and prepared for every emergency. So conspicuous were these traits in her character, whenever any difficulty occurred, or any alarm took place, she was first looked to and consulted, not only by the women in the block-house and Station, but even by the men.

To show this trait, I will relate one instance. On one occasion, when the frontier was quiet and the men had left the block-house, her husband and a hired man were in the field ploughing among the corn, the Indians fired upon them, but doing no damage, they unloosed their horses and made their way to the house. She heard the guns, and suspecting it was from the Indians, collected her little flock of children around her in the house—chained the door—took down a rifle well loaded, and taking her seat calmly awaited the event, expecting every moment to hear the Indians approaching, or the men from the field, if not killed or wounded. In this situation she remained until they arrived. As soon as night came on, they saddled horses, took up the family, and quietly retreated to White's Fort, fifteen miles into the settlements.

⁸⁵Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁸⁶Goodridge Wilson, editorial, "The Southwest Corner," *The Roanoke (Virginia) Times*, November 11, 1951.

This excellent lady died, with cancer in the breast in 1799, at the age of fifty-one, universally beloved and regretted, and lies buried in the Presbyterian Church burying ground near Campbell's Station. . . .³⁷ [Located fifteen miles below present Knoxville, Tennessee]

In the spring of 1772, the Reverend Charles Cummings requested presbytery to dissolve "the Pastoral Relation between him and his Congregation" at Brown's Meeting House "on Account of their Inability to support him," and the request was granted.³⁸ The friends he had made, on the Holston River in his preaching tour a year or more before, brought into a meeting of Hanover Presbytery assembled at Tinkling Spring, June 2, 1773:

A Call from the united Congregation of ebbing Spring and sinking Spring was given in by Samuel Edmunson to be presented to Mr. Cummins, who accepted of the same.³⁹

These two old congregations seem to have covered the territory between present Marion and Bristol, Virginia. The first was located near Glade Spring, and the other in Abingdon, Virginia.

The signers of that call are found to have many contacts with Rev. John Craig's Tinkling Spring pastorate. Eight of the number bear the same names as children baptized by Craig 1740-1749. Among these were Benjamin Logan, son of David, who with Daniel Boone explored the Kentucky territory and had Logan County named for him; John Patterson, son of William, a family who have blessed the church with many ministers and missionaries; William Christian, son of Robert, among the founders of Tinkling Spring Church and famous for his patriotic zeal; Alexander Breckenridge, son of George, a family of churchmen and statesmen, outstanding in their leadership in Kentucky; and John Campbell, son of David, a family of daring faith and adventure who have supplied leadership in state and church affairs in astonishing numbers.⁴⁰

In addition to the Tinkling Spring Campbells at Royal Oak there had settled the Edmiston family in the Liberty Hall Community, now Lodi, Virginia; young William Campbell (later the famous General) with

³⁷ Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 119-20.

³⁸ Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47. Mr. Samuel Edmunson was at that time a candidate for the ministry under care of Hanover Presbytery.

⁴⁰ Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 115-17.

his mother and her family at Aspsenville, now Seven Mile Ford, Virginia; James Thompson on the inheritance—now the I. H. Huff farm at the ebbing spring—left him by his grandfather, James Patton, of Springhill in Augusta; and many other families of settlers—locations unknown to the writer. The same family names as found in an earlier day at Tinkling Spring are numerous: McNabb, Davis, McClure, Craig, Black, Douglass, Wilson, White, Denniston, Davidson, Long, Buchanan, Miller, Robinson, Ramsey, Gamble, Bell and others.

On the first day of September 1750, Colonel James Patton of Springhill in Augusta made his will. The first item of bequest to the members of the family is to his daughter, Mary Patton Thompson, wife of William Thompson:

. . . tract of Land about three thousand ackers on which Sam Stalnaker & others is now Living & has only Liberty to Croop on it, which tract of Land is Known by the name of the Indian fields, on the Waters of houlstons River, A Branch of the Misisipia—under this Restriction that as soon as my Grandson James Thompson Cumes of the age of twenty one years he is to have his Choice to Live on parte of Spring hill, or to Live on the indian feilds, & to have fifteen hundred ackers . . .⁴¹

James Thompson chose the Indian Fields and built his fort-home not far from the spring that ebbs and flows alternately, commonly called Ebbing Spring. He was appointed a constable on the Holston in 1770,⁴² became a Justice of Peace in Botetourt County in 1771 and was officeholder in Fincastle County in 1773, along with his friends and relatives, whom he had known as neighbors at Springhill, namely, William Preston, Arthur Campbell, William Russell and Benjamin Estill.⁴³ He was a brave and effective Indian fighter. He was a signer of the call to Rev. Charles Cummings in 1773.

James Thompson's fort-home he called Kilmackronan, a name said by some to be of Indian derivation. It seems much more likely that it is reminiscent of the location of his great grandfather, Henry Patton, Esq.,

⁴¹Augusta County Court Records, Will Book II, 131-34; Original with James Patton's seal intact, File Box II, Augusta Court Records, Clerk's Office, Staunton, Virginia.

⁴²Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport press, 1929), p. 72.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 141, 589. Mr. Summers' footnote (page 12) on the Indians is of interest. The Cherokee Indians occupied East Tennessee and a part of northwest Georgia adjacent. They were at times, and until 1759, friendly and very faithful to the Whites, furnishing volunteers in the early part of the French and Indian War. They were deadly enemies of the Shawnees and other tribes north of the Ohio, but in the Revolutionary War they united with them under the British influence against the Americans.

who for his military service in resisting Roman Catholic James the Second's invasion of southern Ireland, received the Manor of Springfield, Barony of Kilmacrenan, Province of Ulster, Ireland. When it came to locating dissenter meeting houses on the Holston, James Thompson was no doubt active in making the selection at his ebbing spring. The Ebbing Spring Church continues as an outpost chapel of the old church under a new name, Old Glade Spring Church of Abingdon Presbytery, Glade Spring, Virginia. The Sinking Spring Church is still active in Abingdon, Virginia. Within the area of these two old dissenting meeting houses there are today about a dozen Presbyterian churches, with scores of neighboring churches of sister denominations. Scarcely one among them has escaped a direct, or at least an indirect, spiritual influence of people to whom in their early days in the wilderness of Colonial Virginia, Tinkling Spring had performed a vital spiritual ministry.

RESOLUTE EFFORT DURING THE LONG VACANCY

For almost twelve years following the closing of Mr. Craig's pastorate, Tinkling Spring was without a settled pastor. Her supply ministers were paid £1 per Sabbath, it appears from the minute book. In three years following Mr. Craig's resignation the following ministers were employed and paid as indicated: Rev. Alexander Miller, £32.10; Rev. Samuel Black, £22; Rev. John Craig, £7; and one or two pounds each for the Reverend Messrs. John Brown, Richard Sankey, David Caldwell, Thomas Jackson, David Rice, Charles Cummings, Robert McMordie, James Campbell, John McCrery and a Mr. Teas.⁴⁴

There were dangers of the church losing its members during this long vacancy, but the session acted vigorously to prevent it. The record states that:

At a session held at Tinkling Spring August, ye 6th 1765

Ordered that no member in the bounds of this Congregation shall have a privilege in any other Congregation without a liberty from the Session or some member thereof

Ordered that no member of this Session shall sign any Petition or Certifcat without the Consent of the majority thereof

Ordered that the Session meett at this place the first tuesday of every quarter

George Hutchison, James Gilespy, James Bell, Wm Christian, Wm Wright, Edward Hall, John Ramsay, Walter Davis, Chas Patrick, Samuel Black.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 31, 47.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 34.

The old meeting house was in need of repair. In the years 1766 and 1767 there was a drive put on for finances for the following purposes: to pay their debt to Mr. Craig, to cover the meeting house, to build a new pulpit and to purchase a pulpit Bible.⁴⁶ The description of the pulpit is given as:

. . . twelve foot Square to Be groved and Lathed at the Back of the pulpit The pulpit to Be made in the Same mode &c of the Church pulpit in town only the Clarks Seat to Be made les & the pulpit to Be made about Six Inches Broader in the Back. . . & a Convenient Closet underneath all to Be made with pine plank to Be Done in workman fashion the Closet underneath to Be fitted with a Convenient Door & a Lock upon it & Hinges Suitable, the Clerks Seat to Be made two foot in the Clear.⁴⁷

The session entered into a contract May 27, 1766, with Edward Walton to do the work for eleven pounds. The subscriptions for covering the meeting house range from John Ramsey's £6.16.0 down to two shillings six pence, and on the purchase of the Bible it appears to have been an assessment of one shilling six pence per family.⁴⁸

In the minutes of the session for 1769 and 1770, there is sensed a desperation in effort and ruling to hold the meeting house together. In 1769 the session divided the congregation into districts with elders assigned to each, suggesting renewed effort on the part of the session to do its duty in the absence of a settled pastor. The session, toward the end of 1770, laid down for itself and the congregation a set of rules, in the following minute:

We the Session of the Tinkling Spring Congregation being met at ye meeting house on tusday ye 6 of Novbr 1770 have agreed to observe ye folowing rules

1 that amajority of the Session and heds of Families shall transact in Congregational affairs when met for that purpose and their transactions shall be binding

2 that any inferiour numbers tranactions in Congregational affairs shall be counted by us disorderly and tending to breake the peace and unity of ye same and shall not be binding

3 that ye Session & heds of Families shall meet Quarterly to consult of Congregationall affairs

4 that all persons living in the bounds of this Congregation who will not take a seat in ye meeting house and bear a proportional part of ye charges shall be deprived of Privileges ye 6 of Novbr 1770

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 30-55.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 52. It is of interest to note the fact that the only "pulpit in town" was in the Established Church of England.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51, 65, 66.

N. B. Edward Hall John Ramsey Walter Davis & John Christian apointed as a Commite or any three of them to transact in sum extraordinere ceases

Jno Christian, James Bill, Willam Wright Edward Hall W. Christian John Ramsey Walter Davis Samuel Black.⁴⁹

A summary statement of 1769-1770 shows £95.12.7 paid out by the treasurer.⁵⁰ With debt the common lot of many individuals of the Valley at this time and in absence of a regular pastor, it seems from the record that the church was struggling earnestly to move forward in spite of the plight in which she found herself.

If they had made progress in the improving of their church property and the girding of their organization for a difficult task, it is quite evident from the list of subscribers in the period 1765-1770 that they had replenished the ranks of their constituents.⁵¹

A close examination of this list of contributors, as compared with the list of members who built the Tinkling Spring log meeting house a quarter of a century earlier, reveals a large turn-over in membership. Absent from this list—some conspicuously so because of their prominence in earlier days—are the following family names: Breckenridge, Cowan, Craig, Cunningham, Denniston, Edmiston, Gamble, Gay, Holme, King, Lewis, McCord, Maxwell, Miller, Patterson, Patton, Preston, Robinson and Scott. New family names are of special interest to this period, namely, Allen, Blackwood, Bratton, Coalter, Cloyd, Estill, Huttson, Jamison, Kinkead, Love, Marshall, Patrick, Pilson, Rutledge, Van Lear and Williamson.

Continued conflict with the Indians, a large exodus of substantial families, a decaying old log meeting house, the absence of a settled minister and the consequent tendency for the members to go elsewhere for worship were surely evidences of Tinkling Spring's worst day of tension and testing; but she survived with sufficient vigor to take her rightful place in defense of American freedom!

In this period when patriots were lashing out against encroachment upon their "rights" and "liberties," the Presbyterians dared to challenge an evil custom very prevalent in Augusta County records—that of serv-

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 37.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 30-55. See Appendix D, II.



A BATTLE SCENE AT POINT PLEASANT OCTOBER 10, 1774.
A facsimile of the bas-relief on lower plinth on the western side of the Battle Monument, at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

Figure XVIII

The First Significant Victory by Valley Men over the Indians

"The Declaration Of Augusta"

Resolution of the freeholders of Augusta county adopted at a meeting in Staunton Feb. 22, 1775, more than a year ahead of the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia July 4, 1776. An account of the meeting appears on this page.

"Many of us and our forefathers left our native land and explored this once savage wilderness, to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights, we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any ministry, to any Parliament, or any body of men on earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions, therefore, we have no voice.

"Fully convinced that the safety and happiness of America depend, next to the blessing of Almighty God, on the unanimity and wisdom of her people, we doubt not you will, on your parts comply with

the recommendations of the late Continental Congress, by appointing delegates from this colony to meet in Philadelphia the 10th of next May, unless American grievances be redressed before that time. And so we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty, which is the gift of Heaven to the subjects of Britain's empire, and will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just and legal rights of this colony and all British America.

"Placing our ultimate trust in the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for exploring the blessing of Almighty God of such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving America happy, virtuous and free."

Figure XIX

Freedom of Conscience, the Gift of Heaven, to be Defended as a God Given Right

ing hard liquors as refreshment at funerals. The Presbytery of Hanover record is in part:

. . . The Advice of Pby being asked respecting the Use of Spiritus Liquors and Cakes at Funerals, The Pby take the Matter into Consideration and judge it to be an improper Custom, and that it ought to be discontinued.⁵²

In 1774 Horatio Gates, prominent citizen of the northern Valley expressed the spirit of the Valley to Charles Lee, saying in part, "I am ready to risque my Life to preserve the Liberty of the Western World." The letter concludes with this rhyme:

In this Condition would I build my Fame,
And emulate the Greek and Roman name;
Think Freedom's rights bought cheaply with my blood—
And die with pleasure for my country's good.⁵³

⁵²Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵³Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 85, quoting *New York Historical Collection*, I, 126.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Days of War for Independence, 1774-1783

TREATIES and government policies did not settle the real issue of the frontier on the Ohio—whether it was to be “hunting grounds for the red men or homesteads for land-hungry pioneers.”¹ The Valley settlers moved steadily through the Alleghany Mountains into the Ohio Valley. The Indian Confederation led by “The Cornstalk”² clashed often in combat with the frontier backwoodsmen, whom the Indians called “The Long Knives.”³

BEGINNING OF STRIFE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES

In the meantime, strife between the Colonies and the Mother Country was brewing. The Colonies in America began to suffer restrictions of the liberty extended to them by charter.⁴ At the first suggestion of taxes for America—decided upon in England—the Virginia Colony “maintained the loyalty of *Virginia*, but set forth that freedom could not exist where taxes were laid upon a people without their consent or by their legal representatives.”⁵ In the face of protests received, the Parliament passed the Stamp Act in 1765 and thereby aroused a violent spirit of resistance in which Virginia took a lead with Patrick Henry as her spokesman.⁶ The resistance was so vigorous that the Stamp Act was abolished in 1766, but not before American suspicions had been alerted against Great Britain. From this time those favoring the British view were called “Tories” or “Loyalists” and those opposing it, “Whigs” or “Patriots.”⁷

¹Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 68.

²The chief's name was Keigh-tugh-qua, meaning blade or stalk of corn, therefore thought of as the strength and staff for his people and called by the backwoodsmen “Cornstalk.” He had led raids on Kerr's Creek and Greenbrier.

³Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-82.

⁴John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1761-1765* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1907), p. liv. The “Parson's Cause,” pages xxxviii-liii, served to reduce the influence of the Established Church Clergy upon the Virginia legislators.

⁵*Loc. cit.*

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. lxiv-lxv.

⁷*Loc. cit.*

On December 16, 1773 a group of Bostonians disguised as Indians dumped 340 chests of tea, from three ships, into Boston Harbor in protest against the tax on tea—another example of Taxation without Representation.⁸ Parliament retaliated in March 1774 by passing the Boston Port Bill, closing the port and ordering the owners repaid, as well as awarding damages to the custom officials injured in the riot! Intense resentment welled up all over America. This and similar acts led to Virginia's initiative in the Continental Congress called to devise means of co-operation among the colonies and resistance to British policy.

The sympathy of the Valley of Virginia for the "Boston Tea Party"—as an example of protest against British policy—was demonstrated by their gifts for relief of hunger when the Bostonians were reduced to want. Dr. Waddell quotes Bancroft, the historian, as saying:

"When the sheaves had been harvested and the corn threshed and ground in a country as yet poorly provided with barns or mills, the backwoodsmen of Augusta county, without any pass through the mountains that could be called a road, noiselessly and modestly delivered at Frederick one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour as their remittance to the poor of Boston."⁹

This deed speaks eloquently of the Whig sentiment in Augusta County, and it was no doubt fully shared at Tinkling Spring.

SONS OF TINKLING SPRING AT POINT PLEASANT

The culmination of Indian-white grievances was Lord Dunmore's War with the Indians. It was a very significant introduction to the Revolutionary War for Independence from the British. Since sons of Tinkling Spring played an important role in it and the results became a major factor in the later efforts for independence, we continue the study of Tinkling Spring in this period by a glimpse at Dunmore's War.

Lord Dunmore, the last Royal Governor of the Colony of Virginia, initiated and took personal charge of an expedition against the Indians on the Ohio River in 1774.

The occupation of the Indian's hunting ground south of the Ohio

⁸Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 218. Dr. Waddell points out that an Augusta County youth helped to throw the tea overboard.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 225, quoting Bancroft, VII, 74.

stirred the Indians to sense their fate, if this settlement succeeded. The Indian resolution to defend the area in question and resist, under the leadership of Cornstalk, the settlement by the Whites brought on violent clashes all along the Ohio River frontier border, and "Indian atrocities were committed almost daily."¹⁰ In May, 1774, Lord Dunmore reported the border horrors to the Virginia House of Burgesses—of which Charles and Andrew Lewis were members—and secured authorization to resist their hostilities.¹¹

Recruiting of the army was done west of the Blue Ridge through the regular county organizations. Dunmore took personal charge of the Northern Division of the army recruited in the northern counties of Frederick, Dunmore, Hampshire and Berkeley.

In the southern Virginia counties west of the Blue Ridge sons of Tinkling Spring Meeting House were in charge. Andrew Lewis had settled at "Dropmore" on his patented lands at the base of Bent Mountain near Roanoke, Virginia. William Fleming, formerly a resident physician of Staunton and a Tinkling Spring adherent, had settled at "Belmont" in present Montgomery County, and in the same county William Preston had settled at "Smithfield," now Blacksburg, Virginia. William Christian (son of Israel) lived on "Dunkard's Bottom" in present Pulaski County. Charles Lewis, youngest son of immigrant John Lewis and brother to Andrew, had remained in Augusta and made his home on the Cowpasture River five miles from the present village of Williamsville, Bath County, Virginia.

On July 24, 1774, from Winchester the Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, issued orders to Andrew Lewis, the eldest and most experienced soldier of the southern counties:

Sir—I received your's and Colo. Charles Lewis Letters. the general Confederacy of Different Indian Nations [and] their repeated Hostilities . . . makes it necessary for [me to] go in Person to Fort Dunmore to put Matters under the best Regulation to Support that Country for a Barrier [and] give the Enemies a Blow that will Breake the Confederacy & render their plans abortive . . . [I] Desire you to raise a respectable Boddy of Men and join me . . . forward the Letter to Colo. Wm. Preston with the greatest Dispatch as I want his Assistance

¹⁰Virgil A. Lewis, *History of the Battle of Point Pleasant* (Charleston, West Virginia: The Tribune Printing Company, 1909), pp. 16-17.

¹¹John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776* (Richmond Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1905), p. 97.

as well as that of your Brother, Charles Lewis . . . I need not inform You how necessary Dispatch is.

I am Sir Your Most Obt. & very Hbl. Ser

DUNMORE¹²

The men trained at Tinkling Spring and referred to in this order headed their respective county organizations as County-Lieutenants: Andrew Lewis in Botetourt, William Preston in Fincastle and Charles Lewis in Augusta.

Preparation and departure from Augusta were accomplished rapidly. Recruiting was done in stations, two of which were Staunton and Tinkling Spring. Sampson Matthews' ordinary (store) served, according to tradition, as headquarters for gathering troops. It is said that on the barroom walls one company marked the heights of her men, "Nearly all the men being over six feet two inches in their stockings, and not one under six feet."¹³

Captains Alexander McClanahan, John Lewis (son of Thomas) and George Moffett were among the heads of companies from Augusta. John Stuart and Robert McClanahan were captains under Colonel Fleming and William Campbell was a captain under Colonel William Christian.

Colonel Charles Lewis made his will on August 10th, attended a council at Andrew Lewis' home the 12th, and was by the end of the month at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, West Virginia, where the Southern Division of the army, commanded by General Andrew Lewis,¹⁴ rendezvoused for the march to the Ohio. William Preston was absent because of illness at home.

Colonel Christian wrote from Camp Union to William Preston September 7th, saying:

I reached this place yesterday; a little after Colonel Charles Lewis marched with about 600 Augusta men. His business is to proceed as far as the mouth of Elk & there to make Canoes to take down the Flour. He took with him 500 P[ack] Horses carrying 54,000 lbs. of Flour & 108 Beeves.¹⁵

¹²Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louis Phelps Kellogg, editors, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), pp. 97-98.

¹³Jed. Hotchkiss and Joseph A. Waddell, *Historical Atlas of Augusta County, Virginia* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins & Co., 1885), p. 12.

¹⁴Colonel Andrew Lewis did not at this time receive a promotion but performed the duty of a brigadier general and was so addressed by his associates.

¹⁵Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

On October 6, 1774, General Andrew Lewis commanding the Southern Division or wing of the army arrived at Camp Point Pleasant at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River.

The Indian scouts had kept watch on the advance of Lewis' army and notified Cornstalk and his assembled warriors at the Shawnee capital on the Pickaway Plains in the Scioto Valley. It appears that he determined to prevent the union of the two wings of the army by a surprise attack on the camp at Point Pleasant. Captain William Ingles wrote Colonel William Preston:

... we arrived on the 6th and Encamped in the forks of the river where we looked on ourselves in Safe Possession of a fine Encampment and thought our Selves a terror to all the Indian Tribes on the Ohio & thus Luld in saftety till Sunday the 9th & after hearring a Good Sarman Preached by the Rev'd. Mr. Terry went to Repose [wit]h Our Gards Properly Posted . . . the[y (the Indians)] Crossed the Ohio on Rafts & Poisted themselves within one mile of our Camp where the[y] lay till morning with an intent `as we Suppose to force our Camp had not Providence in a Particular Manner Interposed in our behalf . . .¹⁶

Dr. Virgil A. Lewis wrote a summary from the original reports of how the battle started:

In the gray dawn of the morning twilight, Monday, October 10th, two young men went up along the east bank of the Ohio in quest of deer. When in the narrowest portion of land between Crooked Creek and the Ohio river, they were discovered by the Indians, who were advancing in solid phalanx toward the camp of the Virginians. They fired upon the hunters, one of whom was killed, and the other ran into Camp and gave the alarm. Instantly the drums beat to arms, and the backwoodsmen rolled out of their blankets, started from the ground, looked to their flints and priming, and were ready on the moment.¹⁷

Captain John Stuart, son of David, baptized and reared under Rev. John Craig's ministry at Tinkling Spring, leaves this account of the battle:

General Lewis immediately ordered a detachment of Augusta troops, under his brother Colonel Charles Lewis, and another detachment of the Botetourt troops, under Colonel William Fleming. These were composed of the companies commanded by the oldest captains; and the junior captains were ordered to stay in camp, to aid the others as occasion would require. The detachment marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same order of March, about four

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 42.

hundred yards from our camp, and in sight of the guard. The Indians made the first fire and killed both the scouts in front of the two lines. Just then the sun was rising, a very heavy fire soon commenced, and Colonel Lewis was mortally wounded, but walked into camp and died a few minutes afterwards. . . . During his life it was his lot to have frequent skirmishes with the Indians, in which he was always successful; had gained much applause for his intrepidity, and was greatly beloved by his troops. Colonel Fleming was also wounded; and our men had given way some distance before they were reinforced by the other companies issuing in succession from the camp. The Indians in turn had to retreat, until they formed a line behind logs and trees, across from the banks of the Ohio to the bank of the Kenawha, and kept up their fire till sundown. . . . We had seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were headed by their chief, the Corn-stalk Warrior; who, in his plan of attack and retreat, discovered great military skill.

he killed one of the Indians for retreating in the battle, in a cowardly manner. I could hear him the whole day speaking very loud to his men . . . "be strong, be strong!"¹⁸

Even though they won the battle there were, from the best accounts, eighty-one Virginians killed that day, among them the following with Tinkling Spring connections: the "greatly beloved" Colonel Charles Lewis; Captain Robert McClanahan; and John Frogge, son-in-law of Thomas Lewis, who was sutler to the Augusta Regiment.¹⁹ Of the 140 wounded probably a similar church connection existed for Colonel William Fleming and privates John and Alexander Stuart and James Alexander.²⁰ Names of those in the battle common to both Tinkling Spring and Point Pleasant's sparse records are numerous but not identifiable as the same persons. Some of these are as follows: James Anderson, William Armstrong, Thomas Bell, Alexander Breckenridge, Arthur Campbell, John Campbell, William Campbell, William Christian, John Cowan, George Craig, William Crow, John Cunningham, John Deniston, William Edmiston, John Frazer, Thomas Hall, John Hamilton, John Henderson, William Hutchinson, John Hutson, James Kerr, William Kerr, John King, David Kinkaid, John Logan, Joseph Long,

¹⁸John Stuart, "Memoir of Indian Wars and Other Occurrences," *Collections of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society*, 1:46-48, February, 1833.

¹⁹Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Concerning the death of John Frogge, Governor George R. Gilmer, his brother-in-law, relates an experience of Frogge's little daughter, who at midday, October 10, 1774, suddenly waked screaming that the Indians were killing her father. Upon the third repetition of this experience, it is related the mother became alarmed. The neighbors gathered and the news spread until the whole community was in a state of excitement. Mr. Frogge was backed financially as a sutler for the army by John Lewis. Mrs. Frogge later married Captain John Stuart.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

Joseph Love, John McClanahan, John McClure, Thomas McClure, William McCune, John Maxwell, Thomas Maxwell, James Miller, George Moffat, William Robertson, James, John, Robert and William Smith, John Steele, Robert and William Thompson, John and Thomas Wilson.²¹

The October term of the Augusta Court reflects the anxiety of the people. It met two days, 18th and 19th, but transacted no business—a most unusual court term for Augusta! Alexander McClanahan was back to sit as a magistrate in the November Court. By January, 1775, claims were being presented against the government for special services rendered; among them, of interest to us, were William Hamilton for “riding express” and William McCune for “Cow-herd.”²²

Dr. Virgil A. Lewis again pointedly briefs us on the implications of this victory and the treaty that followed:

... a few hundred Virginians could, and did decide issues of such mighty importance and far reaching effects, that historians in a century have not seen them in their full force and operation. Roosevelt has said: . . . “Its results were most important. It kept the northwestern tribes quiet for the first three years of the Revolutionary struggle; and above all it rendered possible the settlement of Kentucky, and therefore the winning of the west.”²³

In connecting the results with the Revolutionary cause, Dr. Lewis writes:

In the treaty Convention of Paris in 1783, whereby the independence of the United States was being recognized, and the western boundary of the new Nation determined, the British representatives voted to place this at the crest of the Alleghenies, and the Spanish representative in that body voted with them. But the Americans stoutly asserted that, not only had they conquered the vast Illinois region, but that Virginia had established civil government therein. So the Mississippi river, and not the Alleghenies, became the western boundary of the United States. Verily the men who fought the battle of Point Pleasant, were Empire Builders, and the victory achieved by them on that field changed the course of American history.²⁴

²¹Livia Nye Simpson-Poffenbarger, *The Battle of Point Pleasant, A Battle of the Revolution, October 10th, 1774* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia: The State Gazette, Publisher, 1909), pp. 84-95.

²²Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), I, 184.

²³Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 69.

The dissenter meeting house at Tinkling Spring trained the men who led to victory at Point Pleasant!

CHRISTIAN DETERMINATION SEASONED WITH PRAYER LED TO
SOLID RESISTANCE

During the days of Dunmore's War important events were leading step by step toward a break between the American Colonies and Great Britain. The Virginia House of Burgesses was in session when England's Boston Port Bill arrived. They reacted immediately to indicate a stand with Massachusetts by a resolution expressing grave apprehension of the great danger involved and setting "a day of general fasting and prayer" for the colony to "alarm their attention" appointing:

. . . the first day of *June*, on which the *Port Bill* was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice.²⁵

Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, upon hearing of this resolution, dissolved the House of Burgesses.²⁶ But the Virginia legislators were not to be deprived of an expression of their sentiments, so eighty-nine of them formed an association the following day, May 27, 1774, and went on record "... most earnestly hoping that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the Colonies without their consent will not be persisted in."²⁷ June 1, 1774, became a day of prayer for most of the colony with business suspended in all of Virginia. Sixteen days later the Legislature of the Massachusetts Colony adopted a resolution calling a congress of representatives from all the American colonies to meet in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774—whereupon it was dissolved by the Governor of Massachusetts.

The Virginia representatives met on August 1, 1774, and drew up resolutions expressing strong sentiments against being "deprived of their natural, ancient constitutional and chartered Rights" and proceeded to select representatives to the Colonial Congress called by Massachusetts.²⁸

²⁵Kennedy, 1773-1776, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁷Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870* (Richmond, Virginia: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), p. 187.

²⁸Virginia—Instructions for the Deputies—Williamsburg, 1774. Photocopy made from the original in the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 1, 1941, p. 1.

The Continental Congress met in Philadelphia according to the call with fifty-two delegates representing twelve colonies—only Georgia failed to send delegates. After a month of deliberation, on October 8, 1774 (two days before the battle at Point Pleasant), they began their conclusions:

Resolved, That this Congress approve of the opposition by the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts-bay to the execution of the late acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carryed into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.²⁹

After completing resolutions, a petition to the king, a memorial to the people of England and an address to the people of the colonies, the congress adjourned, having decided to reassemble in the spring *if* their grievances continued.³⁰

As early as June, 1774, Frederick County inhabitants had adopted resolutions asserting American "rights." But Bancroft, the historian, asserts:

"The first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came not from the Puritans of New England, nor the Dutch of New York, nor the planters of Virginia, but from the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians."³¹

Though Rev. John Craig, the pioneer Scots-Irish Presbyterian minister in the Valley, had been quietly laid to rest near his beloved Stone Meeting House—having died April 22, 1774—there was to be heard soon, among those whom he had trained, an echo of his patriotic sentiments of 1755!³²

The committee of the freeholders of Fincastle consisted of fifteen men. The Reverend John Craig had served as spiritual guide and

²⁹Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor, *Journals of The Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, District of Columbia: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 58; Thomas Jefferson and others, copy of a broadside issued by Jefferson and twenty-four other members of the Virginia House of Burgesses on May 31, 1774.

³⁰Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

³¹R. C. Reed, *History of the Presbyterian Churches of the World* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1927), p. 252, citing Bancroft.

³²William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 32-33, citing The Autobiography of John Craig.

minister to five of them, while a sixth was a fellow-Presbyterian minister. Their convictions, recorded January 20, 1775, were in part:

We by no means desire to shake off our duty or allegiance to our lawful Sovereign, but on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant Prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our Religion as Protestants, and our Liberties and Properties as *British* Subjects.

But, if no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of these inestimable privileges, which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth but at the expense of our lives.

These are our real, though unpolished sentiments, of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die.³³

On February 22, 1775, exactly ten months after the death of Mr. Craig, the freeholders of Augusta County assembled in Staunton where they registered their sentiments on the vital issue of the day. They chose Thomas Lewis³⁴ and Samuel McDowell to represent them in the Colony's Convention the following month. "Instructions" for the delegates were drawn up by a committee headed by the Reverend Alex. Balmain, who like Mr. Craig was a Scot, graduated from Edinburgh University, then serving as rector of the Established Church in Staunton. With him were five men of strong Scotch Presbyterian connection whose spiritual training in youth had been under Rev. John Craig and Rev. John Brown, namely, Sampson Matthews, Alexander McClanahan, Michael Bowyer, William Lewis and George Matthews.

The Augusta expression of allegiance to the king conditioned on retaining the "inestimable blessings" of "the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature" was the same as the Fincastle Resolution, but with a pointed emphasis upon faith, expressed in these words:

Placing our ultimate trust on the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose great interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most Convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD on such

³³*Washington and Lee University Historical Papers* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1890-1895), III, 33-34.

³⁴Thomas Lewis, Esq., was active in the Peaked Mountain Meeting House and was one of their "Commissioners" at presbytery in April 1770, according to Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1769-1785, pp. 8, 12, 15.

plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving *America* happy, virtuous and free.⁸⁵

Botetourt County, headed by Andrew Lewis, lately removed from the Tinkling Spring Congregation, was very similar in sentiment and its resolution concluded as follows:

. . . Liberty is so strongly impressed on our hearts, that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives. Our duty to GOD, OUR COUNTRY, OURSELVES, AND OUR POSTERITY, all forbid it. We therefore stand prepared for every contingency.⁸⁶

Colonel Bolivar Christian, after reciting the resolutions quoted in part above, declares:

It is believed that, in point of time, the very first paper presented to the Continental Congress, distinctly proposing a Separation from the Government of Great Britain, was one from this people of Augusta; but, unfortunately, the paper itself cannot now be found.⁸⁷

In the month of April, 1775, the first blood of the Revolution was shed when hostilities began between Massachusetts troops and British forces at Boston.⁸⁸ In the same month, April 9, 1775, Governor Dunmore removed the powder that had been stored in a public magazine at Williamsburg and loaded it on a British ship in the harbor. Though, upon bitter reaction, he promised to return it when wanted, Patrick Henry put no confidence in his promise and proceeded to raise in his county troops to force its return.

The third Continental Congress assembled in May, 1775, and on June 7 fixed July 20, 1775 as a day to be observed in the twelve colonies in humiliation, fasting and prayer. The British Commander at Boston about this time issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms—except John Hancock and Samuel Adams! Whereupon, Peyton Randolph, President of the Continental Congress, resigned June 15, 1775, and they unanimously elected John Hancock to that position. George Washington was made Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Virginia troops were ordered raised by the Colonial Convention of Virginia and Patrick Henry was put in command.⁸⁹

⁸⁵Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, III, 35.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸⁷*Loc. cit.*

⁸⁸Summers, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

The struggle between Henry and Dunmore continued. A reaction to it is given by the Reverend Philip V. Fithian, Presbyterian minister, on a preaching tour in the Valley, in his diary, November, 1775:

On the 28th by Express from Col: Patrick Henry commanding Officer of the Virginian Forces Advice arrived to the Officers here to fill up their Companies forthwith.

Also by the same Express came Dunmore's Proclamation by which the Civil Law is abolished through this Colony, & the Law Martial declared to be in Force! In this Proclamation the Governor command all his Majesty's Subjects to repair to the Royal Standard—And he declares Freedom to all Servants & Slaves who are able to bear Arms & will repair to the Standard!

The Inhabitants of this Colony are deeply alarmed at this infernal Scheme. It seems to quicken all in Revolution to overpower him however at every Risk.⁴⁰

JAMES WADDEL AT TINKLING SPRING

During the Revolution the Reverend James Waddel was Tinkling Spring's pastor. He was licensed to preach the gospel by Hanover Presbytery, meeting in the Tinkling Spring Church, April 2, 1761.⁴¹ His heritage was similar to that of the Tinkling Spring people. He was born of Scottish parents in Newry, county Down, Ireland, in July 1739, the son of Thomas Waddel, probably descended from the Waddel of Bothwell Bridge ⁴² and Grayfriar's Churchyard fame, who suffered so severely for the faith. He was educated at Dr. Finley's log college at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, where he was a most proficient pupil.

He was well-equipped for teaching and experienced in tutoring, and, at the age of nineteen, was enroute to South Carolina for that purpose when he encountered the Reverend Samuel Davies in Hanover County, Virginia. Mr. Davies persuaded him to remain in Virginia, and his charge to him concerning the ministry was effective. He began his

⁴⁰*Philip Vickers Fithian, Journal: 1775-1776* (Robert G. Albion and Leonidas Dodson, editors; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1934), p. 135; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴¹Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Sketches of Rev. James Waddel may be found: William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850), I, 349-88; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858), III, 235-46; Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, II, 34-37; C. E. Macartney, "James Waddell—The Blind Preacher of Virginia," *The Princeton Theological Review*, 19:629, October, 1921; and L. & W. H. Waddell, *A Register of the Descendants of the Rev. James Waddell, D.D.* ([n.p.: n.n.], 1881), 23 pp. The family name is spelled Waddel or Waddell; since he and his presbytery used the former in his day we use it. It is pronounced with the accent on the last syllable and the descendants spell the name Waddell.

⁴²Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 8, footnote.

training for the ministry under the Reverend John Todd, Louisa, Virginia, with whom he taught school. In April, 1760, he offered himself a candidate for the gospel ministry under Hanover Presbytery, meeting in Stone Meeting House in Augusta.

After he was ordained to the ministry, Thursday, June 17, 1762, at Harris's Creek Meeting House, in Prince Edward, he was besieged with calls. It was the good fortune of Lancaster and Northumberland Counties, commonly called the Northern Neck, to have his acceptance to their call October 7, 1762, where he settled, married Mary Gordon, and served nobly for twelve years.

When Tinkling Spring was left vacant, at the separation of the Stone Meeting House, she sought the services of Rev. James Waddel, who declined her call.⁴³ But after many years' vacancy, and with the knowledge that Mr. Waddel's health demanded his removal to a better climate, they again sought his ministry. In the spring of 1775 he was appointed by presbytery to supply Tinkling Spring one Sabbath.⁴⁴ There was a call from Tinkling Spring presented to presbytery, meeting at Timber Ridge, May 1, 1776, the record of which is as follows:

A Call from the Tinkling Spring Congregation, for Mr. Weddell was given into the Pby and by them presented to him, which he takes into Consideration, for one year.⁴⁵

Mr. Waddel, though not accepting the call, must have begun to supply the church soon after this, for the Tinkling Spring records show £35 16s paid to Mr. Waddel "for the year from May 1776 to May 1777."⁴⁶

Dr. B. M. Smith writing in 1852 says that "he never accepted the call" but "remained stated supply for seven years." He also points out that:

At his first coming he was promised £100, and provision was made for its payment in produce at market prices, in two instalments. The subscriptions

⁴³Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky; with a Preliminary Sketch of the Churches in the Valley of Virginia* (New York: Robert Carter, 1847), p. 26.

⁴⁴Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 72. This date of May 1, 1776 is significant also in Augusta County court records since it was the last date the court convened under the authority of the King of Great Britain.

⁴⁶Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 10.

varied from one shilling to six pounds, each giving according to ability. This salary was overpaid by £16, the first year.⁴⁷

Two significant facts about this financial program of the church—proportionate giving and the giving of produce—explain its success. On pew rent and equal assessment for heads of families, up to this date, Tinkling Spring always operated in debt. In Mr. Smith's possession was the heading and partial list of the 1779 subscribers as follows:

We the subscribers in the Congregation in Tinkling Spring do promise to pay Rev. James Waddell the sum of one hundred pounds current and lawful money of Virginia, for the whole of his labours for one year; and we moreover promise to pay the above one hundred pounds in clear merchantable wheat at three shillings per bushel: or in corn or rye of like quality at two shillings per bushel, or in other commodities he may want at said rates; or if we cannot spare said commodities or grain we will pay the current prices of such articles at the times of payment. The payment of one-half to be made in the middle of the term and the other at the expiration of it. In witness whereof we do hereunto set our hands this first day of May 1779. N. B. The grain to be lodged by the subscribers at two or three convenient places in the congregation.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
John Ramsey,	1	6	0	Ben. Stuart,	1	10	0
Thos. Turk,	1	0	0	Robt. Thompson,	1	16	0
John Ramsey, jr.,	1	16	0	A. Thompson,	1	0	0
Wm. Black,	0	15	7	Thos. Stuart,	1	10	9
Wm. Guthrey,	1	8	4	James Bell, senr.	3	0	9
John Collins,	0	5	0	Charles Bookins,	2	8	9
John Caldwell,	0	10	0	Walter Davis,	1	0	0 ⁴⁸

Mr. Waddel purchased from the James Patton heirs the 1,308 acre Springhill tract, for the price of £1,000, where he resided while serving at Tinkling Spring. It appears that Mr. Waddel began the work in Staunton that led some years later to the organization of the First Presbyterian Church.

The ideas prevalent concerning luxuries are evident in an anecdote that comes to us of Mr. Waddel. Coffee was very little used in the Valley in those days, but Mr. Waddel being accustomed to it in lower

⁴⁷Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:468, October, 1852.

⁴⁸ Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 376.

Virginia continued its use here. Dr. Waddell in his *Annals of Augusta County* tells of the reaction in his congregation in these words:

Some of his flock were scandalized at his indulgence in such a luxury, and felt called upon to administer a rebuke. They, however, to strengthen their cause, made out of the matter a case of flagrant Sabbath-breaking. Therefore the minister was charged with the offence of having *hot* coffee on Sunday morning as well as other days! He met the accusation calmly, and asked, "What do you have for breakfast?" They replied, "Mush and milk." "But," he asked further, "is the mush hot or cold?" "Hot, of course," they replied. "Well," said he, "You have cold mush on Sunday, and I will have cold coffee."⁴⁹

The description of Mr. Waddell is preserved for us in letters by his two sons-in-law, the Reverend William Calhoon, pastor at Staunton and Brown's Meeting House, and the Reverend Archibald Alexander, D. D., President of the Hampden Sidney College and founder of Princeton Seminary.⁵⁰ The spirit of the man is revealed by the few letters preserved from his pen and his father-in-law's Journals.⁵¹ His eloquence as a preacher is made immortal by William Wirt.⁵²

The Reverend William Calhoon, who married Elizabeth Waddell, describes his father-in-law in a letter:

In person, he was tall, slender, erect—in general deportment, dignified and commanding, but remarkable for politeness and gentlemanly manners . . . he had a long face, high forehead, Grecian nose, blue eyes, and small mouth and chin . . .

He exhibited a happy mixture of Christian cheerfulness with ministerial gravity. . . . He preached at Milton . . . I am satisfied that I never witnessed such a torrent of eloquence before or since. . . .

He was a learned man, without ostentatious display, being more solicitous to present the Son of God to his audience, than to exhibit himself.⁵³

His appearance is incompletely portrayed until you see that he has a maimed hand. In the process of chopping a hare from a hollow tree

⁴⁹Waddell *Annals*, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

⁵⁰Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 239-41, 614-15.

⁵¹Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 366-75; A Letter of Rev. James Waddell to Rev. Ebenezer Brooks; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, a letter of Rev. James Waddell to Zechariah Johnston of Tinkling Spring congregation, dated January 20, 1789.

⁵²Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 381-84, citing *The British Spy*.

⁵³Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 239.



Figure XX

Statue of General Andrew Lewis in the Frontier Uniform He Initiated
in the Colonial Army

1783

The Congregations of Staunton and Tinkling Spring

Presented the following call to
Rev. James Waddell
Now known as the Blind Preacher of Wm. Wirt.

This call is respectfully presented by the united congregations of Staunton and Tinkling Spring to the Rev. J^r. Waddell.

Rev Sir:

The congregations of Staunton and Tinkling Spring, having cordially agreed to unite under your ministerial care and to share equally of your labours and provide equally for your support, have appointed us, the subscribers, in their name and behalf, solemnly to invite you to take the pastoral charge of them by instalments.

Preaching, catechising, reproving, and administering the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's supper to worthy subjects, are official duties which will be expected from you, and as the discharge of these imply on their part a respectful attendance and Christian submission, you have a right to demand both, and every virtuous effort to promote and maintain order, peace and love in the societies. Moreover we Alexander St. Clair and William Bowyer, Commissioners, do hereby covenant and promise in behalf of the Congregation of Staunton to pay to you, or your order, from time to time, at the end of every six months from the date hereof, you conducting yourself as a minister of Christ Jesus, the sum of twenty-five pounds in gold and silver, or in current money, fully equivalent thereto, for the half of your labours.

And we bind ourselves in the same terms and manner with the above gentlemen, to pay in behalf of the congregation of Tinkling Spring twenty pounds. In Witness whereof, we the parties for ourselves and for our respective societies, do subscribe our names, this first day of May, 1783.

For
Staunton { Alexander St. Clair
William Bowyer - 1783

The names of the Tinkling Spring Commissioners have been cut out, by whom or why I do not know, it will be observed that their names are not given in the call.

The foregoing is a copy of the original paper in my possession. It shows that there was a Presbyterian organisation in Staunton in 1783, although the church here was not constituted by Presbytery till 1804.

J^r. Waddell.

April 6. 1904

Figure XXI
The Waddell Call That Failed

James accidentally allowed his hand to be struck by the blow of the axe handled by his brother and his hand was almost severed at the wrist. Afterward that left hand failed to develop and "Throughout his life this hand was small and in a great degree useless."⁵⁴

Dr. Archibald Alexander who married Janetta adds further items to this firsthand description:

He was a man of a most affectionate disposition, and in his treatment of strangers was remarkably courteous. In the expression of his own opinions he was as free and independent as any man I ever knew. . . . In his person he was tall and very slender. At home he wore a white cap; in the pulpit, a large, full bottomed white wig,—which was the custom of the clergy in his day.⁵⁵

The spirit of this great minister is glimpsed in a letter written at Springhill to the Reverend Ebenezer Brooks with whom he, and Hanover Presbytery, differed in theological matters. He wrote in part:

I think . . . that the formal, rather than friendly notice taken of some opinions, sd to be adopted by you, might in lonesome hours depress your mind . . . Sameness of opinion is too narrow a foundation for friendship to rest on. . . . When our opinions influence to rectitude, they are approvable, so far as this is their motive tendency: & are a just ground of an enlarged esteem.⁵⁶

It must have been soon after Mr. Waddel's arrival at Tinkling Spring that a movement got under way to replace the old log meeting house, now "nearly gone to decay."⁵⁷ The subscription list of June 20, 1777, for this purpose gives the best-known list of members in Mr. Waddel's day:

We the Subscribers do bind our Selves to Pay the Sum Annexed to our Names for the Purpose of Building A New meeting House (of Stone or brick) at the Tinkling Spring—and we do hereby bind our Selves our heirs Executors and administrators to Pay to Certain Trustees hereafter to be appointed to Said Congregation the Several Sums as underneath Annexed to our Names Given under

⁵⁴Waddell Descendants, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁵⁵Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 240.

⁵⁶Waddel, Brooks letter, *op. cit.* Mr. Waddel had served on a committee for Hanover Presbytery to cite Mr. Brooks to appear before them, and when he failed to do so, the churches were warned against his ministry; Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 159.

⁵⁷*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1792* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by Augustine Davis, Printer for the public, 1793), p. 93.

our hands this 20th day of June 1777 NB Said house to be 70 foot by 40 & Completely finished.

J. Waddell	10	0	0	John Hamilton	3	0	0
Walter Davis	10	0	0	James Gillaspie	2	0	0
Benj. Stewart	10	0	0	Wm Hamilton	2	0	0
John Ramsey	10	0	0	William Finley	2	0	0
Edw'd Hall	10	0	0	Samuel Pilson	2	0	0
Rich'd Payne	2	0	0	John Finley	2	0	0
Thomas Turk	5	0	0	John Graham	2	0	0
Samuel Blak	5	0	0	Thomas Grifeth, Senr.	1	0	0
Int Hunton	5	0	0	Joshua Russel	2	0	0
Sam'el Wright	4	0	0	W Christan	6	0	0
John Patrick	10	0	0	Thos Rutledge	3		
William Finley	5	0	0	James Armstrong	1		
Martin Shearman	4			John Caldwell	3		
A Thompson	3	0	0	Patrick Christian	1		
Isaac White, Senr.	5	0	0	William Rutledge	2		
John Ramsey Jr.	5	0	0	Jacob Van Lear	2		
Chris Graham	2			John Christian	5	0	
John Attkings	2	0	0	John Black	5		
William Wilson	1	0	0	Jas. Steel	7	0	0
George Marshall	1	0	0	Jas. McClure	2	0	0
Thos. Calbreath	2			James Bell Jun'r	2	0	0
Chas. Basken	3			Robert Alen Junior	2	0	0
Zac Smith	3			David Henderson Sen'or	2	0	0
Samuel Steel	5			William Chesnut	1	0	0
Andrew McClure	3	0	0	John McClure	2		
Thos. Grify Juner				0	10	⁵⁸	

Dr. Smith informs us of Waddel's work at Tinkling Spring:

Mr. Waddel's ministry was attended by crowds, according to the most reliable traditions, but there is no evidence that it was followed by any special awakening. Indeed, the times were unpropitious.⁵⁹

It is of unusual interest to note at the time of Waddel's pastorate that the Psalm-singing Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania received a petition October 10, 1780, from Tinkling Spring in Augusta County, Virginia, "craving supply and the ordination of elders."⁶⁰ Could it have been that the "Old Side" spirit at Tinkling Spring revolted at the introduction of "New Side" ideas—particularly hymn singing—by

⁵⁸Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁶⁰Smith, *op. cit.*, 2:468, October, 1852.

⁶⁰J. C. Galloway, and others, editors, *The Centennial History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1803-1903* (Charleston, South Carolina: Prepared and Published by order of the Synod, Presses of Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., 1905), p. 538.

Waddel, and only the pressure of war prevented the reactionary element from organizing an Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church? Such a move was implied in the petition to the Associate Reformed Presbytery and was definitely in line with what happened at Timber Ridge, New Monmouth and Providence Churches, where the two groups worship side by side today.

Squire Matthew Pilson whose grandfather, an elder in the church, clashed with Mr. Waddel over the gait of his riding relates the family tradition in part in these words:

some of the old people did not like him. I heard of some objection to him on account of his fast riding . . . I was informed by a member of the church, he would come in a lope to church, and leave in the same way, passing everybody on the way. The old people thought that was not setting a good example to the young people on the Sabbath.⁶¹

Hanover Presbytery met at Tinkling Spring April 25, 1780, and Rev. John Todd, of Providence in Louisa, was elected moderator. On April 28th the presbytery's session was held at Springhill, Mr. Waddel's home. Important events are reported in part:

A Memorial to the Assembly of Virginia, from this Presbytery to abstain from interfering in the Government of the Church, was prepared, and being read in Pby, is appointed and directed to be transmitted to the House.

Congress having recommended last Wednesday as a Day of Fasting and Prayer to be observed throughout the United States of America, and the Members of this Pby not having had timely Notice of said Appointment could not comply with it. The Pby do therefore appoint Thursday the 11th of May to be observed thro out their Bounds for the same Purpose.

The Pby do request Col. M'Dowell, and Cap't Johnson to present their Memorial to the Assembly and to second it by their Influence, and Mr. Waddell and Mr. Graham are appointed to inform these Gentlemen of the Request of the Presbytery.⁶²

A part of Mr. Waddel's ministry in the Shenandoah Valley was his service as a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy. The same meeting of presbytery that placed Tinkling Spring's call in Mr. Waddel's hands on May 1st, proceeded on May 6th to move Augusta Academy to Timber

⁶¹Matthew Pilson, "Recollections of Tinkling Spring," *The Young Virginian*, 3:77, October, 1876.

⁶²Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 304. The Captain Johnson referred to was Tinkling Spring's Zechariah Johnston who represented Augusta County in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1778 to 1791.

Ridge, appoint Rev. William Graham the new head of the school, and appoint twenty-four trustees.⁶³ The first trustee named was Rev. John Brown who had headed the school since 1753, and the second trustee named was "James Waddell." The trustees met the same day and recorded in their minutes:

. . . incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, directed that the record for that day be entitled Liberty Hall, as this Academy is hereafter to be called instead of Augusta Academy.⁶⁴

Serving among the twenty-four trustees with Mr. Waddell were the following who carried a spiritual heritage from Tinkling Spring: Thomas and Andrew Lewis, William Christian, William Fleming, Thomas and Alexander Stuart, William Preston, Charles Campbell and George Moffett. These men served until the institution was incorporated under a charter in 1782.⁶⁵

SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTION

The battles of the Revolution were fought far from Tinkling Spring but her support of the cause was not lessened by distance. As a church, she took much pride in her sons, lately removed from the congregation, who became heroes in the struggle; she supplied her full share of soldiers who acquitted themselves with honor; she generously provided food for troops and prisoners from her reserve of meat and grain; and she was electrified into vigorous and rugged defense when her soil was threatened.

The exploits of her heroic sons at the Battle of Point Pleasant have been related. William Campbell became the pride of the Virginia Colony when he and his famous four hundred riflemen from the Holston were the spearhead of the attack that annihilated the British under Ferguson at King's Mountain—called by historians the turning point in the Revolution.⁶⁶ William Preston also made a major contribution to the cause when he ". . . arrived at the head of three hundred hardy mountaineers, who hearing of Greene's retreat, had voluntarily hastened to his assistance . . ."⁶⁷ in the battle of Guilford Court-house in North

⁶³Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

⁶⁴Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, II, 12-13, 34-37.

⁶⁵*Loc. cit.*

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, II, 100-103.

⁶⁷Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

Carolina.⁶⁸ Of a most distinguished son of Tinkling Spring—Arthur Campbell—it is said:

In 1781, at the head of seven hundred mounted riflemen, he led an expedition against the Cherokees, which was entirely successful, and was the first experiment on a large scale of that mode of warfare. The result of the expedition was the negotiation of the Cherokee treaty . . . [it] was reported to Congress by Governor Jefferson in most flattering terms . . .⁶⁹

There were many others trained at Tinkling Spring who made the supreme sacrifice, and were properly enshrined in the hearts of their fellow-countrymen as Revolutionary heroes, but none more conspicuously than Andrew Lewis. He had led the unsuccessful Sandy Creek Expedition in 1756 but there learned a pattern of dress and equipment necessary to Indian warfare, and later saw it adopted by the Colonial Forces under Washington. He led the sons of the Valley to bitter but noble victory at Point Pleasant in 1774. He received, upon the resignation of Patrick Henry, the appointment of Brigadier General and Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia forces. He was in command of the forces that drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island. George Washington wanted him promoted to the rank of major general and is said to have thought of him as a possible commander-in-chief for the Continental Army.⁷⁰ On the Washington Monument, Richmond, Virginia, Andrew Lewis' statue stands as one of the supporting figures, where he represents the Colonial Soldier dressed in hunting shirt and with rifle in hand.⁷¹

Governor Patrick Henry, in 1777, wrote Washington concerning Virginia's quota, that in a very little time seven companies were made up in Augusta. The records of these companies are very incomplete, which may be explained in part by the fact that they were county militia companies, called into action when needed and released when the single objective had been accomplished.

The "Declarations" of old soldiers after 1800, for the purpose of

⁶⁸Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, II, 44-49.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, II, 49-52.

⁷⁰Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91; Andrew Lewis, *The Orderly Book of that portion of the American Army . . . under the Command of General Andrew Lewis* (Charles Campbell, editor; Richmond, Virginia: Privately Printed, 1860), pp. viii-xi.

⁷¹Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, II, 81-84; W. A. R. Nye, *Historical Account of the Washington Monument in Capitol Square, Richmond, Va., With Biographical Sketches* (Richmond, Virginia: W. A. R. Nye, Whig Building, 1869), pp. 15-16.

obtaining pensions, reveal to us some of the activities of Tinkling Spring men.⁷²

Joseph Bell, of South River, and Joseph Long were members of a company that rendezvoused on the James River at the present site of Lexington, July 15, 1776. From that point they marched to the Holston, and joining other companies, went on an expedition against the Cherokee towns southwest of the Tennessee River. They returned after five months' service without the loss of a single man.⁷³ Another company in the same expedition was under the command of Captain William Christian, an elder at Tinkling Spring, in which Zechariah Johnston, Tinkling Spring leader, served as ensign. This company assembled at Midway (now Steeles Tavern, Virginia).⁷⁴

The latter part of February, 1781, Captain Tate's Company "composed largely, if not entirely, of men from Bethel and Tinkling Spring congregations" according to tradition gathered at Midway and had a sermon from the Reverend James Waddel, before leaving to reinforce Greene in North Carolina.⁷⁵

A Tinkling Spring member's declaration that involved other persons and places in the congregation is related by Chalkley:

Samuel McCune, Sr's., Declaration: Aged about seventy-seven years; was drafted as militiaman in August, 1776, at Staunton under Captain Thomas Smith and Lieut. Charles Baskens; marched to Point Pleasant where his company was under command of Colonel Dickinson, of whose regiment George Skillern was Lieutenant-Colonel and Samuel McDowell was Major . . . returned home in January, 1777. Was drafted again in September or October, 1780, and rendezvoused at Teas' (now Waynesboro) . . . marched via Lynchburg to Carolina . . . thence to Guilford, thence through Salisbury . . . thence to Cowpens, where he was engaged in the battle, thence with five hundred prisoners returned to Salisbury and was there discharged. On this tour he was absent four months. Was again drafted in August, 1781; rendezvoused at Teas' under Captain Francis Long . . . marched to Richmond joining troops under Gen. La Fayette . . . thence with La Fayette's army by New Kent to Hotwater, where he was in battle; there he was slightly wounded . . . thence marched to Green Springs, near Williamsburg, where he was again engaged with the British . . . In 1781 the governor issued a proclamation inviting persons to bring cattle for troops at York and declarant assisted in driving cattle from Teas'. Declarant was born in Augusta County in 1755.⁷⁶

⁷²Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 18 *et passim* and II, 465-503.

⁷³Waddel Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.

⁷⁴*Loc. cit.*

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷⁶Chalkley, *op. cit.*, II, 466.

Dr. Foote, writing about the Battle of Guilford Court-house, relates an experience of an ingenious Tinkling Spring man:

The greatest loss of the Rockbridge and Augusta forces, was experienced after they commenced their retreat. Lee's light-horse [forces] were not ready to cover them, and their retreat became a flight, exposed to the sabres of the British light-horse. Mr. Samuel Steele, that died an old man near Waynesborough, in that retreat shot one horse-man that followed him. Two others came upon him before he reloaded, and he surrendered himself a prisoner—"Give us your gun." "Oh, no," said he, "I can't think of that." "I say, give us your gun!" "Oh, no, I can't think of that." Bursting into a laugh at his simplicity—"Well, carry it along, then." Motioning him to follow in the rear. He went along some distance, when suddenly springing into the thick top of a fallen tree he commenced loading his gun. The horsemen unable to get at him with their swords, put spurs and rode out of reach of his shot. He took advantage of their disappearance, and was soon out of danger. David Steele, of Midway, where Waddell addressed the militia before their march, was cut down in the retreat, and left for dead.⁷⁷

Against this background of heroism for independence on the part of the Augusta Presbyterians, there is related—and repeated here because of his service at Tinkling Spring—the story of the one prominent Presbyterian who was disloyal to the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The Reverend Alexander Miller, from Ireland, appeared before the Synod of Philadelphia in 1755 and "delivered a penitential acknowledgement" intended to secure from Ireland a transfer of his credentials.⁷⁸ In 1756 Cook's Creek and Peaked Mountain requested that Mr. Miller be received and installed their pastor, whether his credentials arrive from Ireland or not, and the quest was renewed in 1757. The Synod overlooked the lack of response from Ireland, received him and ordered him installed.⁷⁹

Mr. Miller became a close friend, in Old Side activities, of Rev. John Craig. But he was soon in trouble with the people he served, and criminal charges were brought against him before Hanover Presbytery where he was found guilty of "unworthy behaviour" and deposed from the ministry, May 3, 1765. Mr. Craig having resigned at Tinkling Spring, Mr. Miller, while appealing his case to Synod, preached for almost a year for the people of this congregation.⁸⁰ Further disgraceful conduct on

⁷⁷Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 146.

⁷⁸*Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 217; Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1857), p. 618.

⁷⁹Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 224.

⁸⁰Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 16, shows that they paid him £31.10s. for supply work—as much as they paid Mr. Craig for a year's work.

Mr. Miller's part caused presbytery to publicize his deposition throughout the Presbyterian congregations. He bought land and settled on the Cowpasture River in Augusta County.⁸¹

The Committee of Safety had him brought from Indian Creek, Botetourt County, and tried, July 16-17, 1776, before an Augusta County Court where he was found guilty of "aiding and giving intelligence to the enemy." The Court ordered him boycotted on his own plantation, where he was not to "argue nor reason with any person or persons whatsoever on any political subject."⁸²

However, on April 19, 1777, upon the election of "John Poage, Esq." to public office, Mr. Miller wrote him a letter in opposition to the Revolutionary Cause. He argued in his letter for "Peace and safety," contending that "we are unfit to conflict with Britain and to claim independence appears . . . wrong" because of allegiance declared to Britain. A postscript to the letter suggested that Mr. Poage might publish the letter under the title "A letter to a gentleman on his being elected a Burgess."

The letter was taken instead to the Justice of Peace, and Mr. Miller was charged: "in open defiance of the Act of Gen'l Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, passed the 7th day of October, 1776." The jury found him guilty as charged and assessed "a fine of one hundred pounds and two years' imprisonment."⁸³ It is said that Mr. Miller languished in the Staunton jail during the days of the Revolution in spite of urgent requests of his wife for release or transfer to a place where she could visit him more often.

The congregation at Tinkling Spring not only supplied troops and leaders in battle, but also provided food supplies and services, for a price, to the government for prisoners, troops and militiamen stationed in or near Staunton.⁸⁴ William Lewis supplied in the spring and summer of 1779, 1200 pounds of meal and flour. In 1780 John Campbell supplied forty-eight beeves for £18,446.17s.6d.; Thomas and Benjamin Stuart, 121 pounds of bacon for £291.4s.; William Christian, "one wagon in Service" for £9,860; Hugh McClure, thirty yards of linen for

⁸¹Hanover Minutes, 1758-1769, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-79, 89-93; Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 137; III, 457.

⁸²Chalkley, *op. cit.*, I, 506-7.

⁸³*Ibid.*, I, 504-7.

⁸⁴Augusta County Public Service Claims; Augusta Court Booklet, File of Certificates, Commissioners Book, and Lists I, II and III. Original documents in Manuscript. Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

£285; John Ramsey, 406 pounds of flour for £203 and half-day "Waggonage" for £15; Zechariah Johnston, four beeves for £2100; and others of the congregation similarly, until a large percentage of the membership is listed in the claims.⁸⁵

The genuine vigor of Tinkling Spring's firmness in repelling the British subjection of America is not found perfectly portrayed in her war record, for some of her soldiers quit and returned home;⁸⁶ nor in her providing supplies, for in this she was generously repaid. But the threat of the British to invade the Valley naturally stirred her people's warmth for the cause of independence into a heat of passionate defense. Now, their homes, with the women and children, were at stake!

VIGOROUS RESISTANCE TO INVASION

After Cornwallis invaded the Virginia Colony, Tarleton, with his British dragoons, made, in 1781, an attempt to capture the Virginia Legislature. They, however, were on the move. On May 10, 1781, they adjourned in Richmond to meet in Charlottesville on the 24th, and from there adjourned to meet in Staunton June 7th. Tarleton was able to pick up only a few scattered members when he arrived in Charlottesville on June 4th. The presence of Tarleton in Charlottesville in pursuit of the legislature, who then were fleeing to the Valley, led to the conjecture and report that Tarleton would invade the Valley. The report electrified the Valley defences so that wherever he might touch the region he would draw a response of maximum fire in return.⁸⁷

The first rumor seems to have arrived in the Valley Saturday, June 9th. On Sunday the Tinkling Spring Congregation had assembled for regular worship services, to be led by Mr. Waddel, and had no doubt discussed, as they gathered, the rumor of Tarleton's threat. The congregation was panic-stricken when there was brought to the church a stranger dressed partly in a British soldier's uniform, having been captured nearby. This man, they were told, was one of four supposedly

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, Claims. The high prices for items is judged to be inflation in time of war.

⁸⁶ Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 145; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 286.

⁸⁷ Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-300. Original sources telling of the alarm in the Valley are: Memoirs of Judge Francis T. Brooke, a lieutenant with the Continental Army; a letter of John Breckinridge to his mother, June 7, 1781, Breckinridge Papers, Library of Congress; A book of travels published anonymously in 1826 at New Haven, said to have been edited by Mrs. Ann Royall: G. C. Broadhead, "William Royal, And 'Sketches By a Traveller'," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 8:295-96, July, 1900; Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 453-55; and Washington and Lee, *op. cit.*, III, 39-40.

sent as spies to the Valley by Tarleton. Dr. Joseph A. Waddell in *Annals of Augusta County* continues the incident in these words:

The excitement at the church may be imagined. The pastor, Rev. James Waddell, addressed the congregation, urging the men to obtain arms and hasten to Rockfish Gap, intending to go with them. But what should be done with the prisoner? A guard of several men could not be spared, and a young man named Long, who had carried his trusty rifle to church, volunteered to bring the stranger to Staunton and lodge him in jail. By command of Long, the prisoner marched on before and moved obedient to orders till they arrived at Christian's Creek. There, Long wished to take off his moccasins, but the spy persisted in coming on, wading the stream in his jack-boots. Long repeatedly warned him to stop, and finally shot him down. After a few days he died, confessing that he was a British soldier, and had been sent in advance by Tarleton. These facts were related to the writer by the late Joseph Long, who was a son of the young man who shot the spy.⁸⁸

The father of the Joseph Long who related these facts to Dr. Waddell was Joseph Long, Sr., baptized by Rev. John Craig September 16, 1744, lived near Stuarts Draft, died at eighty-five and lies buried by the side of his son in the Old Tinkling Spring Cemetery. Dr. Waddell continues:

The alarm having arisen, riders traversed the county to notify the people. From Lexington to the Peeked Mountain, now Massanutten, the people were aroused. The men hastened to Rockfish Gap, while the women and children hid their silver spoons and other portable articles of value. Two venerable men, who were children in 1781, many years ago related to the writer their recollections of the time. One of these remembered that his father came home from Tinkling Spring church and took down his gun, to the boy's great astonishment, as it was the Sabbath day; the other told of his anxiety to bury his only treasure, a little bar of lead.

By Monday morning the mountain at Rockfish Gap was lined with men. Some, who could not procure guns, provided piles of stones to hurl at the invaders.⁸⁹

The wife of William Lewis of Tinkling Spring related, in 1823, this experience:

Col. Sam. Lewis, at midnight, called at the home of his uncle, William Lewis, living then at Staunton, but later at Sweet Springs, and called out, "Where are the boys, Aunt?" "They are up stairs in bed," she said. "Call them up, Tarleton is coming." She did so, and they set out immediately.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Waddell *Annals*, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 298-99; Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, A letter of Jos. A. Waddell to Tinkling Spring concerning her history. In this letter he states that the father who astonished his sons on the Sabbath was Rev. James Waddell.

⁹⁰Waddell *Annals*, *op. cit.*, p. 297; Broadhead, *op. cit.*, 8:295-96, July, 1900.

On this same day the Reverend William Graham of Lexington was on his way to "Stone meeting-house," and meeting with some members of the Assembly, they agreed to notify the officers of the militia "urging them instantly to call out the militia under their command, and march immediately towards Rockfish Gap." Mr. Graham returned home and brought back with him the following day his own Rockbridge Militia Company from Lexington.⁹¹

Tarleton did not advance against this defense on the Blue Ridge, so part of the militia who had assembled went in quest of the enemy, and joined Lafayette below Charlottesville. Among them were a number of Tinkling Spring men, and during 1781 still others of the church served. Captains William Finley, Zechariah Johnston, Francis Long and James Bell—all from Tinkling Spring—with their companies, were among those who fought in the battles in eastern Virginia that led to Cornwallis' surrender to Washington on October 19, 1781, at Yorktown.⁹²

The Assembly men were in no less a state of confusion than others on that day of alarm and panic. The Legislature met hurriedly on June 10th to enter an adjournment to Warm Springs, and the assemblymen fled so hastily, according to tradition, that Patrick Henry left wearing only one boot!

Governor Thomas Jefferson's term had expired on June 1st, and a member of the Council, William Fleming,⁹³ formerly a constituent in the Tinkling Spring Congregation, served as acting Governor for about two weeks "holding his court" in Staunton.⁹⁴ The Legislature re-assembled in Staunton on June 12th and "elected General Thomas Nelson Governor of the Commonwealth" and he qualified before Justice of Peace, Sampson Mathews, on June 19, 1781.⁹⁵

In May, 1781, there had been trouble in raising troops in Augusta,⁹⁶ and Thomas Hughes had accused Zechariah Johnston, one of the

⁹¹Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 454.

⁹²Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-303.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 296. William Fleming was at Tinkling Spring but whether an adherent or member is not clear from the reference in the minutes on pages 40 and 50 where he is mentioned. He was ordained an elder in the Denean Meeting House (near present Amsterdam, Virginia) along with William Preston and Robert Breckenridge—old associates at Tinkling Spring—by Rev. John Craig in 1769.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 295-96; *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1776-1790* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by Thomas W. White, Opposite the Bell Tavern, 1828), p. 10 of the 1781 Journal.

⁹⁵Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Journal, 1781, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁹⁶Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

Augusta representatives in the Legislature, of instigating opposition to the Assembly's plan for raising troops. In Staunton before the Legislature, June 14th, Patrick Henry reported to the Assembly that the accusation was groundless.

The Staunton sessions of the Assembly ended June 23rd, at which time they, in faith and hope, adjourned to meet the following October, in Richmond.⁹⁷

Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown and Hanover Presbytery took note of the victory in its fall meeting. The record of October 26, 1781, is, in part:

In Consequence of the late signal Interposition of divine Providence in the Capture of Charles Earl Cornwallis & his army at York. the Presbytery appointed the second Wednesday of December as a day of public Thanksgiving in the churches under their Care, unless where the different Ministers may have received timely notice of another day near it, appointed by Government—⁹⁸

Even though Cornwallis surrendered in 1781, there was no formal peace treaty until 1783. Early in 1782 one of the French officers with Lafayette visited the Valley, and an account of his travels has been published.⁹⁹

This experience within the Tinkling Spring area is recorded, in part, as follows:

We . . . arriving at the top of the mountain [Rockfish Gap] were surprised to find a little cottage lately built and inhabited by white people . . . they were poor people, who expected to get some assistance from passengers. . . .

My servant followed me with a fowling-piece . . . I perceived a large bird which crossed the road . . . the inhabitants of the mountains called [it] a *pheasant*.—One of my servants pointed out to me two others . . . I fired at the one nearest to me, nor did it require much address to kill it. . . . it was almost night when we arrived at the ford of *South River*.

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Two hundred paces from the ford . . . I found the inn which Mr. Jefferson had described to me; it was one of the worst in all America. Mrs. Teaze [Teas], the mistress of the house, was some time since left a widow . . . A solitary tin vessel was the only bowl for the family, the servants and ourselves . . . the hostess and the family were obliged to resign to us their beds. . . . It may easily

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 299; Journal, 1781, op. cit., pp. 8, 17, 22; William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823), X, 567.

⁹⁸Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, op. cit., p. 149.

⁹⁹Marquis De Chastellux, *Travels in North-America, in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782* (second edition, 2 vols.; London: Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row, 1787).

be imagined we were not tempted to breakfast in this house. We set out therefore very early on the 18th in hopes (as we had been told) that we should find a better inn at a distance of ten miles, but those hopes were vain. Mr. *Smith* . . . had neither forage for our horses, nor any thing for ourselves. He only assured us, that eight miles further we should find a mill, the proprietor of which kept a public-house and we found accordingly the mill and the miller. He was a young man, twenty-two years of age, whose charming face, fine teeth, red lips, and rosey cheeks, recalled to mind the pleasing portrait which *Montmel* gives of *Lubin*. His walk and carriage did not however correspond . . . he told me he had been in a languishing state ever since the battle of *Guilford*, in which he had received fifteen or sixteen wounds . . . He had not, like the Romans, a Crown to attest his valour; nor, like the French, either pension or certificate of honour; instead of them, he had a piece of his skull, which his wife brought to shew me.

Even if Mr. *Steel*, our landlord had been more active, and his wife, who was young and handsome, more industrious, they could not have supplied the total want in which they then were, of bread, and of everything to drink; the bread was just kneaded, but not yet put into the oven; and as for liquors, the house made use of none. . . . A few cakes, however, baked upon the cinders, excellent butter, good milk, and above all, the interest with which Mr. *Steel* inspired us, made us pass agreeably the time which was necessary to put our horses in a condition to perform a long and difficult days journey.¹⁰⁰

Captain David Steele, proprietor of the Midway inn, had married his cousin Mary Steele, daughter of Samuel—a Tinkling Spring member. Mrs. Teas, proprietor of the inn on South River—the present Waynesboro—was probably the widow of a son of Joseph Teas, Tinkling Spring commissioner about 1750.

WADDEL'S CALL AND REMOVAL

Earlier efforts to establish a Presbyterian church in Staunton had failed, and Waddel saw the need and opportunity there—a territory served to this time by Tinkling Spring—for there was but one church in the town, the Established Church. Mr. Waddel had not been—so far as the records show—installed pastor at Tinkling Spring, and was, therefore, as stated supply freer to develop the Staunton work within the bounds of his congregation. This effort reached its climax at the end of Mr. Waddel's seventh year.

There can be little doubt in view of the money problem and universal debts,¹⁰¹ combined with the destitution after the war, that the economic factor contributed to an effort at a new arrangement between Tinkling

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 70-80.

¹⁰¹Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

Spring and Staunton Presbyterians. Tinkling Spring was unable financially in her post-war condition to support a minister.

On May 1, 1783, "the United Congregations of Staunton¹⁰² and Tinkling Spring" made plans to call "the Rev. Ja. Waddel" with Staunton offering to pay:

... at the end of every six months from the date hereof, ... the sum of twenty-five pounds in gold and silver, or in current money, fully equivalent thereto, for the half of your labours.

The plan called for Tinkling Spring to offer "in the Same terms and manner . . . twenty pounds." However, the congregation at Tinkling Spring was unable to raise even a half salary for Mr. Waddel, as the following subscription paper shows:

We the subscribers of the Tinkling Spring Congregation do promise to pay the following sums annexed to each of our names for the use of said Congregation To whoever is appointed to Collect the same, Forty pounds Curent and Lawful money of Virginia of which Subscriptions To the Rev'd James Wadle for the one half of his Labours while he Continues an orderly minister among us or as long as we Remain in Sd. Congregation one half to be paid in Nov'm'r and the other half at the end of each year The time to Commence the 1st May 1783. Witness our hands May 14th 1783

Thomas Stuart	1	11		John Christian	6	0	
Jean Black	1	8	4	Rob't Christian	6	0	
Alex. Thomson	15	6		Rob't Christian, Sr	6	0	
William Black	15	6		Aaron Silver	4		
John Alexander	5	0		Wm. Christian	6		
David Long	6	0		Gilb't Christian	0	10	0
Gab'r Alexander	10			Philemon Richards	0	5	0
James Bell, Senior	1	0	0	Jacob Vanlear	1	0	0
Francis Long	10			Wm Armstrong	0	5	0
Sam'l Long	10			Joseph Ray	0	5	0
Rob't Black	12			Andrew Wilson	0	6	0
Jame Wright	7	0		John Christian Jun	0	5	0
Alex'd Wright	13	0		Walter Davis	1	0	0
John Black Juner	1	0	0	Will Slote	0	10	0
Pat Christian	15	0		Daniell Reay	0	10	
Sam'l Armstrong	10	0		Jos Coulter	0	10	
Gilb't Christian	6	0		Abraham Lerew	1	0	0
Newton Connelly	6	0		Reubin Lerew	0	6	108

[Total £18.1.2]

¹⁰²Article by Albert E. Walker, "Interesting History of the First Presbyterian Church, From Its Earliest Days up to the Present Time," in *Staunton Dispatch and News, Historical and Industrial Edition*, January, 1906, pp. 31-32.

¹⁰³Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Arista Hoge, *The First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Press of Caldwell-Sites Company, 1908), pp. 6-10.

In spite of this discrepancy in subscriptions, Mr. Waddel did not remove from Springhill immediately, but continued for some months to serve Staunton and Tinkling Spring—a service for which he was still trying to collect in 1789 when he wrote to Zechariah Johnston of the Tinkling Spring Congregation, feeling he had “a right to £40 & Interest for 4 or 5 years” and proposing that they, in payment, deliver “me here 60 young well grown sheep, equal number, or nearly, of Ewes & wethers unshorn.”¹⁰⁴

In these last months of service for Mr. Waddel in the Valley there occurred events that proved significant in time. Prior to and during his ministry at Tinkling Spring there were venturesome pioneers who, previously settled in Augusta, then removed to the advanced western frontier of Kentucky. The Logan family led in this migration. William Logan, son of the famous General Benjamin Logan (Mr. Craig baptized Benjamin Logan, son of David, May 1, 1743),¹⁰⁵ said to have been the first white child born in Kentucky,¹⁰⁶ was probably named for his uncle, William Logan, a charter member of Tinkling Spring.¹⁰⁷ James Estill, son of Wallace Estill and Mary Ann Campbell, married Rachel Wright, and before 1780 had settled “Estill’s Station,” in present Madison County, Kentucky. They were probably connected with Tinkling Spring through both the Campbells and Wrights.¹⁰⁸

In 1779 three families with early Tinkling Spring connections removed from the Pastures in Augusta to the fort at Lexington, Kentucky. They settled several years later in their own cabins nine miles away.¹⁰⁹ The heads of the families were John Gay, and his brothers-in-law, Samuel Stevenson and a Mr. Dunlap, who had married his sisters. Samuel Gay, the father, was settled early in Augusta from which he proved the family’s importation in Orange County in 1740.¹¹⁰ The son, John, was named in the importation, and daughters, Elizabeth and Rebecca, were baptized at Tinkling Spring,¹¹¹ where Samuel Gay and his family worshipped until removal to the Pastures rivers.¹¹²

¹⁰⁴Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, James Waddel letter to Zechariah Johnston.

¹⁰⁵John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶Waddel Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁰⁷Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 2. William Logan was born in Kentucky, December 8, 1776.

¹⁰⁸Waddel Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-50, 321; Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

¹¹⁰Orange County Court Records, Order Book II, 211.

¹¹¹Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 14.

¹¹²Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 19.

Following the war of the Revolution, soldiers were granted land warrants in Kentucky for their war service. Among a multitude of these is one of special interest to Tinkling Spring about the close of Mr. Waddell's pastorate. James Trimble, son of John Trimble¹¹³ and Mary Christian (widow of John Moffett), visited Kentucky to claim his land soon after the Revolution. He determined to remove to Kentucky with his family and to that end organized as many friends and relatives as possible to make the hazardous trip together. It was the last Sunday in September 1783 or 1784¹¹⁴ that Mr. Waddell had in his congregation a group of these emigrants who were deeply impressed. A worshipper related that:

... the minister spoke of the separation of parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors, who had been united in sweetest bonds of fellowship, in such a pathetic strain as to make all eyes fill with tears.¹¹⁵

Dr. Waddell, who had access to the Memoir of Jane Allen Trimble, relates the details of that memorable migration:

"The families met according to agreement, in Staunton, October 1st. All rode upon horses, and upon other horses were placed the farming and cooking utensils, beds and bedding, wearing apparel, provisions, and last, but not least, the libraries, consisting of two Bibles, half a dozen Testaments, the Catechism, the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and the Psalms of David. Each man and boy carried his rifle and ammunition, and each woman her pistol, for their long journey was mostly through a wilderness, and that infested by savages.

"James Trimble's family consisted of a wife and three children, and four colored servants. The eldest child was a daughter by a former marriage. The other two were sons, one three years old and the other eleven months. These the mother carried, one in her lap and the other behind her. Thus equipped, the emigrants took up their line of march, after bidding farewell to their weeping friends. Mrs. Trimble had an uncle and brother, with their families, to accompany her.

"By the time the party reached Abingdon, they had increased to three hundred persons, and when they arrived at Bean's Station, a frontier post, they were joined by two hundred more from Carolina. Three-fourths of these were women and children." General James Knox fell in with them at some point, which is

¹¹³*State Historical Markers of Virginia* (sixth edition; Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Department of Conservation and Development, 1948), p. 163; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹¹⁴Allen Trimble, "Autobiography of Allen Trimble," *The "Old Northwestern" Genealogical Quarterly*, 9:195-226, July, 1906; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

¹¹⁵Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 316, citing the Memoir of Mrs. Jane Allen Trimble, wife of Captain James Trimble.

REGISTER.

REV. JAMES WADDELL, D. D., Louisa county, Virginia, born in the north of Ireland, in July, 1739, married about the year 1768 to Mary Gordon, the daughter of Colonel James Gordon, and died the 17th of September, 1805.

REV. JAMES WADDELL, D. D., AND MARY GORDON. CHILDREN OF REV. JAMES WADDELL, D. D., AND MARY GORDON.

FIRST GENERATION.

1st. Nathaniel Waddell,.....	Born — ; married his first cousin, Mildred Gordon. Both died childless
2d. James Gordon Waddell, (P).....	Teacher, Waynesboro, Va., born 1770, married 1st Mildred Lindsay, 2d Lucy Gordon. Died 6th November, 1857.
3d. Elizabeth Waddell, (P).....	Augusta co., Va., born 15th Nov., 1777, married Rev. Wm. Calhoun ; died 26th May, 1851.
4th. Janetta Waddell, (P).....	Princeton, N. J., born August, 1782, married, 5th April, 1802, Rev. Arch'd Alexander, D. D. Died 6th September, 1852.
5th. Ann Harrison Waddell, (P).....	Staunton, Va. ; born 1783. Died 9th September, 1853.
6th. Addison Waddell, (P).....	Physician, Staunton, Va., born 19th April, 1785 ; married, 1st Catharine Boys, 2d, Mrs. Ann Douglass. Died 18th June, 1855.
7th. Sallie Waddell, (P).....	Staunton, Va. ; born 1789. Died 22d April, 1865.
8th. Lyttelton Waddell, (P).....	Teacher, Staunton, Va. ; born 10th October, 1799 ; married Elizabeth Edmondson. Died 11th March, 1869.
9th. Harrington Waddell,.....	Louisa county, Va. ; born —. Died in childhood.

Figure XXII

The Waddell Family Register Showing Those who Returned to Augusta County

not stated, and at Bean's Station the entire command of their movements was conceded to him.

General Knox organized the unincumbered horsemen, of whom there were not more than twenty, in two companies, one to go in front and the other in the rear, with the women and children and packhorses in the middle. There was no road, and the trail being wide enough for only one horse, the emigrants went in single file, forming a line of nearly a mile long. At the eastern base of Clinch Mountain there was the first indication of Indians prowling near them. Clinch river was swollen by recent rains, and in crossing it Mrs. Trimble and her children came near losing their lives. A Mrs. Ervin carried two negro children in a wallet thrown across her horse, and these were washed off by the current, but rescued by a Mr. Wilson.

A party of eight horsemen overtook the emigrants at Clinch river, and preceded them on the route. Measles broke out, and there was scarcely a family in the train that had not a patient to nurse; but, notwithstanding their exposure to rain during several days, no death occurred.

Between Clinch river and Cumberland Gap, the emigrants came upon the remains of the eight horsemen who had passed on before them. They had been tomahawked, scalped and stripped by Indians, and some of the bodies had been partly devoured by wolves. General Knox and his party paused long enough to bury the remains of the unfortunate men. During the night which followed, there were unmistakable signs of Indians near the camp. The savages hooted and howled like wolves and owls till after midnight, and made an unsuccessful attempt to stampede the horses. The next morning the Indians were seen on the hills, and their signal guns were distinctly heard. A night or two afterwards, when the camp fires were extinguished, and nothing was heard but the sound of the falling rain and the occasional tramp of a horse, a sentinel discovered an Indian within twenty feet of him, and fired his gun. This alarmed the camp, and in a few minutes the whole party was under arms. No attack was made, however. In the morning Indian tracks were distinct and numerous, and some of them were sprinkled with blood, showing that the sentinel had fired with effect.

An attack by the Indians was confidently expected at the narrow pass of Cumberland Gap, and every precaution was taken. Disconcerted in their plans, the Indians made no assault. At every river to be crossed the utmost caution was observed to guard against surprise, and the Indians finally abandoned the pursuit.

The emigrants arrived at Crab Orchard, Kentucky, the first of November. This was the frontier post on the northeast border, from which emigrants branched off to their respective destinations. Here General Knox took leave of the party in an eloquent address, which was responded to appropriately by Captain Trimble.

Mrs. Trimble removed to Ohio with her children after her husband's death, and afterwards made several trips on horseback to Virginia. One trip, made in 1811, was accomplished in two weeks. The child who rode behind her on her journey to Kentucky, was Allen, who for four years was Governor of Ohio.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 316-18.

It was in 1784 that these emigrants—Trimbles, Allens, Andersons, Gays and others—established the Pisgah Presbyterian Meeting House, “set apart for the worship of God,” on Samuel Stevenson’s two-acre plot given earlier for that purpose. This is said to have been the first church established in Kentucky.¹¹⁷ It is certain that most of its charter members had their earlier spiritual training under the ministry of Rev. John Craig at Tinkling Spring and Stone Meeting Houses.

It was under the influence of Mr. Waddel that the Tinkling Spring Church sent her first son into the ministry.¹¹⁸ The James McClure family¹¹⁹ were charter members of the church and pioneers in education, having the earliest school building of record in old Augusta County.¹²⁰ The second son of James and Agnes McClure was Andrew, born in Ireland about 1720, who settled adjacent to his father between Tinkling Spring and Woods Gap and married, about 1742, Eleanor Wright, presumably of the same family as William Wright, the Tinkling Spring officer. To them was born about 1755 a seventh and last child whom they named Andrew. He, with the entire family, worshiped at Tinkling Spring. The parents saw that he had an education, he being among the few students of Mr. Graham at Augusta Academy who secured the A. B. degree. He did surveying after leaving school. He served during the Revolution at Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) as a 1st Lieutenant.¹²¹

At the meeting of Hanover Presbytery, assembled at Augusta Stone Church, in November 1781, he was received as a candidate for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church.¹²² On the 29th of August 1782, he married Rebecca Allen,¹²³ daughter of James Allen, Sr., and Mary, his wife, of the Augusta Stone Church. He was licensed to preach October 25, 1782,¹²⁴ and on May 20, 1784, was ordained by presbytery at a meeting in the Bethel Church.¹²⁵

Mr. McClure made a trip about this time with emigrants from Au-

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹¹⁸The church had previously been the spiritual home of the lad John Brown who lived with his older sister, Mrs. Archibald Stuart, but went away to school soon after their settlement.

¹¹⁹James Alexander McClure, *The McClure Family* (Petersburg, Virginia: Presses of Frank A. Owen, 1914), 232 pp.

¹²⁰Chalkley, *op. cit.*, II, 28.

¹²¹McClure, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

¹²²Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 150 states that these minutes are lost.

¹²³McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹²⁴Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 170.

gusta County to Kentucky, and the family historian believes it to have been with the large group led by General James Knox in 1783.¹²⁶ After ordination, Mr. McClure had calls from "Sullivan County, N. C.," and from the north and south forks of "Roan-Oak"; he accepted the latter.¹²⁷

However, the "charm" or "call" of Kentucky was still upon his mind, and in 1786 he moved with his family to Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky, where in 1787 he organized the first church in the county, he having "been preaching in the place occasionally for three years."¹²⁸ He was a charter member and first clerk of Transylvania Presbytery, organized in the court house at Danville, Kentucky, October 17, 1786.¹²⁹

Dr. Davidson, writing of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, says that Mr. McClure could not forget the "charm" of Kentucky, and after removing there with his family in 1786, the following year organized the Salem and Paris Churches and in 1789 took charge of the latter, where he remained until his death, August 25, 1793, "in the 12th year of his ministry and the 39th of his age."¹³⁰

The Reverend Andrew McClure and Rebecca Allen had four children—James Allen, Eleanor Wright, Mary and Andrew, Jr.—all of them married in Kentucky. The family descendants in Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois are numerous—the oldest son, James Allen McClure, having surpassed the others with fifteen children!¹³¹ Thus Tinkling Spring and her people threw a beam of spiritual light into the wilderness frontier darkened by sin, in the life and work of Andrew McClure whose spiritual inspiration and call of God came under the ministry of Rev. James Waddell.

Let us return to a final tribute to Waddell at Tinkling Spring that comes to us as a tradition concerning his forcefulness as a pulpiteer. It is related:

A miserly man, that used to hear him at Tinkling Spring in giving an account of the influence of one of his powerful sermons, on the love of God, upon himself—said—"the snow flakes had been falling pretty freely around the house—but had any one told me that guineas lay as thick as the snow flakes, I could not have gone out to gather any till he was done."¹³²

¹²⁶McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

¹²⁷Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

¹²⁸McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 100, citing Collins' *History of Kentucky*, II, 72.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, citing Transylvania Presbytery Minutes, I, 96.

¹³⁰Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83.

¹³¹McClure, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-23.

¹³²Pen Portraits of Presbyterian Pioneers, "Home-Life and Traditions of Rev. James Waddell"; Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 385.

The work at Tinkling Spring and Staunton was continued by Mr. Waddel until 1785, through extremely difficult post-war conditions, at which time he purchased and removed to an estate at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, near Gordonsville, where he remained the rest of his life.

The Trustees of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, conferred upon him, in 1792, the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹³³

In spite of defective eyesight—that became complete blindness after 1798—he continued to preach with a vigor and silver-tongued eloquence that made him an idol to be copied by succeeding generations. It was but a few years after leaving Tinkling Spring that his biographer, William Wirt, made both his subject and himself famous in his literary gem on the blind preacher. William Wirt, as an unknown writer, resorted to a clever means of drawing attention to his work by writing as a British spy. His first work was published under the title *The Letters of the British Spy*. A note to the printer as a preface to the publication of 1803 says:

Mr. Pleasants, THE Manuscript from which the following letters are extracted, was found in the bed chamber of a boarding house in a sea port town of Virginia . . . It seems to be a copy of letters written by a young Englishman of rank during a tour through the United States, to a member of the British Parliament. . . .

Then follow the letters, the seventh of which concerns the Rev. James Waddel, the blind preacher:

Letter VII.

Richmond, October 10th.

I HAVE been, my dear S*****, on an excursion through the counties which lie along the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. . . . I must entertain you with an account of a most singular and interesting adventure which I met with, in the course of the tour.

It was Sunday, as I travelled through the County of Orange, that my eye was caught by a cluster of horses tied near a ruinous old wooden house in the forest, not far from the road side. Having frequently seen such objects before, in travelling through these States, I had no difficulty in understanding that this was a place of religious worship.

Devotion alone should have stopped me to join in the duties of the congregation; but I must confess that curiosity to hear the preacher of such a wilderness was not the least of my motives. On entering, I was struck with his

¹³³Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 237.

preternatural appearance. He was a tall and very spare old man; his head, which was covered with a white linen cap, his shrivelled hands, and his voice, were all shaking under the influence of a palsy; and a few moments ascertained to me that he was perfectly blind.

The first emotions that touched my breast were those of mingled pity and veneration. But how soon were all my feelings changed! The lips of Plato were never more worthy of a prognostic swarm of bees, than were the lips of this holy man! It was a day of the administration of the Sacrament; and his subject was, of course, the passion of our Saviour. I had heard the subject handled a thousand times—I had thought it exhausted long ago. Little did I suppose that in the wild woods of America, I was to meet with a man, whose eloquence would give to this topic a new and more sublime pathos than I had ever before witnessed.

As he descended from the pulpit to distribute the mystic symbols, there was a peculiar, a more than human, solemnity in his air and manner, which made my blood run cold, and my whole frame shiver.

He then drew a picture of the sufferings of our Saviour; his trial before Pilate; his ascent up Calvary; his crucifixion and his death. I knew the whole history; but never until then had I heard the circumstances so selected, so arranged, so coloured! It was all new; and I seemed to have heard it for the first time in my life. His enunciation was so deliberate that his voice trembled on every syllable; and every heart in the assembly trembled in unison. His peculiar phrases had that force of description, that the original scene appeared to be at that moment acting before our eyes. We saw the very faces of the Jews; the staring, frightful distortions of malice and rage. We saw the buffet; my soul kindled with a flame of indignation; and my hands were involuntarily and convulsively clenched.

But when he came to touch on the patience, the forgiving meekness, of our Saviour; when he drew to the life his blessed eyes, streaming in tears to Heaven, his voice breathing to God a soft and gentle prayer of pardon on his enemies, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," the voice of the preacher which had all along faltered, grew fainter and fainter, until his utterance being entirely obstructed by the force of his feelings, he raised his handkerchief to his eyes, and burst into a loud and irrepressible flood of grief. The effect was inconceivable. The whole house resounded with the mingled groans, and sobs, and shrieks, of the congregation.

It was some time before the tumult subsided, so far as to permit him to proceed. Indeed, judging by the usual, but fallacious, standard of my own weakness, I began to be very uneasy for the situation of the preacher: for I could not conceive how he would be able to let his audience down from the height to which he had wound them, without impairing the solemnity and dignity of his subject, or perhaps shocking them by the abruptness of the fall. But no! the descent was as beautiful and sublime, as the elevation had been rapid and enthusiastic.

The first sentence with which he broke the awful silence, was a quotation from Rousseau: 'Socrates died like a philosopher; but Jesus Christ like a God!'

I despair of giving you any idea of the effect produced by this short sentence, unless you could perfectly conceive the whole manner of the man, as well as the peculiar crisis in the discourse. Never before did I completely understand what Demosthenes meant by laying such stress on delivery. You are to bring before you the venerable figure of the preacher; his blindness constantly recalling to your recollection old Homer, Ossian, and Milton; and, associating with his performance the melancholy grandeur of their geniuses, you are to imagine that you hear his slow, solemn, well-accented enunciation, and his voice of affecting, trembling melody; you are to remember the pitch of passion and enthusiasm to which the congregation were raised, and then the few moments of portentous, death-like silence which reigned throughout the house: the preacher removing his white handkerchief from his aged face, (even yet wet from the recent torrent of his tears,) and slowly stretching forth the palsied hand which holds it, begins the sentence, "Socrates died like a philosopher"—then pausing, raising his other hand, pressing them both, clasped together with warmth and energy, to his breast, lifting his sightless balls to Heaven, and pouring his whole soul into his tremulous voice,—'but Jesus Christ—like a God!' If he had been indeed and in truth an angel of light, the effect could scarcely have been more Divine.

Whatever I may have been able to conceive of the sublimity of Massillon, or the force of Bourdaloue, had fallen far short of the power which I felt from the delivery of this simple sentence. The blood which just before had rushed in a hurricane upon my brain, and, in the violence and agony of my feelings, had held my whole system in suspense, now ran back into my heart, with a sensation which I cannot describe—a kind of shuddering, delicious horror! The paroxysm of blended pity and indignation, to which I had been transported, subsided into the deepest self-abasement, humility, and adoration. I had just been lacerated and dissolved by sympathy for our Saviour, as a fellow-creature; but now, with fear and trembling, I adored him as a God.

If this description gives you the impression that this incomparable minister had any thing of shallow, theatrical trick in his manner, it does him great injustice. I have never seen in any other orator such a union of simplicity and majesty. He has not a gesture, an attitude or an accent, to which he does not seem forced by the sentiment he is expressing. His mind is too serious, too earnest, too solicitous, and at the same time too dignified, to stoop to artifice. Although as far removed from ostentation as a man can be, yet it is clear from the train, the style and substance of his thoughts, that he is not only a very polite scholar, but a man of extensive and profound erudition. I was forcibly struck with a short yet beautiful character, which he drew of your learned and amiable countryman, Sir Robert Boyle: he spoke of him as if his noble mind had, even before death, divested herself of all influence from his frail tabernacle of flesh; and called him, in his peculiarly emphatic and impressive manner, 'a pure intelligence, the link between men and angels.'

This man has been before my imagination almost ever since. A thousand times, as I rode along, I dropped the reins of my bridle, stretch forth my hand, and tried to imitate his quotation from Rousseau; a thousand times I abandoned the attempt in despair, and felt persuaded that his peculiar manner and power arose from an energy of soul, which nature could give, but which no human

being could justly copy. In short, he seems to be altogether a being of a former age, or of a totally different nature from the rest of men. As I recall, at this moment, several of his awfully striking attitudes, the chilling tide with which my blood begins to pour along my arteries, reminds me of the emotions produced by the first sight of Gray's introductory picture of his bard:

'On a rock whose haughty brow,
'Frowns o'er old Conway's foaming flood,
'Robed in the sable garb of wo,
'With haggard eyes, the poet stood.
'(Loose his beard, and hoary hair
'Streamed, like a meteor, to the troubled air:)
'And with a poet's hand, and prophet's fire,
'Struck the deep sorrows of his lyre.'

Guess my surprise when, on my arrival at Richmond, and mentioning the name of this man, I found not one person who had ever before heard of *James Waddel*! Is it not strange that such a genius as this, so accomplished a scholar, so divine an orator, should be permitted to languish and die in obscurity within eighty miles of the metropolis of Virginia. . . . Once more, my dear S*****,
Adieu!¹³⁴

It is a temptation to wonder how much of this eloquent description is fact and how much is imagination, for we do now know that Waddel was not so little known and honored in his day, having been a personal friend to both President James Madison and Patrick Henry. A son-in-law of Waddel's put this very question to William Wirt in 1830. Wirt's reply acknowledged that he had drawn to some degree on imagination for time, place and occasion, and what he had heard by the fireside may have been introduced into the sermon, but maintained:

. . . that so far as eloquence and impression of his sermons were concerned the sketch far from being an exaggeration had fallen short of the truth.¹³⁵

Patrick Henry, who was Waddel's only equal in oratory in the Colony of Virginia, upon hearing him preach on the creation, said some hours afterward, "It seemed to me while that man was preaching, that he could have made a world."¹³⁶

James Waddel had married, about 1768, Mary, daughter of Colonel James Gordon; two children were born while he was pastor in the

¹³⁴[William Wirt], *The Letters of the British Spy* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by Samuel Pleasants, Junior, 1803), pp. 25-27.

¹³⁵Macartney, *op. cit.*, 19:629, October, 1921; "Mr. Wirt, Dr. Waddell, and Blanneshaset," *The Watchman of the South*, 7:202, August, 1844.

¹³⁶James Waddel Alexander, "M memoir of Rev. James Waddel, D.D.," *The Watchman of the South*, 8:17, 21, 25, September and October, 1844.

Northern Neck of Virginia, three while he ministered in Augusta County, and four after his removal to Gordonsville. Of these nine children, two married Presbyterian ministers, namely, Elizabeth to Rev. William Calhoon and Janetta to Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Seven of the nine children returned to the Valley and settled in their father's old field, then including Waynesboro, Staunton and Tinkling Spring.¹³⁷

The vital redeeming work of Christ which he made so vivid to others was no less real in his own experience. When his daughter, Mrs. Calhoon, left him to move to Staunton, in 1805, where her husband was to become pastor at Brown's Meeting House and Staunton, she could not refrain from shedding a few tears. He comforted her saying:

My child, you weep, lest you may not see me again. Were I invited to a feast prepared for the honourable of this world, would you be distressed? Well, should you hear that your father is dead, comfort yourself with the thought that he has been called to the feast prepared by God for the redeemed.¹³⁸

It was shortly after this experience he became ill and the Hanover Presbytery Minutes state that his death was reported to them as having occurred September 17, 1805.

His sons relate:

His last words were, "Let me die! Take the pillow from beneath my head," then with great serenity, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Some time before his death he gave orders that all his manuscripts should be committed to the flames; that there should be no needless ceremonies at his interment; and that his body should be carried to the grave by his own faithful servant-men.¹³⁹

¹³⁷Waddell Descendants, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹³⁸Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 240.

¹³⁹Waddell Descendants, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

PART FOUR
CONTRIBUTION TO CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Leadership In Freedom, 1784-1818

THE Virginia colonial government settled the French Huguenot immigrants of 1700 in Manakin Town, and the German immigrants of 1714 in Germanna, with the defense of the frontier in mind.¹ Both these groups yielded to the government's desire for them to become a part of the Established Church of Virginia.² It was not so with the Scots from Ireland who settled west of the Blue Ridge under an agreement to defend the frontier in exchange for the privilege of worshipping God according to their dissenter training. Following Francis Makemie's death in 1708 and Josias Mackie's "Melancholy Circumstances" reported from Elizabeth River in 1712, Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia*—after taking notice of these dissenter groups having previously existed—then, sometime prior to 1716, refers to them as "being now extinct."³ From that time through the French and Indian War dissenter groups had to fight constantly for religious toleration.⁴ It was the first essential step toward religious liberty—a goal which was never forgotten by the Valley's Scotch Presbyterians. In the course of time the victory of the American colonies in the Revolution brought the great opportunity to press the struggle and reach the goal—Religious Liberty!

It was to this end that Patrick Henry had ridden fifty miles to enter the Spottsylvania Court House in 1768 in defense of prisoners—Baptist ministers—charged with disturbing the peace and, as voluntary defense attorney, waved the indictment three times about his head, crying:

If I am not deceived, according to the contents of the paper I now hold in my hand, these men are accused of preaching the gospel of the Son of God!—Great God! . . . *What laws have they violated?*

¹Henry R. McIlwaine, *The Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1894), pp. 35-39.

²*Ibid.*, p. 38.

³*Ibid.*, p. 32, citing Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia*.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The presiding magistrate was moved to exclaim, "Sheriff, discharge these men."⁵

It was the goal of religious liberty that the Presbytery of Hanover sought when it presented a petition to the Virginia House of Burgesses that reached the floor of the House Monday, June 5, 1775. The record follows:

"A *Petition* of the Presbytery of *Hanover* in behalf of themselves, and all the Presbyterians in *Virginia*, and of all Protestant dissenters elsewhere, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, that in or about the Year 1738 many thousand Presbyterian families relying upon the assurance of Government that they should enjoy the free exercise of their Religion, removed from the Northern Colonies and settled in the Frontiers of this, forming a barrier for the lower parts thereof; and taking notice of a Bill for granting a toleration of his Majesty's dissenting protestant subjects . . . and praying that no Bill may pass into a law but such as will secure to the Petitioners equal liberties and advantages with their fellow subjects."⁶

It is significant to notice that this petition was handled by the House Committee on Religion and Morality, the membership of which included Thomas Jefferson, and there was added at this session Mr. Jefferson's partner from Albemarle, Mr. John Walker, and Delegate Andrew Lewis from Botetourt County.⁷ The same year this committee handled petitions from the Baptists and Quakers.⁸ But upon the Presbyterians fell the responsibility of leadership in the struggle because of the training that fitted them to meet the legislators in debate and the indebtedness of the Virginia Assembly to the Scotch Presbyterians for the vigor with which they had fought the Indians on the frontier, particularly the great victory over the Indians at Point Pleasant in 1774.

A COMMON MAN WITH AN UNCOMMON INFLUENCE

The William Johnston family settled on Long Meadow Run and became, in 1740, charter members of the Tinkling Spring Church. The letter of transfer from West Nottingham, Maryland, appears, for some reason, to be dated 1747 instead of 1741. About 1747 Mr. Johnston's

⁵William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1850), I, 317-18.

⁶John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1905), p. 189.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 177, 180.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 92, 102, 217, 225.

name appears in the church minutes as an elder.⁹ On Sunday, September 26, 1742, the Johnston parents presented their son, Zechariah,¹⁰ and Rev. John Craig baptized him.¹¹ He grew to manhood under the ministry of Mr. Craig. The Johnston children secured their early schooling, no doubt, from "William Wright, School Master"¹² who was an adjoining settler on Long Meadow Run, also a charter member of Tinkling Spring and a fellow church-officer, serving as a commissioner with the duties of a present-day deacon.¹³ Following this old field schooling Mr. Johnston sent his son to the Augusta Academy.¹⁴ Zechariah Johnston became a farmer with his father on Long Meadow Run and when about twenty years old married Ann Robertson, daughter of James Robertson of Lewis Creek.¹⁵

Dr. Archibald Alexander, of early Princeton University fame and a contemporary of Zechariah Johnston, says of him that when he was above thirty years of age and had a family of seven children:

Among the distinguished Virginians brought out by the American revolution was Zachariah Johnston, a plain farmer of Augusta . . . When "Committees of Safety" were appointed in every district, he was by the recommendation of his neighbors, made a member of the committee for his native county. In this office he discovered so much good sense, and such ability to express his opinions with clearness and force, that he was persuaded to become a candidate for a seat in the Virginia legislature. . . .

The people of the Valley, or country west of the Blue Ridge, being of a different stock, and of different habits and manners from the Old Virginians, who were of English descent, have always manifested some jealousy, because in the laws enacted there frequently was not an impartial regard to their interests, and Johnston being a representative of this region, when any subject touching the

⁹Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26. There was also a William Johnston who settled in the Brushy Neck of Middle River.

¹⁰Sketches of Zechariah Johnston are found as follows: Archibald Alexander, "Zachariah Johnston," *The Princeton Magazine*, 1:367-69 [no month], 1850; and John G. Paxton, "Zachariah Johnston," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 5:185-92, January, 1942. He signed his name Zechariah.

¹¹John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, p. 14.

¹²Zachariah Johnston Papers, 1742-1856, Virginia State Library, Archives Division, Photoprints, Accession No. 23893, ac.

¹³Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 24, 26, 28.

¹⁴Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, *Catalogue of Alumni, 1749-1880* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1888), p. 48.

¹⁵Craig Baptisms, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), III, 61; Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 322.

interests of his constituents came up, was always ready with uncompromising firmness to defend their cause.¹⁶

In the year 1778 there was a political turnover in Augusta County. The electorate had not found a consistent successor to the popular Colonel Charles Lewis who was a casualty at Point Pleasant in 1774. However, Samuel McDowell had represented Augusta regularly as a delegate for many years. But the election of 1778 placed new representatives in Richmond from Augusta County—Zechariah Johnston and John Cunningham—both of whom had strong dissenter backgrounds instilled in them at Tinkling Spring. Mr. Johnston remained in the House of Delegates for thirteen years, representing Augusta County from May 1778 through December 1791, while his five co-representatives from Augusta were overthrown in elections seven times. Among the five, in addition to John Cunningham who served five years, there were two others who served one year each who are of interest to us here. They were Archibald Stuart, grandson of the immigrant by the same name, who helped establish the meeting house at the tinkling spring in 1740 and James Steele, a Tinkling Spring officer, whose father, Samuel, was also active in building the first Tinkling Spring Meeting House.¹⁷

Thomas Jefferson was made Chairman of the House Committee on Religion in 1776, and the legislature, in response to another memorial from Hanover Presbytery,¹⁸ sponsored a partial repeal of the objectionable laws concerning religion, namely, removal of the penalty for non-attendance at the services, and exemption of dissenters from support of the Established Church, but left the state church intact with its glebes, parsonages and churches.¹⁹ The dissenters were very unhappy over this compromise of religious liberty, and it was inevitably one of the issues in the political turnover in Augusta in 1778, that put Zechariah Johnston in position to speak for the Presbyterians of Augusta County.

In 1779 the legislature went one step further and repealed the law providing for ministers' salaries but a scheme for a "general assessment"

¹⁶Alexander, *op. cit.*, 1:367-68, [no month], 1850.

¹⁷Earl S. Swem and John W. Williams, *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918* (Richmond, Virginia: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of public printing, 1918), p. 5 *et passim*; Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 19.

¹⁸Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870* (Richmond, Virginia: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1903), pp. 119-22.

¹⁹Jacob Harris Patton, *The Triumph of the Presbytery of Hanover; or, Separation of Church and State in Virginia* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1887), pp. 35-36.

for the benefit of the ministers of all religious sects was proposed—an act supported zealously by Patrick Henry.²⁰

It was at this point that Tinkling Spring played a significant part in this struggle. Hanover Presbytery, meeting at Tinkling Spring in the spring of 1780, adjourned for the meeting on April 28 to Mr. Waddell's home.²¹ There they wrote the sentiments of Hanover Presbytery mentioned earlier, and charged Mr. Johnston and Mr. Samuel McDowell with the responsibility of presenting them to the Virginia legislature.²² The crucial decision was in the making in 1784 and presbytery forwarded memorials from both spring and fall meetings.

A petition from Augusta Stone Church to presbytery at its Bethel meeting in May, 1785,²³ for an interpretation of a part of the memorial of the previous year led to a unanimous call for a "Convention of the Presbyterian body," both ministerial and lay-members, for August 10, 1785. This convention met and sent another memorial strongly opposing any type of assessment.²⁴

Zechariah Johnston was a personal friend and political ally of Thomas Jefferson.²⁵ His presentation of the Hanover Memorials to the Virginia Assembly and his advocating the ideas of religious freedom held by his constituents, no doubt, had very great weight with Mr. Jefferson in formulating his bill "for establishing religious freedom," which became law in 1786. Mr. Jefferson, when leaving for a federal appointment, left his bill for religious liberty in the capable hands of James Madison.

On the general principle of religious liberty Patrick Henry and the Valley leaders had agreed, but, strange to say, on the General Assessment for all ministers' salaries and on certain state affairs—paper money, British debts and the form of the Federal Constitution—it was Patrick Henry whom those fighting for genuine religious liberty had to oppose. The students of the Reverend John Witherspoon,²⁶ President

²⁰Waddell *Annals*, *op. cit.*, p. 304; George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and The Political Condition Under Which It Grew, 1727-1814* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952), II, 411.

²¹Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 332, citing Hanover Minutes which are lost.

²²Mr. Samuel McDowell was one of the Representatives in the House of Delegates from Rockbridge County. He had represented Augusta in 1776 and 1777.

²³The Hanover Presbytery Minutes of this date are lost.

²⁴Foote, *op. cit.*, I, 341-44.

²⁵Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, bv.

²⁶Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. 139-44.

of the College of New Jersey, could not be satisfied with mere *toleration*, that fell short of *religious liberty*. One of his choice students had been James Madison. Dr. Freeman Hart, student of Valley life during the Revolution, has this to say:

It is not surprising then to find Madison a few years later demanding that religious *liberty* be substituted for religious *toleration* in George Mason's Virginia Bill of Rights. In the controversies between 1784 and 1786, which resulted in the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, it was Madison and his lieutenant, the Scottish Presbyterian Zachariah Johnston, who bore the brunt of the fight for religious liberty and equality.²⁷

The Virginia Assembly had scarcely recognized the Valley leaders prior to 1785. But in organizing the House of Delegates in 1785 an unusual and deserved honor came to Zechariah Johnston when he was made Chairman of the Committee on Religion, "which always came first on the list of committees during the period."²⁸

In an address by the Honorable Hugh Blair Grigsby, Th. D., delivered at Washington and Lee in 1870, Mr. Johnston's contribution to this struggle for religious liberty is set forth in these words:

He entered the House of Delegates during the Revolution, and gave up all his faculties to the purpose of shaping the new measures to a republican model. He accordingly supported with great earnestness the revised bills reported by Mr. Jefferson, which it was the policy of their opponents to keep on the table, or if called up, to emasculate them of their wisest provisions. It is well known that Mr. Jefferson, when he withdrew from the House to embark for France, left the care of the revised bills to Mr. Madison, who fully redeemed the confidence of his friend by the tact and patience and ability which he displayed in effecting their passage. He had indeed most strenuous coadjutors, and among these was Zachariah Johnston. His simple and unadorned but caustic and fearless logic which was in strong contrast with the deep and elaborate speculations of Mr. Madison, was ever ready and was always effective. It was in 1785, when the act for establishing Religious Freedom was on its passage, that he made a capital speech, in which he took the ground which I have mentioned already more than once, and which was that the hostility of the Presbyterian population of the Valley to an establishment had no bearing upon the Episcopal church as a church of Christ, but that it was directed against an establishment of any church, even their own, in connection with the state. A single passage only of Johnston's speech in the debate has been preserved, and I quote it to show not

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 141. One of the three items Thomas Jefferson asked to be placed on his tombstone was "Author . . . of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom . . ."

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 178; *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1776-1790* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by Thomas W. White, Opposite the Bell Tavern, 1828), p. 5 of the 1785 Journal.

These are to Certify that the Bearer
 William Johnston and his wife Ann
 lived in the bounds of this Congregation
 for the space of two years and were
 into Christian privileges and with their
 departure from us free of all public
 scandal or Church Censur known to us.
 Given under our hand all Nottingham
 this first day of June 1797
 John Caldwell
 James Bohanan
 David Patterson

(a)

We do certify that Capt. J. Johnston, his wife Ann, his son
 John and daughter Mary are in full communion
 and free from moral blot known to us: the undersigned officers
 juniors are of fair and unblemished standing in this place.
 Signed by order of the Synod at 21 May 1798.
 J. M. Cur

(b)

Figure XXIII

The Certificates of Transfer of the Johnston Family (a) To and (b) From Tinkling Spring Church

The Certificates of Transfer of the Johnston Family (a) To and (b) From
Tinkling Spring Church

These are to Certify that the Bearer
William Johnston and his wife Ann
Lived in the Bounds of this Congregation
for the Space of two years and was Receiv'd
Into Cristean priveleges and with their
Departure from uss free of all publick
Scandall or Church Cens'r known to uss
Given under our hand att Notingham
this first day of June 1747 [or 1741]

John Caldwell
James Bohanan
David Patterson

(a)

We do certify that Capt. Zh Johnston, his wife Ann, his sons
John and Zh and his daughter Elizth are in full communion,
and free from moral blot known to us: The remainder of his
juniors are of fair and unblemished standing in this place.
Signed by advice of Session this 21st May, 1792.

J. McCue.

(b)

only his line of argument but his style of thought. "Mr. Chairman, I am a Presbyterian, a rigid Presbyterian as we are called; my parents before me were of the same profession; I was educated in that line. Since I became a man, I have examined for myself, and I have seen no cause to dissent. But, sir, the very day that the Presbyterians shall be established by law, and become a body politic, the same day Zachariah Johnston will be a dissenter. Dissent from that religion I cannot in honesty, but from that establishment I will." And his name goes down to posterity in favor of the passage of the act for establishing Religious Freedom.²⁹

Zechariah Johnston found himself in opposition to the popular leader and Governor of Virginia—Patrick Henry—on several occasions,³⁰ but never at a more important time than when Virginia, in 1788, considered the new national constitution. "When he entered that body, no one expected that a plain, uneducated farmer" says Dr. Alexander, "would undertake to make speeches on the same floor with many of the greatest men whom the state ever produced."³¹ However, after having been among them for ten years and having gained prestige in his association with Madison in the victory on religious liberty, in the 1788 Constitutional Convention for Virginia, he faced not only a great opportunity to speak his convictions but also a sacred responsibility to represent the sentiments of his constituents of the Valley. His opponents on this occasion included the popular and talented Reverend William Graham of Liberty Hall fame. A man with less determination and character would have remained silent—but not Zechariah Johnston!

The convention drew toward its crucial vote with the ideas of delegates crystallizing preparatory for the final commitment of Virginia on a strong federal constitution or continuing a mere confederation.

Mr. Johnston, from Augusta, was recognized by the chair and, students of the convention believe he turned the tide in Virginia for a strong Constitution for the United States of America—a state which in turn carried much influence to the same end in other colonies. But what did Mr. Johnston say? He addressed the chair:

Mr. Chairman—I am now called upon to decide the greatest of all questions—a question which may involve the felicity or misery of myself and posterity. . . . When I view the necessity of government among mankind and its happy operation when judiciously constructed, and when I view the principles of this

²⁹*Washington and Lee University Historical Papers* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1890-1895), II, 99-100.

³⁰Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 122, 126-27.

³¹Alexander, *op. cit.*, 1:367, [no month], 1850.

constitution, and the satisfactory and liberal manner in which they have been developed by the gentleman in the Chair, and several other gentlemen, and when I view on the other hand, the strained construction which has been put, by the gentlemen on the other side [Patrick Henry and others] on every word and syllable, in endeavouring to prove oppressions which can never possibly happen, my judgment is convinced of the safety and propriety of this system.

Concerning representation he stated:

As to the principle of representation, I find it attended to in this government in the fullest manner.—It is founded on absolute equality. . . . I plainly see a security of the liberties of this country, to which we may safely trust. Were this government defective in this fundamental principle of representation, it would be so radical, that it would admit of no remedy.

Concerning the militia he stated:

As to the regulation of the militia, I feel myself doubly interested. Having a numerous offspring [eleven children], I am careful to prevent the establishment of any regulation that might entail oppression on them. . . . Congress has only the power of arming, and disciplining them. The States have the appointment of the officers and the authority of training . . . When called into actual service of the United States they shall be subject to the marching orders of the United States.

Concerning religious freedom he stated:

We are also told, that religion is not secured—that religious tests are not required.—You will find that the exclusion of tests, will strongly tend to establish religious freedom. If tests were required—and if the Church of England, or any other were established, I might be excluded from any office under the government, because my conscience might not permit me to take the tests required. The diversity of opinions and variety of sects in the United States, have justly been reckoned a great security with respect to religious liberty. The difficulty of establishing an uniformity of religion in this country is immense.—The extent of the country is very great. The multiplicity of sects is very great likewise. The people are not to be disarmed of their weapons—They are left in full possession of them. The government is administered by the representatives of the people voluntarily and freely chosen. Under these circumstances should any one attempt to establish their own system, in prejudice of the rest, they would be universally detested and opposed, and easily frustrated. This is a principle which secures religious liberty most firmly.

Concerning taxation he stated:

As to the mode of taxation, the proportion of each state being known, cannot be exceeded. And such proportions will be raised in the most equitable manner

of the people, according to their ability. There is nothing to warrant a supposition that the poor will be equally taxed with the wealthy and opulent.

Concerning the constitution's utility he stated:

It is my lot to be among the poor people. The most that I can claim, or flatter myself with, is to be of the middle rank.—I wish no more, for I am contented. But I shall give my opinion unbiased, and uninfluenced—without erudition or eloquence, but with firmness and candor and in so doing, I will satisfy my conscience.—If this constitution be bad, it will bear equally as hard on me, as on any member of the society—It will bear hard on my children, who are as dear to me, as any man's children can be to him. Having their felicity and happiness at heart, the vote I shall give in its favor, can only be imputed to a conviction of its utility and propriety.

Concerning responsibility, properly placed, he stated:

When I look for responsibility, I fully find it in that paper. When the members of the government depend on ourselves for their appointment, and will bear an equal share of the burthens imposed on the people—when their duty is inseparably connected with their interest, I conceive there can be no danger. Will they forfeit the friendship and confidence of their countrymen, and counteract their own interest?

Concerning a bill of rights he stated:

As to amendments now on your table, besides the impropriety of proposing them to be obtained previous to ratification, they appear to me, to be evidently and clearly objectionable.—Look at the bill of rights; it is totally mutilated and destroyed in that paper. . . . Take away this, and all is gone. Look at the first article of our bill of rights. It says that all men are by nature equally free and independent. Does that paper acknowledge this? No.—It denies it.

Concerning emancipation he stated:

They tell us that they see a progressive danger of bringing about emancipation. The principle has begun since the revolution. Let us do what we will, it will come around. Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation, which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished, it would do man good.

Mr. Johnston concluded:

Under these impressions, and for these reasons, I am for adopting the constitution without previous amendments. I will go any length afterward to reconcile it to gentlemen by proposing subsequent amendments. The great and wise state

of Massachusetts has taken this step. The great and wise state of Virginia might safely do the same. I am content to rest my happiness on that footing.³²

Following within a few hours this speech, the convention voted by the narrow margin of ten votes to ratify the federal constitution without previous amendments—the total Valley vote of fourteen being cast in favor, and overcoming thereby a vote against ratification.³³ It seems most significant to those interested in Zechariah Johnston that every idea he advanced in his speech was later included in Amendments to the Constitution of the United States—the first ten, commonly known as our Bill of Rights and the thirteenth the Emancipation of slaves.

The victory of Zechariah Johnston and his Valley colleagues was duly celebrated in the Valley. Staunton was the natural center of Augusta's festivities where a bonfire and "military evolutions" featured the outdoor activities, while the houses and Masonic Hall were "illuminated" and a spirit of joyous harmony in "republicanism" was the order of the day. The City Council, in the spirit of genuine federalism, renamed one of its principal thoroughfares "Federal Street."³⁴

Zechariah Johnston was on the House Committee that chose Virginia's first two Commonwealth Senators to the United States Congress. He was one of the ten electors from Virginia who, on February 5, 1789, cast a unanimous ballot to make George Washington our first President.³⁵

Dr. Hart summarized the Valley situation in this period briefly, thus:

In spite of its backwardness as compared with the Piedmont across the Blue Ridge, the Valley was in no sense in a decline. It had suffered heavily in man power as well as in relative wealth during the war. Post-war tax and debtor troubles, along with a breakdown in the markets for its products, had exacted a considerable toll from the Valley's wealth-getting. The section was not prostrate; however, and in many cases it was already reviving.³⁶

Mr. Johnston took a prominent part in economic affairs. He took knowledge of the British troops still stationed south of the Great Lakes

³²David Robertson, *Debates and other Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, Convened at Richmond, on Monday the second day of June, 1788, for the purpose of deliberating on the Constitution recommended by the grand federal Convention* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed at the Enquirer Press, 1805), pp. 460-63.

³³Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-82, supplies an analysis of the vote.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 182-87, citing the *Virginia Chronicle* (Richmond), July 12, 1788.

³⁵William P. Palmer, editor, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (Richmond, Virginia: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1875-1893), IV, 560.

³⁶Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

and urged payment of British debts to gain their confidence and respect. He was active in the problems connected with the new currency and debt-ridden Valley business men.³⁷ He was active in the problem of opening the James and Shenandoah Rivers for navigation to help Valley trade.³⁸ The trade of the Valley had by this period shifted from Philadelphia to Alexandria and Richmond. Zechariah Johnston's accounts were with Robert Gamble of Richmond.³⁹

Zechariah Johnston, the farmer from Long Meadow Run, had become the idol of the Valley inhabitants. Dr. Archibald Alexander saw him as their "Champion" and attributed his forcefulness to his earnest, though stern, Christian faith and life. He says:

The people of the Valley were proud of their Champion, as well they might be. What gave force to his eloquence was his pure and incorruptible integrity. He was a man of sterling honesty and undoubted patriotism. Indeed, he was a strictly religious man, and was not ashamed of his profession of Christianity. . . . He continued to represent the County of Augusta . . . and no one thought of opposing his election. Like most other eloquent men, Zachariah Johnston excelled in his conversational powers. And when in the country, people would be met at church, before the worship commenced, he would commonly have a large group around him listening to his discourse. On one of these occasions, the writer was among his hearers, when he felt at first somewhat shocked at hearing him describe the conduct of a certain man . . . but his object was to produce a salutary effect on the minds of the youth who were hearing him.⁴⁰

FAITH IN CHURCH AND HOME IN SPITE OF DECAY

In the midst of the new nation, with its strides forward in unity and strength of organization—sparked by such men as Zechariah Johnston typified—it is sad to take notice of an inner decay, the symptoms of which were materialistic greed, godless violence and French inspired infidelity. The aftermath of war, with the Scots grasping for western lands,⁴¹ to the neglect of evangelical truth, supplied a rich field in which grew the skeptical and godless ideas of the French, who had helped American colonies to gain their independence.⁴² Too typical of human

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 123.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 156-57; William W. Hening, editor, *The Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior; and others, 1809-1823), XI, 341.

³⁹Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 150, citing the Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, and other sources of information.

⁴⁰Alexander, *op. cit.*, 1:368-69, [no month], 1850.

⁴¹Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, bz.

⁴²Benjamin Rice Lacy, Jr., *Revivals in the Midst of the Years* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1943), pp. 64-67, 87.

nature, the new freedoms of the day were by many taken as license to do as they pleased.

French infidelity made its influence felt in America, particularly in the colleges. Virginia colleges were no exception, not even Hanover Presbytery's Hampden-Sydney.⁴³ Bishop Meade, historian of the Episcopal Church, had this to say:

The intimacy produced between infidel France and our own country, by the union of our arms against the common foe, was most baneful in its influence . . . and on none more than those of Virginia. . . . At the end of the century the College of William and Mary was regarded as the hotbed of infidelity . . .⁴⁴

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, though men who believed in God, must have been influenced away from ardent evangelical Christianity by this spirit of the times.⁴⁵ In sharp contrast to this spirit were the ardently Christian homes of the era—forming, when grouped together, struggling churches. It was in the sincerely Christian home of Daniel Allen that the son, Cary Allen, and the step-son, William Hill, were prepared to bring, along with others of the student body, a revival to the Hampden-Sydney campus. It was an elder's pious home that prepared William Calhoun to play a part in that same campus revival and become God's agent in bringing together a prayer band out of which grew the revival.⁴⁶

Another Virginia home of this type was the Zechariah Johnston home, "Stone Fort" in the Tinkling Spring congregation. Possibly the violent clash between this home's faith and hope as over against godless infidelity and violence was at least a partial explanation of the grim sternness of Mr. Johnston, spoken of by Dr. Alexander, in these words:

It was a common report, that he was never seen to smile. Whether this was true I cannot tell; but being present when the students of an academy acted (as was then common) a ludicrous farce, while the rest of the audience were convulsed with laughter, Zachariah Johnston was not observed to relax a muscle of his face.⁴⁷

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 65-68.

⁴⁴Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, [n.d.]), I, 175.

⁴⁵The Episcopal Church claims the membership of Washington and Henry, while Jefferson was a Diest.

⁴⁶Lacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 223-40.

⁴⁷Alexander, *op. cit.*, 1:369, [no month], 1850.

Whatever the cause for such stringent control of facial expression, there was no lack of warmth of heart in this man as he wrote to his family. When he was on a hazardous trip to explore his western lands he wrote his wife:

My Dear—falls of the Ohio May ye 11th 1784—I Intend to morrow Pleas God to take my Journey by water to the Massipie About six or seven hundred miles below this to Explore that Countrey & Locate my Lands . . . I only add an Earnest Recommendation of secret and family Devotion See that you Call on the God of heaven in Sincerety & in truth & sincerety Return him Publick & hearty thanks for all his mercies Deny him not before men But Acknowledge him in all your ways & Live as those Who are Dependant on god in Very Deed Remember the Door of mercy Stands open with this Inscription Whosoever will Let him Come, the Blessed Jesus hath Shed his Blood to Render it Accessible to you, Exalted Privilege! Defraud not yourselves of it by Pursuing the mean and sordid gratifications of Animal Nature Let your secret actions be approved by God and Conscience and the Rewards of Virtue Shall attend you through Life & Crown you with Eternal happiness at Last which is the Constant Desire of him who Remains your faithfull and Affectionate Friend till Death.

ZECHARIAH JOHNSTON.⁴⁸

Another letter is extant, written in 1787, to his wife while the General Assembly was in session in which he touches upon many phases of the Christian life and his belief in the redemptive work of Christ. He wrote:

Richmond October ye 26th 1787

Dearest Companion—

these with my best regards to you & all the rest Comes to inform you that I am through Mercy in A tolerable State of health & hopes these may find you all in the Like Precious Enjoyment Which I hope You'll all remember with thankfulness I hope You'll use your Best Endeavour to have some of my Sons Young or old to set up the worship of God in the family I hope at Least Some of them are not Ashamed to own and acknowledge Jesus Among their fellow men here; Since he has Promised to acknowledge the Seekers of his face before an Assembled world on that important Day for which all other Days were Made; may they never Loss sight of this Truth that he still Sees with A Propitious & Approving Eye Every True honest hearted Nathaniel under the fig tree in secret, and will openly acknowledg as well as Privately through the medium of his spirit manifest himself so as he Does not to the Carless Blinded Sons and Daughters of iniquity under the influence of the god of this world Oh, mark I Beseech you the footsteps of Jesus who is the way and follow on to know him whom to know aright is Life Eternal as this knowledge is only Attainable from the God who Sees in Secret continually Wait at the footstool of his mercy and try by faith to View the Great Advocate with the father as the Great meritorious

⁴⁸Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, ax.

foundation of all our Acceptance who Can present our Songs and our humble requests acceptable through himself remember oh! my Dear Children in these Days of youth that Council in the 12 Chapter of Ecclesiastus Seek & you shall find Especially if you Seek Early since god is the Giver and free Grace the gift be not Discouraged open your mouth wide & the Lord will fill it; I have nothing of A publick Nature to relate worth while but our New Confederated Constitution I find has its friends and its Enemies I Conclude & remains Affection husband untill Death Dissolve these Natural ties.

ZECHARIAH JOHNSTON.⁴⁹

These religious beliefs were not mere sentiment but principles that he tried to apply whether dealing with a federal constitution or his neighbor. His exchange of letters with Mr. Samuel Wright, a Presbyterian elder (probably at Tinkling Spring), shows his stern application of principle both to himself and his neighbor. He and Mr. Wright had made a trade, involving a bee hive and a negro slave, in which a currency change had worked to Mr. Johnston's disadvantage. After setting forth the facts, he stated frankly that he would abide by his agreement regardless of the cost, but he felt that Christian honesty demanded an adjustment and supported his argument in these words:

. . . Suffer me to tell you God Looks on the Actions of men and Sees Exactly the principle from which they Act in Cases of Right and Wrong. . . . [a] Law which ought to Receive an Equal if not a Superior Regard it says Do to all men as you would that they should Do to you a witness to the observance of which you and I shall Carry into another world with us where honour Riches or WhatEver Else gained at the Expense of a good concience will give but an unpleasant Reflection.⁵⁰

After an immediate unfavorable reply from Mr. Wright, he replied:

. . . I am a Little surpriz'd at the sagacity of an Elder when he Losses the Right Road how he staggers and one wrong step makes him fetch another . . . I Never wou'd fly from my word or Bargain But Requested you to Consider my Case . . .⁵¹

In a sharp difference over a boundary line, in which the county surveyors had re-established an original line, a neighbor refused to yield to their decision to restore to Mr. Johnston certain land beyond his fence.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, be.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, am.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, ap.

He sent a stern notice of his purpose to recover use of the land by law; then added:

. . . but instead of this if you will Let us in peace move our fence to the Line I will agree to bury all by gone and be a neighbour if you will be one—and hope you will See it in the Same way. I at present Subscribe myself your humble Servant

ZECHARIAH JOHNSTON⁵²

The Johnston family moved from the Tinkling Spring community in 1792 as is attested by the Church letter, signed by the pastor, Rev. John McCue.⁵³

We are left to surmise the cause why the Johnston family left Augusta County but there is a possible indication in his correspondence. James Johnston, the oldest son, was Captain in the militia along with his neighbor Captain James Frazer. When the Excise Law was levied, Captains James Johnston and James Frazer were among those who bitterly opposed it and helped draw up a paper against it that brought in question their allegiance to the government. Major Robert Porterfield was severe in his criticism, and Zechariah Johnston was very greatly disturbed by the incident.⁵⁴ He sold "Stone Fort" to Rev. John McCue, the new pastor at Tinkling Spring and moved to Lexington, Virginia, where he represented Rockbridge County in the House of Delegates, for a few terms before his death, January 7, 1800.⁵⁵

Zechariah Johnston's was but one among many ardently Christian Presbyterian homes of that era, as the church records clearly show. The revival that began at Hampden-Sydney crossed the Blue Ridge to Liberty Hall Academy, under the direction of Dr. William Graham, and from there spread through the Valley to quicken the spiritual life of all the churches.⁵⁶ In fact, the Presbyterian Church was rallying everywhere from the low ebb of war days. The territory the Synod of Philadelphia and New York covered reached from New York to Georgia and the need to "organize, as a Central Court, a representative assembly" was evident.⁵⁷ A church historian relates what happened in these words:

Accordingly a movement to this end was set on foot in 1786 and consummated in 1788. The synod was divided into four;—viz., the Synod of New York and

⁵²*Ibid.*, gp.

⁵³*Ibid.*, cs.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, bt; Palmer, *op. cit.*, V, 481-82.

⁵⁵Washington and Lee Papers, *op. cit.*, II, 99-100.

⁵⁶Lacy, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-72.

⁵⁷R. C. Reed, *History of the Presbyterian Churches of the World* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1927), p. 253.

New Jersey, with four presbyteries; Philadelphia, with five presbyteries; Virginia, with four presbyteries; and Carolinas, with three presbyteries. These sixteen presbyteries contained 177 ministers, 111 probationers, and 419 churches. The synod, at this same session in 1788, revised the Confession of Faith and the Larger Catechism . . . conforming these standards to the American idea of the complete separation of Church and state . . . then passed out of existence, giving place to the General Assembly, which met for the first time in 1789.⁵⁸

Lexington Presbytery was organized by order of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia,⁵⁹ to include the churches of the Valley, at Timber Ridge Church in Rockbridge County, September 26, 1786, with five ministers and no elders present. The Synod of Virginia was organized, by order of the general synod to include the three presbyteries of Hanover, Lexington and Redstone, at New Providence Church, 1788, with nine ministers and four elders present.⁶⁰

When the Presbyterian General Assembly met for the first time on May 21, 1789, in the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, George Washington's inauguration, as the first President of the United States, had taken place only two months previously.

Thus ended an era of struggle in the Valley that moved from a wilderness settled by dissenting Scots on tomahawk rights to a church and state organized separately, in which Tinkling Spring Meeting House had now become a Church. In these accomplishments her people had played no small part!

The light of truth, both scientific and religious, that brought these institutional accomplishments had a far reaching implication for all the human race. In later years Ex-President Thomas Jefferson, anticipating the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, wrote in his last letter:

All eyes are opened, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollection of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them.⁶¹

⁵⁸Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 253; *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1841), p. 548.

⁶⁰Records, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

⁶⁰Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, I, 1; Records, *op. cit.*, p. 548; Synod of Virginia, Minutes, 1788-1797, pp. 1-5.

⁶¹Bernard Mayo, editor, *Jefferson Himself, The Personal Narrative of a Many-Sided American* (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942), p. 345.

THE ARRIVAL OF REV. JOHN McCUE

The County of Augusta continued to bear many marks of a frontier. The earliest returns of commissioners of revenue for Augusta, in 1787, show the number of horses and mules to be 7,747 and the cattle twice that number. The mode of transportation was still by horse-back; the county had only two, two-wheeled riding-carriages—none with four wheels!⁶² Travelers through the Valley in this period pointed up the "frontier crudeness of the place." A traveler by carriage between Winchester and Staunton on "the Great Road" found the going so rough that his carriage "broke into a hundred pieces, and at the first smithy," he "determined to abandon the vehicle and proceed on horseback."⁶³

There was as yet no mail service in the county⁶⁴ except the transmission of letters by volunteer express—the rider including in his saddlebags a wallet, in which he carried letters, to be opened and examined where the traveler lodged.⁶⁵

The right to vote was still restricted to freeholders, and as late as 1811 there were only 785 votes cast in an Augusta election.⁶⁶

Manual labor continued to be the task of the head of the household, for the slave population in 1790 was less than ten per cent of the total.⁶⁷

Tinkling Spring Church remained vacant from the removal of Mr. Waddell about 1784 to the arrival of Rev. John McCue in 1791. Supplies were regularly requested from the Presbytery of Lexington during this period and from time to time presbytery appointed supplies, particularly for the purpose of administering the Lord's Supper and preaching on the "preparation Sabbath."⁶⁸ Neighboring ministers who supplied during this vacancy were the Reverend Messrs. William Wilson of Augusta Stone; Archibald Scott of Bethel and Hebron; and Samuel Carrick, itinerant minister of Virginia and Tennessee.

It was no doubt during this vacancy, soon after the removal of the North Mountain Congregation to Bethel,⁶⁹ that the church lost a num-

⁶²Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 339; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁶³Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 166; A. J. Morrison, *Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times* (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1922), pp. 67-69.

⁶⁴There were in 1789 only seventy-five post offices in the United States.

⁶⁵Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 346; Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁶⁶Jed. Hotchkiss and Joseph A. Waddell, *Historical Atlas of Augusta County, Virginia* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins & Co., 1885), p. 17.

⁶⁷Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 15.

⁶⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, I, 12, *et passim*.

⁶⁹Herbert S. Turner, *Bethel and Her Ministers, 1746-1946* ([n.p.:n.n.], 1946), p. 55.

ber of her families near Greenville to the Bethel Church—notably the Christian family. They were charter members, very active in leadership until 1779 when Elders John and William Christian died. The Bolivar Christian family Bible states that “thirty-six of name of Christian are buried in Tinkling Spring graveyard.”⁷⁰ Yet after this vacancy, few by the name of Christian appear in any of the church records, not even among the stones of the old cemetery, where the stones decayed many decades before being otherwise recorded.

Though twenty-five years had passed since his death, the debt to Rev. John Craig had never been settled to the satisfaction of presbytery. The Lexington Presbytery Minutes, after recording a “Verbal Supplication” from Tinkling Spring for supplies in the spring of 1789, relates:

Mr. Hoge reported that the Church of Tinkling Spring have not complied with a former Requisition of Presb.—to discharge, by voluntary contribution certain Arrearages yet due to the Estate of the late Rev’d Jno. Craig their former Pastor—⁷¹

That a pledge made to Mr. Craig forty-nine years earlier by his father was considered an obligation, though not a debt, by Zechariah Johnston, is evidenced in the wording of a receipt from James Frazer, the Tinkling Spring treasurer in 1779, noting “also two Dollars Gratis to Mr. Craig’s Heirs.”⁷²

The Lord was preparing the man destined to be the man-of-the-hour for Tinkling Spring—John McCue.

The McCues came from North Ireland, being Scotch Covenanter stock, in 1731 and settled in Pennsylvania. It is said to have been in the year 1739 that they joined the migration of Ulster Scots in the Valley of Virginia. But, like John Caldwell and Michael Woods, they did not stop their trek until they had passed through Woods Gap to the safer, eastside of the Blue Ridge, where they settled in what is now Nelson County, Virginia. It was there that John McCue was born, May 8, 1753, to John McCue, Gent., and Eleanor Matthews McCue.⁷³

From childhood this lad was interested in learning, and the most au-

⁷⁰Bible Family records, The Bolivar Christian Bible.

⁷¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, I, 43.

⁷²Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, ak.

⁷³John N. McCue, *The McCues of the Old Dominion* (Mexico, Missouri: Missouri Ptg. & Pub. Co., 1912), pp. 11, 13.

thentic information about his schooling comes from his brother, Major Moses McCue, in a conversation with a Tinkling Spring pastor in 1842. Mr. Smith's Diary relates:

. . . To breakfast Friday M. at Maj. McCues—old lady not very well—Maj. talkative as ever—gave this sketch of Mr. J. McCue (Rev.) his brother.

Went first to School to Rev. Mr. Leake then to Mr. Irvine. Then Dr. Wadell & to Lexington. After licensure labored in Lewisburg. Then when on a visit to his friends here invited & took this Congr: a remarkably laborious man & laid up much for children killed by fall from his horse.⁷⁴

The Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy in 1785 decided to confer A. B. degrees on twelve of their "Meritorious Young Men"⁷⁵ who had completed their course of study, one of whom was John McCue. He, like Moses Hoge,⁷⁶ studied theology under the direction of the Tinkling Spring Pastor, Rev. James Waddell, at Springhill. It is said that this course was followed in spite of Thomas Jefferson's advice to turn from the ministry to the profession of law, in which Mr. Jefferson held out inducements of great reward.⁷⁷

The McCue family biographer makes but one reference to Mr. McCue's academic accomplishments, in which he says, "Rev. McCue spent much time upon his sermons, always writing them in Latin. A volume containing them is today [1912] in the hands of his great grandson . . ."⁷⁸

Mr. McCue was licensed to the gospel ministry by Hanover Presbytery at Timber Ridge on May 22, 1782 and was ordained in August 1783,⁷⁹ after which he accepted work at Camp Union near Lewisburg and Good Hope in Green Brier.⁸⁰

In the April meeting of Lexington Presbytery 1791, the Reverend John McCue was cited to appear at the fall meeting and inform the

⁷⁴Benjamin M. Smith, *The Diary of*, VI, 97. Rev. Samuel Leake and Rev. William Irvine were Presbyterian pastors of Hanover Presbytery, laboring in the present Nelson County area.

⁷⁵Washington and Lee Papers, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

⁷⁶William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1858), III, 427.

⁷⁷McCue, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁹Hanover Minutes, 1769-1785, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 152, 155.

⁸⁰McCue, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

presbytery of the "Reasons of his Absence last Winter from his Charge."⁸¹ The minutes of the fall meeting leave this record:

Mr. M.Cue appeared agreeably to the Request of last Presb. and assigned the Reasons of Absence from his Congregation last Winter—which Reasons were sustained.

Mr. McCue requested a Dismission from his Charge in Green Brier & produced testimonials from the Session of the sd Congregations signifying the consent of the people to a seperation. The Presbytery therefore agree to dismiss Mr. M.Cue from his late Charge.

Presb'y were informed by Mr. M.Cue and an Elder [Samuel Pilson] of Tinkling Spring Church—that the Church of Tinkling Spring in Conjunction with the Inhabitants of Staunton have invited Mr. M.Cue to take pastoral Charge of them—Mr. M.Cue signified his willingness to accept of their Invitation—and Presb'y agree that Mr. M.Cue take the pastoral Charge of the Church of Tinkling Spring and the Inhabitants of Staunton.⁸²

Mr. McCue, it appears, took charge of this work without formal call or installation as pastor. All of his twenty-seven years' pastorate in this place was done as stated supply.

Dr. Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College, gave in 1890 a few characteristics of this man of God. He says this in part:

The Rev. John McCue . . . was a good man. When he chose—which was not often—he could tell comic stories in a manner irresistibly ludicrous. Once, in a fit of excitement, he suffered the irascibility of his constitution to get the mastery, for a moment, over his christian equanimity. He and a certain gentlemen fell into a dispute which rose to a quarrel, at least on the part of the gentleman, who used provoking language, and at last said, "Sir, if it were not for your parson's coat, I would give you a drubbing." Mr. McCue put his hands down before him, stooped a little, sniffed in a way peculiar to him, and sidling up to the gentleman said, "Never mind the coat, sir, never mind the coat."⁸³

Mr. McCue married, about the time he completed his theological studies in 1781 or 1782, Elizabeth Allen, daughter of James, and granddaughter of William Allen, the immigrant, of the Augusta Stone Church.

⁸¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, I, 84.

⁸²*Ibid.*, I, 91-92. Mr. Samuel Pilson was enrolled as an elder at the opening of presbytery, and since he belonged at Tinkling Spring, it is presumed that he is the elder that spoke for Staunton and Tinkling Spring in the invitation to Mr. McCue.

⁸³Washington and Lee Papers, *op. cit.*, I, 37.

The Reverend Philip V. Fithian visited both the elder James Allen's and Mrs. John McCue's homes in January 1776. He relates:

So I went and quartered with another Man, for Elder *Allen* has no Feed for Horses. It was a Gentleman of the same Name, *James Allen*—But of another Disposition; He has Plenty of Food for Horses; He lives elegantly—has plenty of Meat for me; And has two Daughters of Taste.

Women of Taste born & educated in Augusta!—You tell Wonders, Fithian; I tell Truth, Miss Jenny Allen [Jane, then twenty] is a Girl of Taste. And Betsey [Elizabeth, then fifteen, later Mrs. McCue] too—At their Wheels you shall see them Neat;—Exposed to the Curse of the Irish here, they wear Rolls, & dress their Hair high!⁸⁴

At what time the McCue family—wife and four children—moved from the “Levels of Green Brier” back to Augusta County is not recorded. Mr. McCue purchased from Zechariah Johnston “The Stone Fort” on Long Meadow Run, having included in the trade some of his Kentucky lands, and the title is dated June 19, 1792.⁸⁵ The Johnstons having been at this date already settled in Rockbridge County, it appears the McCues may have moved to “The Stone Fort” late in 1791 or early in 1792.

THE CHURCH MOVES FORWARD WITH JOHN MCCUE

Hardly had the McCues become settled in their work until “flagrant” reports were being passed around freely concerning Mr. McCue's conduct. He had sung a hymn in public worship that contained “erroneous sentiments” and joined “a certain Association much to his prejudice in the Opinion of people in general and to the offence of the Church.” The Moderator of Lexington Presbytery, the Reverend Edward Crawford, at the April meeting, 1792, in Mr. McCue's absence, informed the presbytery of the report “that Mr. McCue has acted much out of Character.” Presbytery's clerk was ordered “. . . to cite him to attend at our next Stated Meeting in order to inform Presb'y respecting the truth or falsehood of sd Reports.”⁸⁶

The Masonic lodge took special notice of this citation and prepared for Mr. McCue's defense. Their minutes record:

Brother John McCue be furnished with a copy of the Bye Laws and that one

⁸⁴*Philip Vickers Fithian, Journals: 1775-1776* (Robert G. Albion and Leonidas Dodson, editors; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1934), p. 177.

⁸⁵Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book XXVII, 307, cited in Chalkley, *op. cit.*, III, 594; Johnston Papers, *op. cit.*, dj.

⁸⁶Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, I, 128.

or more of the Brethren attend him withe charter, on his examination of the Presbytery.⁸⁷

Accompanied by Mr. Walter Davis, a Tinkling Spring elder of thirty years' experience, and with "Missionaries Fund" from his people in hand, Mr. McCue attended the presbytery meeting of September 18, 1792, at Harrisonburg, Virginia. Early in the session, the presbytery set Mr. McCue's hearing as an order of the day for the second day.⁸⁸

The time having arrived, they heard Mr. McCue. The minutes relate:

Agreeably to the Order of yesterday Mr. McCue's affair as stated in the Minutes of our last stated Meeting was taken up and proceeded in as follows Viz.—

Presb'y enquired at Mr. McCue if the Report respecting his singing the Hymn above refered to was true?—To which he replied it was true; but that he highly disapproved of the exceptionable parts contained therein, and that he would not have used sd Hymn, had he been acquainted with it previous to his Entering the Pulpit; but the Hymn being handed to him after the people were seated for worship; he felt his situation peculiarly embarrassed; and concluded that fewer bad Consequences would follow from his using the Hymn with an Explication than from rejecting it in the Situation, in which he then was—

The above Acknowledgement with the Reasons for Mr. McCues conduct being heard and considered—The Question was put is the Presb'y satisfied with Mr. McCue's Acknowledgement?—And the vote was unanimous in the affirmative.—

Again Mr. McCue was asked if he had joined the Association refered to in the Minutes of our last stated Meeting, that is, the *Masonic Body*? to which he replied that he had—and that the Reasons were, he viewed it as a step that would open the way & enable him to be more useful in his office, especially to that Order of men—And notwithstanding as far as he has yet learned, or seen of that Institution, he has met with nothing in his opinion immoral: yet because joining of it had given offence to Christian Brethren he had declined associating with the Masons as a distinct Body and was determined so to do—and that he will endeavor to avoid every thing that might give offence to the Church of Jesus Christ, or Christian Brethren—

The above Acknowledgement with the Reasons for Mr. McCue's conduct & his promises with Respect to his future Behavior being heard and considered—the Question was put—Is the Presb'y Satisfied with Mr. McCue's acknowledgement respecting his past Conduct & his professions with respect to his Resolutions for the future? And the Members unanimously voted in the affirmative.⁸⁹

The "Resolutions for the future" on Mr. McCue's part were, no doubt, counteracted by the influence of the Tinkling Spring men. The

⁸⁷Staunton Lodge No. 13, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, Minutes of May 31, 1792.

⁸⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, I, 144, 149. It cannot go unnoticed that others had not complied with presbytery's order concerning the Missionary Fund.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, I, 155-56.

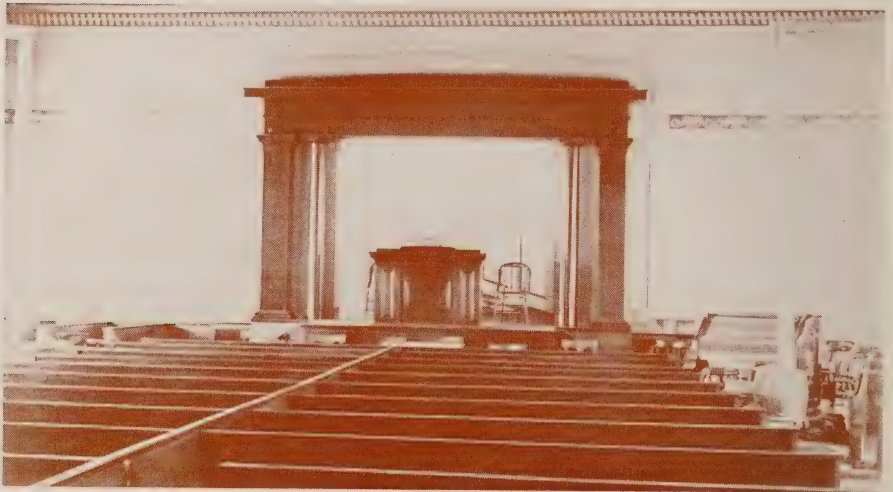


Figure XXIV
The Stone Sanctuary Constructed About 1792



Exterior

Session House



Sanctuary

Figure XXV
The Brick Church Dedicated in 1850

list of Masons in 1765 and 1766 who met prior to the Staunton Lodge No. 13 charter reads like an extract from the old church subscription list: Armstrong, Black, Caldwell, Christian, Davis, Huttson, Long, McCollough, Turk, etc. To these old family connections of long standing could be added, in McCue's day, other Tinkling Spring men active in masonic work, such as Alexander, Craig, Brooks, Gibson, Johnston, Stuart, Wayt, etc.

Rumors about the new pastor, with Lexington Presbytery questioning and the Masonic Lodge supporting, made a dramatic setting for the appointment by the Masons of a sermon to be preached by Mr. McCue, June 24, 1793, on the Anniversary Celebration of St. John the Baptist. What the public thought of the sermon we have no way of knowing, but the Staunton Lodge was elated over the success of the occasion. The minutes relate in part:

Ordered . . . a committee to meet at the Hall on Thursday next to draw up a Bill of thanks to the Rev'd Jno. McCue for his truly pertinent & Masonic Sermon Delivered this Day . . .

The committee reported a fee of \$8.00 paid Mr. McCue as a gratuity. It is quite evident from the minutes that Mr. McCue continued a very active member of his Masonic Lodge.⁹⁰

The first work of the church after Mr. McCue's arrival was the rebuilding of the church, completing the initial efforts of 1777 by Mr. Waddel which the war had disrupted.⁹¹ It is unusual, but true, that the church's experience is related in the preamble of an Act passed, December 6, 1792, at the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia:

An Act appointing Trustees for the sale of certain lands, the property of the Tinkling Spring Congregation, in the County of Augusta.

WHEREAS it has been represented to the General Assembly, That a number of persons resident in the county of Augusta, called and known by the name of the Tinkling Spring Congregation, purchased from a certain William Thompson, a tract or parcel of land for the purpose of erecting thereon a house of worship, and caused the same to be vested in trustees for their benefit, all of whom are since dead; AND WHEREAS the house of worship erected thereon as aforesaid, has nearly gone to decay, and it is the wish of the said congregation

⁹⁰Lodge Minutes, *op. cit.*, May 30, 1793; June 24, 27, 1793; December 27, 1795.

⁹¹Benjamin M. Smith dates the rebuilding prior to the arrival of Mr. McCue, but all other records indicate it was later. Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, Legislative Petition October 15, 1792 from Tinkling Spring congregation.

to dispose of such part of said land, as may be sufficient to repair the same, or build others . . . ⁹²

The legislators proceeded to appoint a board of trustees, specify the manner of filling vacancies and impose upon that board the rights vested in the original commissioners. The men of the congregation appointed as trustees were as follows: Joseph Bell, Walter Davis, James Frazer, Andrew Fulton, James Steele, Benjamin Stuart and Robert Stuart.

The people proceeded under the direction of these trustees to rebuild. They sold 107 acres of land to William Caldwell on June 15, 1794 for one hundred English pounds to help defray expenses.⁹³ The construction was of stone, the dimension sixty by thirty feet⁹⁴ and there was included a gallery which was entered by ladder from the outside at one end of the building. The location near the spring where the old log structure had stood was abandoned for the top of the knoll, two hundred yards to the east where the present brick building stands.

The only church record left of this rebuilding is the list of eighteen men in one district who gave £48.10s., with the heading, "The Subscribers names for the Meeting house in shewing who has paid and who not paid within Joseph Bells District—May 2d 1793."⁹⁵

The records show \$80.50 spent ten years later on iron stoves and pipe for the church by Mr. A. Hunter,⁹⁶ this being the first record of any heat inside the church sanctuary, though the smaller building adjacent to the church had always had heat of some kind.

Dr. Smith tells us that under Mr. McCue's leadership ". . . without a special awakening there was a steady growth of the Church."⁹⁷ It was inevitable that the church would profit spiritually from the general awakening that swept the Valley at this time. The Presbytery of Lexington, in 1793 reported to the General Assembly ". . . that they have reason gratefully to acknowledge the goodness of God in pouring out his Spirit upon several of their Churches . . ."⁹⁸

⁹²*Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1792* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by Augustine Davis, Printer for the public, 1793), p. 93.

⁹³Augusta Deed Book, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 237.

⁹⁴Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:468, October, 1852.

⁹⁵Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁹⁶Tinkling Spring Church Records, Papers, 1803-1826, Subscription Lists and Accounts, p. 1.

⁹⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, 2:469, October, 1852.

⁹⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

This period witnessed the incorporation of Staunton Academy for boys on December 4, 1792. Mr. McCue was active in this undertaking, his name heading the list of teachers appointed by the legislature. Rooms for the Academy classes were provided by the trustees until 1810. The building was constructed when Judge Archibald Stuart gave the lot and public funds were used in conjunction with what help was given by the Masonic fraternity, who occupied the upper room as their hall.⁹⁹ The Reverend James Waddell's oldest son, James Gordon Waddell, served as principal and "taught the Classics" in Staunton Academy in 1810 and others of the Waddell family were outstanding in their work in this school in later years.

There were other stirring events of the county that were of interest to Mr. McCue. Archibald Stuart, whose family was native to Tinkling Spring, began his law practice in Staunton in 1785, was made Judge of the General Court in 1799 and represented Augusta in the Virginia Senate for a number of years. He was closely associated with Zechariah Johnston in the Constitutional Convention of 1788. It was in 1793 that Mr. Archibald Stuart, serving as Commonwealth's Attorney, took vigorous steps to prosecute a certain jail-breaking horse thief of Augusta. The jurors—about half of whom were Mr. McCue's men from Tinkling Spring and Staunton—found the criminal guilty, and he was sentenced to be "hung on Friday, October 18, 1793, between 10 A.M. and 2 P.M." Public sympathy was aroused, and a petition went to Governor Lee for pardon—a number of the petitioners being Mr. McCue's relatives and parishioners. However, the governor was unmoved by the prisoner's "extremely penitent" reformation, and the County Court ordered the sheriff, John Tate, to erect a gallows, "at the fork of the roads" (the point where Augusta and New Streets now unite) and there the prisoner "paid the penalty of his life for a paltry offence" on the date specified. "It is related that the Rev. John McCue was present at the execution and betrayed great emotion."¹⁰⁰

It was Judge Archibald Stuart who stood firmly, no doubt with the hearty backing of his minister, against the notorious Bob Bailey of Staunton. He called himself a "sportsman" but was, by order of the court, to be "deemed and treated as a vagrant" because of his introduc-

⁹⁹A. Brooks Booker, "History of the Academies of Augusta County, Virginia," (unpublished Master's thesis, the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1949), p. 56.

¹⁰⁰Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

tion of an "unlawful gaming table" into a Staunton tavern. The public records and his confessions reveal him to have been a very popular man of great influence with a corrupt character brought to its miserable state by gambling.¹⁰¹

It was not until this period—August, 1794, to be exact—that Indian incursions on the western frontier were stopped. General Anthony Wayne, known as "Mad Anthony," fought and won the last encounter with them in Ohio. This final achievement, to climax his exploits made General Wayne a popular hero. His namesakes in Augusta give evidence of his esteem here. The Wayne Tavern of early days at Beverley and New Streets was named for him. The small settlement at the ford on South River, where William and Mary Love Teas set themselves up as inn-keepers, had come to be known as Teasville; but the community, no doubt taking into account the reputation of the inn, took the General's name and called their growing village Waynesborough.¹⁰² Mr. McCue was the first preacher to minister in this embryonic city.

In March 1797 "smallpox was raging in Staunton,"¹⁰³ and inevitably the Presbyterian minister was there among his people serving, encouraging and comforting them in the face of this dreaded killer of that day!

The records are too scanty of the ingathering of souls through the church by this good man of great spiritual qualities, as he went in and out among his people. Though it is only a hint at his success as a winner of souls, the new families represented in a subscription list for the iron stoves "and Repairing the Session house" at Tinkling Spring is indicative of a rich ingathering.¹⁰⁴

The Presbytery of Lexington developed through the years a system by which each church was required to report the degree to which mutual duties and obligations were being discharged between pastor and people. Such a report of Tinkling Spring indicates a healthy spiritual condition in these words:

A written report from the session of Tinkling Spring Church was presented to Presby. stating the performance of the reciprocal duties & engagements between Pastor & people for the term of 9 years preceding Sept'r 1800 excepting the very small pecuniary failure on the part of the people of £3.19.10.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, pp. 377-80.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 346.

¹⁰³Chalkley, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

¹⁰⁴Papers, 1803-1826, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-2a.

¹⁰⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 59.

The church made regularly such reports during Mr. McCue's pastorate. They often reported "a small pecuniary deficiency" as the church's failure.¹⁰⁶

The early 1800's brought specific signs that the frontier flavor of the area was giving way to more modern ways of life. In 1793 the Staunton post office was established.¹⁰⁷ In 1800 there were listed two four-wheeled carriages, one of which was Archibald Stuart's "Chariot."¹⁰⁸ By 1815 there were thirteen four-wheeled carriages and fifty two-wheeled gigs—one of the latter was owned by Rev. John McCue.¹⁰⁹ In the year 1810 the county population was 14,338, Staunton 1,223 and Waynesborough 250.¹¹⁰

In the first decade of the century there appeared the *Staunton Eagle*, the county's first newspaper. It was published in English with a few issues in German, but was not successful. It was succeeded in 1808 by the *Republican Farmer*, whose editor, Isaac Collett, was in politics "decidedly a Federal Character." The political division at the time was "Federalists" and "Republicans."¹¹¹

A Valley traveler of the period expressed surprise:

. . . at finding so many men with military titles . . . there is hardly a decent person in it [Staunton], excepting lawyers and medical men, but what is a colonel, a major, or captain.¹¹²

Colonel Robert Porterfield, who settled on South River near Waynesboro after the Revolution, was sheriff of the county in 1800 and was elected a brigadier general of the state troops in 1810.¹¹³ General Porterfield was a member of the Tinkling Spring Church—at what time he joined the church is not recorded.¹¹⁴

With our modern methods in trade, assumed to be necessities, we cannot grasp the tenacity with which these earlier tradesmen faced and conquered the difficulties before them to establish a stable economy.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 45, 123, 147, 171, 238; V, 37, 68.

¹⁰⁷Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 346. United States Post Offices increased from seventy-five in 1789 to 903 in 1800.

¹⁰⁸Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁰*Loc. cit.*

¹¹¹Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-83.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, p. 350, citing Isaac Weld's travels.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 265, 281, 336-37, 384-85 and 438, citing General Porterfield's record,

¹¹⁴Tinkling Spring Church Records, The Register, 1840-1882, p. 34.

Perchance, a story about Mrs. John McCue's nephew, Allen Trimble, will give us a better glimpse of it than statistics or analyses.

Allen Trimble was a grandson of Mary Christian Moffett Trimble of Tinkling Spring and a son of Jane Allen Trimble, sister to Mrs. John McCue, and was, therefore, closely related to many families in Augusta County—among them Andersons, Bells, Christians, Crawfords, McCues and Trimbles. He was the eleven months old baby in his mother's lap on the previously mentioned 1783 trek of Augusta people to Kentucky. When Allen Trimble was twenty years old he, with most earnest persuasion, secured the financial backing of his father, Captain James Trimble, in fattening hogs—those raised and purchased in Kentucky—to be sold on the Richmond, Virginia, market. With his project well under way in 1804, his father set all the slaves free, proceeded to contract for frontier land in Ohio, then took suddenly ill and died. Allen Trimble became responsible for a widowed mother, seven brothers and sisters and his father's legal contracts. It was, therefore, with deep interest and very great admiration for this young man that a host of friends and relatives observed him as he blazed the Kanawha trade route, in preference to the Cumberland Gap route, up the Kanawha River to the mouth of the Gauley and across the mountains to Lewisburg thence, by way of Staunton and Charlottesville, to Richmond—and its market. Allen Trimble and his drivers had set out October 20, 1804 from their Kentucky home driving five hundred hogs!¹¹⁵ There was no doubt a rapid passing of the news to neighbors and friends when, a month later, he herded his hogs in the woods and went to spend the night with relatives near Staunton. They all might well have lined the road to cheer Trimble and his hogs, for, in spite of the failure in developing water transportation for trade, there is typified here a trade channel that was operating—though slow and laborious. This was the beginning of an important trade-route for Ohio-Kentucky-Virginia trade which developed until “. . . immense droves of hogs . . . drove after drove came through Staunton.”¹¹⁶ Incidentally, Allen Trimble later became the Governor of Ohio.

Thus the frontier flavor of Augusta's secular way of life was beginning to blend toward our present manner of living—better communica-

¹¹⁵ Allen Trimble, "Autobiography of Allen Trimble," *The "Old Northwestern" Genealogical Quarterly*, 10:19-22, January, 1907; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

¹¹⁶ Trimble, *op. cit.*, 10:110-26, April, 1907; Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

tion in post office facilities and newspapers, better transportation in roads and trade routes, better school facilities—but what about the church?

This period also saw a greatly desired transition from Presbyterian monopoly, battling an established church, to the free operation of a number of vigorous churches—the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches themselves becoming better churches in the process. The first Lutheran Church in Augusta, Trinity on South River near Waynesboro, was built in 1780 and was followed by Mount Tabor near Middlebrook in 1785. The Tunker (German) Baptist was first organized in 1790 and the German Reformed about the same time, though the exact date is unknown. The first Methodist Episcopal Church was built about 1797, but the Conference first records the Staunton Circuit in 1806.¹¹⁷

No doubt these new neighboring churches helped condition Tinkling Spring for a major change in her form of worship. A member of the church recalled a Sunday evening service in communion season, about 1813 or 1814, when a visiting preacher broke the local tradition of singing only David's Psalms. He wrote:

... Mr. Greyham [possibly the Mr. Graham then licensed to preach by Lexington Presbytery] at the close of his sermon gave out one of Watt's hymns, David's Psalms being entirely used, not knowing whether our Clerks, Charles Patrick, and Samuel Steele would sing. The hymn was, Life is the time to serve the Lord; tune old Rockbridge. Mr. Greyham sang and parcelled out the lines; he had a delightful voice. Mr. McCue was in favor of the new Psalms and Hymns, but many of the old people were not; he was so delighted, but no singer; he would make a great effort to sing, would look over the Old Hogshead Pulpit, first to the right to see if the Ramseys, Diddles, and others were singing; and then on the left, to see if the Bushes, Halls, Hunters, and others were singing. The pulpit was too high for him to see in front to see the Davies, McClures, Guthries, Pilsons, Henderson, Fulton, Patrick, Steele, and others. His anxiety was so great, he rose up and just peeped over the pulpit in place of getting up.¹¹⁸

Dissension arose because of the use of Watt's hymns and some withdrew from the church but a compromise was reached in which, until the end of Mr. McCue's pastorate, they sang some of each. Upon the arrival of a new pastor this arrangement ceased and Tinkling Spring sang hymns

¹¹⁷Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

¹¹⁸Matthew Pilson, Esq., "Recollections of Tinkling Spring," *The Young Virginian*, 3:84, November, 1876.

freely. She was the last of the Valley Presbyterian churches to give up Psalm singing.¹¹⁹

The Augusta Parish, centering in Staunton, was served from 1752 to 1769 by the Reverend John Jones, an Episcopal rector who, in 1769, ". . . being incapable of the Ministerial Function through age and infirmity agreed . . . to hire a curate to officiate in his stead."¹²⁰ The Reverend Alexander Balmaine, a Scot from Edinburgh (previously a Presbyterian), became curate in 1773.¹²¹ He espoused heartily the cause of freedom and left Staunton to serve during the Revolution as a chaplain in the Virginia line.¹²² It was not until 1811 that the Episcopalians re-occupied the old parish church. Dr. Waddell tells us, "For some fourteen or fifteen years the parish church was occupied by Episcopalians and Presbyterians on alternate Sundays."¹²³

STAUNTON ORGANIZES A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The story of the Staunton work up to this point has been related in connection with Tinkling Spring. First there were the itinerant preachers: McAden, who was entertained by Mrs. John Preston and preached in the court house in 1755;¹²⁴ and Fithian, who in 1775 and 1776 visited Staunton but tells about the taverns and makes no reference to her churches.¹²⁵ There was the effort in 1765 to build a Presbyterian meeting house in which presbytery requested deferment because of the location.¹²⁶ The Reverend James Waddel preached there part time after 1776 and was called, jointly with Tinkling Spring, in 1783, and though he continued to serve for about a year, did not accept the call, probably because Tinkling Spring's subscriptions were inadequate.

The Presbyterian "Inhabitants" of Staunton joined with Tinkling Spring in calling Mr. McCue in 1791. As has been noted above, he was active in public affairs of Staunton where he served as their minister until 1800,¹²⁷ probably using the old parish church as a place of worship.

¹¹⁹Pilson, *op. cit.*, 3:84, November, 1876.

¹²⁰Chalkley, *op. cit.*, II, 459.

¹²¹*Loc. cit.*

¹²²Fithian, *op. cit.*, p. 180 footnote; Brydon, *op. cit.*, II, 133.

¹²³Waddell Annals, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

¹²⁴William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), p. 162.

¹²⁵Fithian, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 176.

¹²⁶Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1758-1769, p. 77.

¹²⁷*Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Minutes of the General Assembly*, 1799, p. 165.

In presbytery's report to the General Assembly in 1802 the Staunton work is recorded as associated with Brown's Meeting House and Bethel under the pastoral care of Rev. John Glendy.¹²⁸ In the same year, the "Inhabitants of Staunton"—with no mention of McCue or Tinkling Spring—sent a letter to Lexington Presbytery in behalf of a certain William Chipley, requesting that he be given authority to preach the gospel.¹²⁹ However, Mr. Chipley was suspended shortly thereafter and presbytery refused to restore him to its list of candidates for the ministry.¹³⁰

The record of how the Presbyterian "Inhabitants of Staunton" became a church is told in the presbytery minutes of May 12, 1804:

Pres rec'd a letter from commissioners appointed by the people of Staunton requesting to have that Society taken under its care and organized according to the Presbyterian forms of government, and also to be regularly supplied untill a stated Pastor be obtained.

Whereupon the Rev'd Messrs. John Montgomery and Benj'n Irwin were appointed to assist them in their organization and to supply them untill our next meeting as often as convenient.¹³¹

At its fall meeting, November 6, 1804, presbytery heard again from Staunton:

A memorial was presented from Cong'ns of Browns M. House & Staunton requesting leave to present a call to the Rev'd Wm. Calhoun of Hanover Pres. which was granted—sd cong'ns also solicit supplies.¹³²

It was a year later that Rev. William Calhoun was received by transfer and presbytery proceeded to order, November 1, 1805, his installation:

The Rev'd Messrs Wilson & McCue were appointed a Com'tee to install the Rev'd Wm Calhoun Pastor of the United Congregations of Staunton & Brown's meeting house as soon as convenient between this and our next meeting.¹³³

For some reason, evidently providential, the installation had not taken place as scheduled,¹³⁴ though the Calhoons were already living and

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 1802, p. 240.

¹²⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 97.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, IV, 118-19, 219.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, IV, 137. Mr. Montgomery was pastor at Rocky Spring and Mr. Irwin at Mossy Creek.

¹³²*Ibid.*, IV, 146.

¹³³*Ibid.*, IV, 181, 191. Rev. William Wilson was pastor at Augusta Stone Church.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, IV, 196.

working there.¹⁸⁵ Finally on August 2, 1806, the committee reported that Mr. Calhoun had been "in due form installed."¹⁸⁶

Early ruling elders were Joseph Bell, Joseph Cowan, Andrew Barry, Samuel Clarke and John Young. The first house of worship was constructed in 1818, and remains to this day, though altered in appearance, as a part of the Mary Baldwin College buildings. The charter members of the church numbered not more than twenty.¹⁸⁷

While the Presbyterians of Staunton were assuming responsibility for their own work, the work of Mr. McCue in Waynesboro was bearing fruit. On December 28, 1815, Lexington Presbytery recognized them as a "Society"—an informal organization attached to Tinkling Spring. Presbytery records:

A newly formed Society, requesting through the Rev'd John McCue, to be received, by the name of Waynesborough, under the care of presbytery, in connexion with the Church of Tinkling Spring which request was granted.¹⁸⁸

The Reverend John McCue was a faithful presbyter, in spite of his constant tardiness in attendance. His supply work, assigned by presbytery, was frequently on the distant Greenbrier River—where he began his ministry—and he was diligent in fulfilling these appointments, though transportation by horseback was laborious. He was six times elected moderator of Lexington Presbytery—in 1790, 1796, 1798, 1807, 1812 and 1817.¹⁸⁹ On six occasions presbytery placed him on their list of Commissioners or Alternates to the General Assembly; these appointments he declined, except in the years 1804 and 1817.¹⁴⁰

While submissive to the will of the majority in presbytery, he was an independent thinker. An occasion of his registered dissent from the majority not only reveals the thinking of Mr. McCue but also recites for us some of the debated questions of right and wrong of that day. His presbytery leaves in 1798 this record in part:

The Presb finding by the information of a Member that Dancing Schools & the practice of dancing at marriages & other gatherings of young people are

¹⁸⁵Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 240.

¹⁸⁶Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 214.

¹⁸⁷Arista Hoge, editor, *The First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Virginia* (Staunton, Virginia: Press of Caldwell-Sites Company, 1908), p. 34; Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 217. Andrew Barry's second marriage was to Rev. John McCue's daughter, Mary (Polly).

¹⁸⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VI, 99.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, I, 53; III, 65, 115; IV, 238; V, 22; VI, 134.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, III, 50; IV, 117, 148, 155, 168, 239-40; V, 3; Assembly Minutes, *op. cit.*, 1804, p. 286 and 1817, p. 640.

become customary . . . The Presb. viewing such practices inconsistent with the interest of Religion, the increase of useful knowledge & the purity of Morals, do hereby declare their concurrence with the catechisms of our church in prohibiting dancing, which part in our catechism, we concur, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures: And do request their members & churches under our care to be careful in withstanding all such practices. For Presb. view persons indulging in the above practice censurable.¹⁴¹

Mr. McCue was serving as the moderator of presbytery and his disagreement with this manner of handling this question is registered, in bold penmanship, immediately following the minute of their action, in these words: "I do dissent to the above minute, John McCue."¹⁴²

The brethren of presbytery were evidently unhappy over this matter or Mr. McCue, perchance, may have sought, eighteen months later, to clarify his position. The record, made when presbytery met at Washington Academy on October 16, 1799, relates:

On motion Pres. requested of the Rev. Jno McCue his reasons for dissenting . . . Whereupon, in explanation of his conduct he produced the following statement which was voted fully satisfactory

"The reason why I dissented from the minute respecting dancing, is simply this, that I have not seen the expediency of such a measure to prevent that practice . . . really supposing it would rather irritate than produce the desired effect . . . may not a similar step be taken against an undue delay of marriage, idleness, gluttony, backbiting, slandering, waggoning & traveling on the Lords Day. . . . I am very far from designing an opposition to any of the standards [the church catechism] . . . or commencing an advocate for dancing. On the contrary, I will yield to few in point of attachment to these standards. This I think one member cannot, will not attempt to disprove."¹⁴³

THE MCCUE FAMILY

The Reverend John McCue was the fourth generation by the same name. In Scotland after 1650, John McCue, according to tradition, married Mary Moffett. In Ireland after 1700, the second John McCue is alleged to have married Sarah McDowell. In America John McCue, the third generation, about 1750, married Eleanor Mathews and their oldest son they called John McCue. This Rev. John McCue had four sisters and three brothers. His own children by Elizabeth Allen numbered eleven.¹⁴⁴

Major Moses McCue followed his brother, Rev. John McCue, from

¹⁴¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, III, 123.

¹⁴²*Loc. cit.*

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, III, 165-66.

¹⁴⁴McCue, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-28.

Nelson County to Augusta as a young man and, having married Sarah Smith in 1800, settled at "Greenwood" near Fishersville. He became prominent in county affairs. His military activity was noteworthy. The McCue history cites a news item of 1811, mentioning Captain McCue, that indicates the enthusiasm with which the fourth of July was then celebrated:

The day was announced by one discharge from the artillery of Capt. McCue's company at daybreak, and seventeen at sunrise. About 12 o'clock the Artillery company and Capt. Poage's troop of cavalry paraded the streets of Staunton.¹⁴⁵

The military companies then marched to Dr. Peter Heiskell's spring for a patriotic address, a barbecue dinner and toasts. In the evening the militia performed, "several interesting evolutions" and "Seventeen discharges from the cannon closed the celebration of the day."¹⁴⁶ He served in public offices for the county—among them sheriff for some years—and is said to have been noted for his:

. . . politeness, prudence, fortitude and justness. He had a very steady nerve—and it is alleged that he could carry [while riding horseback] a goblet level full of water all about the streets of the city without losing a single drop.¹⁴⁷

The family history states that he ". . . became a member and afterward a Ruling Elder in the Tinkling Spring Church, where so many McCues have worshiped."¹⁴⁸ This, however, is a mistake concerning Mr. Moses McCue, Senior, for he presented himself on profession of faith in Christ before the Tinkling Spring session, June 5, 1841, only six years before his death, and upon examination was received into the church. He never served as an officer.¹⁴⁹

In the case of Rev. John McCue's children, we find that many remained and were active in church work, two of his sons becoming officers in a later period.¹⁵⁰

On Sunday morning, September 20, 1818, the family having preceded him to church, in the regular manner, Mr. McCue mounted his horse for the Sabbath ride to the house of worship where he was to preach that morning. However, the waiting people at Tinkling Spring greeted a messenger carrying sad news, instead of their pastor, for his

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁴⁶*Loc. cit.*

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁹Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, p. 18.

¹⁵⁰Papers, 1803-1826, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Register, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 320-24.

lifeless corpse had been found near his own gate, where death came suddenly from being thrown from his fractious horse.¹⁵¹

Upon his death, the Staunton Lodge No. 13, at a special called meeting, spread on their minutes the following resolution:

Resolved, unanimously, that the Church of Christ, society at large and the fraternity of free and accepted masons in particular, have suffered incalculable loss in the death of our much esteemed and highly respected friend and brother, the Rev'd John McCue,—and that in commemoration of departed worth, the members of this Lodge will wear crape on their left arm for thirty days,—and that a copy of this Resolution be published for two weeks in the Republican farmer, of Staunton.¹⁵²

An attendant at the funeral wrote:

The Funeral took place on Tuesday. From the large connection of Mrs. McCue, and the intimacy [of] Mr. McCue and the Rev. Wm. Wilson, pastor of Augusta church, nearly that whole congregation with Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro came to the funeral. It was the largest funeral procession I ever saw, all on horseback, and was said to be five hundred. I don't think there was a single carriage in the procession, or any vehicle; but I think, a two-wheeled one which carried Mr. McCue. Rev. Dr. C. Speece preached the funeral sermon at the church . . .¹⁵³

His grave in the old Tinkling Spring cemetery is located E-0:2-33 and is marked in these words:

Here lie interred the Relics of the
Rev. JOHN McCUE,
who expired Sabbath morning, Sept'r 20th
A.D. 1818, in his 66th year.

Having served his generation in a dignified and faithful discharge of all relative duties, he was suddenly removed from labour to rest.

His relatives, numerous friends and the Church at large deplore the loss of his talents, erudition, eloquence and evangelical ministrations;—especially the Church of T. Spring amongst whom he had arduously laboured in the ministry for 27 years.

This monument was erected by his Sons in token of filial esteem and regard.

¹⁵¹McCue, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Foote, *op. cit.*, II, 39; Pilson, *op. cit.*, 3:78, October, 1876.

¹⁵²Lodge Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 21, 1818; McCue, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁵³Pilson, *op. cit.*, 3:78, October, 1876.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Share in Education, 1819-1856

THE general revival in Lexington Presbytery during the early 1800's was so emotional that it brought a cautious warning from presbytery against excesses in "extraordinary bodily exercises."¹ It appears that their warning was in order, judging from the rapid decline of communicants following the revival. There were 1240 communicants reported by Lexington Presbytery in 1810 and only 220 in 1816. Of the 671 reported in 1812, Tinkling Spring reported 114 members.² However, after the decline to the record-low in 1812, presbytery began a steady growth that resulted from a good balance between educational training and evangelistic fervor. The local church appears to have been a party to the emphasis on general education with a definite Christian content growing out of revival fervor.

THE TEACHER SUPPLY—WILLSON

Lexington Presbytery met in the New Providence Church in Rock-bridge County, September 24, 1819. The minutes read in part:

A Call from Tinkling Spring Congregation to the Rev'd James C. Wilson was produced and read. The Revd. James C. Wilson appeared and took his seat . . .

After some consideration of the Call to Mr. Wilson—Resolved that Presbytery cannot receive the Call because the people were not willing to be bound as a Society to support the Pastor.³

Young James Campbell Willson—son of Major John Willson and Rachael Downey, his wife, daughter of Samuel Downey—now twenty-five years old, had become a Christian under the influence of his teacher-pastor, Rev. Samuel Brown,⁴ had attended Washington College, 1800-

¹Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, IV, 151.

²*Ibid.*, V, 53.

³Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VII, 80-81. The consistency in spelling his name Willson came in later life.

⁴J[ohn] H[endren] and others, "Rev. J. C. Willson," *The Watchman of the South*, 3:83, 89, 111, January and March, 1840. Rev. Samuel Brown was pastor of New Providence 1796-1818. His wife was Mary Moore, "The Captive of Abb's Valley." They were noted for the ministers they nurtured in school and church at New Providence. Of their eleven children, five became Presbyterian ministers, and a daughter married a minister, Rev. James Morrison.

1803,⁵ and was accepted as a candidate for the ministry by Lexington Presbytery in 1807.⁶

On September 28, 1808, the Board of Trustees of Hampden-Sydney College "... *causa honoris* made James C. Willson a Bachelor of Arts in consideration of his literary qualifications."⁷ According to the record, he had been "a teacher in the seminary," which is interpreted as meaning he was employed by and probably studying under Dr. Hoge in the seminary department of the college. He was also about this time serving as a tutor in the college proper.⁸

Lexington Presbytery, in 1810, licensed him to preach the gospel.⁹ He was granted permission in 1811 to "... travel into the Bounds of Hanover Presbytery during one year," at the end of which time he requested dismissal to that presbytery.¹⁰ It was two years later that Hanover records take knowledge of his presence in their bounds and ask him to do supply work.¹¹ In August 1814, he was received as a licentiate and at the request of "sundry Inhabitants of the County of Albemarle," probably led by Captain Meriweather of "Walker's Church," was ordained October 22, 1814, in the Walker Church, where he no doubt preached for a time as stated supply.¹² By the spring of 1816 he wrote to Hanover Presbytery "requesting dismissal . . . [to] the Presbytery of Lexington within the bounds of which he now resides."¹³ He was received by Lexington Presbytery in April 1817, and when Rev. John McCue was elected to attend the General Assembly that year, Mr. Willson was appointed to supply his pulpit at "Waynesborough."¹⁴

In the fall of 1817 he purchased property from John and Rebecca Poage and settled in Staunton.¹⁵ He probably served as a teacher in the Staunton Academy. It is likely that William G. Campbell, an instructor

⁵Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, *Catalogue of Alumni, 1749-1880* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1888), p. 57.

⁶Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 247.

⁷A. J. Morrison, *College of Hampden Sidney Dictionary of Biography, 1776-1825* (Hampden Sidney, Virginia: Published by Hampden Sidney College, 1920), p. 147.

⁸*Loc. cit.*

⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 325.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, V, 20, 55.

¹¹Hanover Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1814, p. 356.

¹²*Ibid.*, 1814-1823, pp. 1-3, 13; Hendren, *op. cit.*, 3:111, March, 1840.

¹³Hanover, 1814-1923, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁴Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VI, 122, 131.

¹⁵Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book XLII, 99.

at the Academy, was a relative of his.¹⁶ In addition to his teaching work Mr. Willson supplied frequently in vacant churches and was active in presbytery's work, having been made moderator of presbytery at the Staunton meeting in April 1818.¹⁷

Being without charge and living nearby, he began in November 1818, two months after Mr. McCue's death, to supply the Tinkling Spring congregation.¹⁸ The unwillingness of the church to be bound for the pastor's support in the call of 1819 apparently did not interrupt the supply relationship. So, in the pattern of his predecessors—Messrs. Waddel and McCue—Mr. Willson continued for a long pastorate as a supply pastor—not regularly called or installed.

At the spring meeting of 1828, Lexington Presbytery reviewed their resolutions and reports on "Reciprocal Duties" between pastors and congregations for the years 1821-1827.¹⁹ Of their twenty-two churches, they found nine were "... having stated ministerial labours, but no pastors."²⁰ Among them was Tinkling Spring with Mr. Willson as stated supply. Presbytery immediately called upon all these churches to submit the terms of existing contracts with their supply ministers, and passed a resolution:

... that it be earnestly recommended to those congregations which have Stated Supplies to take measures as soon as practicable to have their Minister regularly installed as Pastors.²¹

In the spring of 1829, the Lexington Presbytery Minutes are, in part, as follows:

Report of the Congregation of *Tinkling Spring* for the last two years.

In the Fall of 1826 the Congregation of Tinkling Spring agreed to pay their minister the Rev. James C. Willson \$700.00 a year for eight years from the first of Nov'r. 1826—he voluntarily proposing to serve them thereafter for \$400.00 a year, should the cong'n find it necessary to reduce his salary to that Sum.

They accordingly raised by subscription upwards of \$700.00; each Subscriber binding himself (with the exception of a few individuals) to pay the sum annexed to his name for eight years. The sum of \$320.00 was also advanced to

¹⁶A. Brooks Booker, "History of the Academies of Augusta County, Virginia," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1949), pp. 56-57.

¹⁷Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VII, 29.

¹⁸This date is figured from the statement on his tombstone.

¹⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, IV, 8; VII, 71; IX, 18-20.

²⁰*Ibid.*, IX, 19.

²¹*Ibid.*, IX, 21.



John McCue
1791-1818



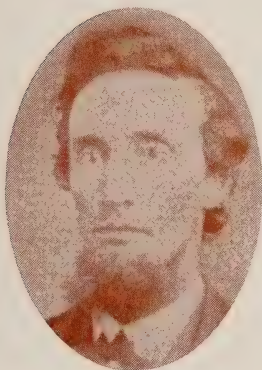
J. C. Willson
1818-1840



B. M. Smith
1840-1845



R. L. Dabney
1847-1853



C. S. M. See
1856-1870



G. B. Strickler
1871-1882

Figure XXVI
Tinkling Spring Pastors, 1791-1883



J. A. Preston
1883-1889



H. R. Laird
1890-1891



G. W. Finley
1892-1909



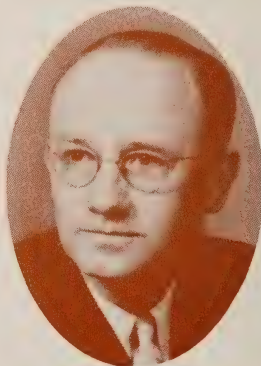
J. O. Mann
1910-1918



Graham Gilmer
1919-1923



J. C. Siler
1923-1945



H. M. Wilson
1946-

Figure XXVII
Tinkling Spring Pastors, 1883-1953

their minister, to cover so far as it might go, any defalcations that may accrue from removals &c.—he engaging to preach to them &c as he had hitherto done.

The Congregation of Tinkling Spring report, that their minister has regularly and punctually preached the gospel and administered its ordinances amongst them—having preached twice on the Sabbath during the summer (a part of last summer excepted, when he was unwell) and once during the winter every Sabbath, frequently twice. He has also preached occasionally on week-days; visited the sick; and whenever called on preached or delivered an address on funeral occasions.

The Congregation on their part, have regularly attended on the Word and ordinances and have paid their minister for the last two years \$1400.00 the amount promised, i.e. 700.00 per annum. The above report extends from Nov. 1st 1826 till Nov. 1st 1828.

Dated April 21st. 1829.

James C. Willson, Std Supply.²²

Among Tinkling Spring papers recently returned to the church by a friend is an undated subscription list presumed to be this agreement with Mr. Willson.²³ In the early summer of 1819 Mr. Willson purchased property in the Waynesboro section of his congregation.²⁴ He became, in 1833, the first principal of the "Waynesborough Academy and Town Hall," where a number of his members and church officers were trustees.²⁵

The lack of any records of the Tinkling Spring Session in this period restricts our enlargement upon the local record of the church. However, sufficient facts are available elsewhere to give us a picture of the church's progress.

At his death, *The Watchman of the South*, to which he was a contributing editor, under the signature "J. C. W." or "Beza," published not only an obituary but also, in addition, two rather full accounts of Mr. Willson's life and work.²⁶

Those who knew him, spoke of his scholarship, preaching ability, popularity and piety. The writer of his brief obituary says in part:

Mr. Willson was an humble, modest, consistent christian. He was a ripe, and, in polite literature, an elegant scholar. He was a fine writer. He was an engaging, instructive and orthodox preacher.²⁷

²²*Ibid.*, IX, 47-48.

²³Tinkling Spring Church Records, Papers, 1803-1826, pp. 4-5a.

²⁴Augusta Deed Book, *op. cit.*, XLIII, 396.

²⁵Booker, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 69.

²⁶Hendren, *op. cit.*, 3:83, 89, 111, January and March, 1840.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 3:83, January, 1840.

His scholarship was in evidence both in the pulpit and in his pen. He was considered one of the most animated religious writers among his fellow-ministers, excelling in "descriptive writing." He was well-read in theology and allied subjects and "reflected maturely" upon them.²⁸ His preaching was designed to feed the spiritually hungry and build up the faithful.

The Lexington Presbytery records reflect something of the effectiveness of Mr. Willson's work. For the first time in her history Tinkling Spring was sending her elders to presbytery regularly and the church was making her annual reports with faithfulness. The elders representing the church at presbytery during Mr. Willson's pastorate were: David Gilkeson, Alexander Hall, John Guthrie, Thomas Calbraith, Charles Patrick and Richard Henry.²⁹ The session was regularly reporting additions in membership, members dismissed and suspensions from membership of those not complying with the rules of the church.³⁰ Their eagerness in respect to church discipline is shown in the case of William C. Davis, baptized son of elder Walter Davis and Martha Cunningham, his wife, whom they had suspended ". . . on a charge of Usury."³¹ When presbytery would not sustain them they appealed to the Synod of Virginia.³² The Synod's decision was delivered to the church by a presbytery resolution:

. . . that as Wm. C. Davis had not become a member of the church in full communion, that the Session of Tinkling Spring, although they no doubt acted conscientiously, were under no obligation from the Constitution of our Church, to extend its discipline to him; and that all farther consideration of this subject be dismissed as not coming within the jurisdiction of the judicatories of the church.³³

Such discipline in that day, contrary to our concept of it today, was no hindrance—in fact may have been an essential asset—to genuine spiritual progress in the church. William C. Davis and Annis Caldwell, his wife, became members at a later date in Mr. Willson's pastorate. Probably they were a part of the increase of membership during a revival season that began while this case was in process.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 3:111, March, 1840.

²⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VII, 108 *et passim*.

³⁰*Ibid.*, VIII, 49 *et passim*.

³¹*Ibid.*, IX, 40.

³²*Ibid.*, IX, 83.

³³*Ibid.*, IX, 105-6.

The people of the congregation having properly assumed, in 1826, their rightful obligations in support of the church alongside their minister, there began immediately a growth of membership. This increased spiritual fervor grew into Tinkling Spring's first genuine revival season. In 1830 the church reported to presbytery 130 members. Four years later the church had grown to 312 members, having received in that time 208 on profession of faith.³⁴ In the "Report on Reciprocal Duties" of the session to presbytery at the spring meeting 1832, Elder Charles Patrick reported they "... have paid him [Mr. Willson] for his services about 100 dollars more than the stipulated amount."³⁵ Elder David Gilkeson made the report a year later and says that services were held "... generally twice every Sabbath, and for the most part every Wednesday evening in Waynesborough."³⁶

The church courts having "earnestly" recommended "the formation of Bible Classes" as a commendable "method of Instruction," Mr. Willson became the organizer of Tinkling Spring's first Sunday School.³⁷ The presbytery minutes give us the church's report for 1835 as follows:

The Session of *Tinkling Spring* Report: that the Rev. J. C. Willson has during the two past years regularly preached the Gospel and administered its ordinances in the Congregation,—preaching, on an average, about 4 times a week. He has also been instrumental in organizing Sabbath Schools, in different parts of the Congregation, and, has attended, and addressed them from time to time. Session further report that the Congregation has discharged its pecuniary obligations to the Rev. J. C. Willson for the time specified.

April 28, 1836

JAS. C. WILLSON S.S.³⁸
JACOB VANLEAR Elder

This organization of "Sabbath Schools" was the local part in the development that grew out of the founding of the American Sunday School Union in 1824.

The Reverend John Hendren, pastor of Mossy Creek Church, said of Mr. Willson's spirit as a preacher:

... He was an able and faithful minister of the gospel. His preaching was characterized by clearness of method, earnestness of manner, and a forcible and

³⁴*Ibid.*, IX, 72 *et passim*.

³⁵*Ibid.*, IX, 134.

³⁶*Ibid.*, IX, 170-71.

³⁷*Ibid.*, VI, 129.

³⁸*Ibid.*, X, 110-11. In the fall of 1835 Tinkling Spring had submitted to presbytery a call for Mr. Willson as regularly installed pastor. He accepted and presbytery ordered his installation, but the installation seems never to have been held. See presbytery minutes X, 90, 114, 116, 130, 133.

lucid exhibition of gospel truth. Though much attached to the doctrines and order of the Presbyterian Church he always manifested a great share of charity and brotherly kindness towards brethren of other denominations.

.

Mr. Willson possessed I believe a strong hold upon the affections of the people of his charge. His manners were kind and conciliatory and always secured to him a good share of the good will and kindness of the people among whom he lived—That he was a faithful, useful, and able minister of the gospel cannot be doubted . . .³⁹

Dr. Hendren also extolled him as a judicious presbyter in the church courts, saying that “. . . he was not a very frequent speaker, yet few could speak better . . .” and adding in regard to the “Old School”—“New School” controversy:

In late trials of our beloved Church, he took as lively an interest as any of his brethren, and in regard to the measures adopted by the Assemblies of '37 and '38 he was there decided an able advocate . . .⁴⁰

He no doubt had a hand in the Presbytery of Lexington selecting Dr. Richard H. Henry, Waynesboro doctor and Tinkling Spring elder, a commissioner to the General Assembly in 1832 and again in 1836. These were the days of contention over continuing the Plan of Union with the General Association of Connecticut or establishing strictly denominational mission and educational agencies. The Old School side which advocated agencies on denominational lines was successful. Dr. Willson was a commissioner to the General Assembly in 1838 and, according to Dr. Hendren, advocated the resolutions abrogating the union and establishing the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board.⁴¹

He was honored as one “extensively known” and “generally beloved.” No doubt his good name had developed not only because of his vital message of gospel truth but also from “his great worth and humble piety.” His close friends said of him:

. . . He was distinguished for great uniformity of character. Such was the extent of his information—the delicacy of his feelings—the abiding cheerfulness of his temper—the ardor of his piety—that the social circle was always rendered

³⁹Hendren, *op. cit.*, 3:111, March, 1940.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 3:111, March, 1840.

⁴¹William Henry Roberts, *A Concise History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, 1920), pp. 55-57.

peculiarly attractive by his presence. He could be serious and not morose—cheerful and yet not frivolous.⁴²

The honors and expressed admiration of his friends—to flow so freely after he was gone—broke upon him in person at the climax of a successful ministry, less than a year before his death. This experience was related by a friend after his death:

. . . He had had the spiritual oversight of the church and congregation, among whom he died, for 21 years; and the confidence that people reposed in him, and the tenderness with which they loved him, increased to the last moment of his existence. Last Spring he was unanimously elected Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity in Union Theological Seminary, and was urgently pressed by many brethren of the highest standing to accept the appointment. On this occasion, his church which consisted of about 350 [299] members, manifested so great a love for his person, so high a sense of the value of his services, and urged so many reasons against his removal, that he declined the office.⁴³

The Willson children, all by the first wife, were James W., Elizabeth F., and Rachael Mary.⁴⁴ After the death of the first Mrs. Willson, "a lady of great piety and loveliness of character," Dr. Willson married Hetty S. Montgomery, a daughter of Rev. John Montgomery. The son grew up and, without accepting Christ, went west to Indiana. The son's situation was a matter of very deep concern to his father. On Friday morning, January 10, 1840, Dr. Willson told his wife that the major concern of the day would be given to writing very fully to his absent son. This paternal task he did not live to accomplish, for upon going to the Waynesboro post-office—as was his custom each morning—he took a chair in the "counting-room" and died "in the twinkling of an eye" without a struggle. Medical aid was immediately available but to no avail in restoring life.⁴⁵

We are told that "The last prayers of the father were answered in the last hours of the child." The son, James, died about two years after his father.⁴⁶ The daughter, Rachael Mary, was married April 13, 1842 to Dr. Thomas W. Shelton by Rev. B. M. Smith. She died May 5, 1848,

⁴²Hendren, *op. cit.*, 3:89, January, 1840.

⁴³*Loc. cit.*

⁴⁴Tinkling Spring Church Records, Register, 1840-1882, pp. 45, 104; Augusta County Court Records, Will Book XXV, 403-4.

⁴⁵Hendren, *op. cit.*, 3:83, January, 1840.

⁴⁶William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical* (second series; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1855), II, 39.

aged twenty-eight years and six months. She and two of her young children are buried in the old Tinkling Spring Cemetery.⁴⁷

On Sabbath morning, January 12, 1840, in spite of severe weather with an unusual depth of snow, 300 persons gathered for Dr. Willson's funeral at the home to hear a message by Rev. William Calhoun and prayer by Rev. James Morrison. At the church another estimated 300 joined these to pay their last respects and heard messages from "W. S. W." and Rev. John Hendren.

James C. Willson is buried in the old Tinkling Spring Cemetery, under the marble slab bearing the following inscription:

Sacred
to the Memory of
Rev. James C. Willson
A man, honest, modest, peaceful:
A scholar, sound, accurate, polished:
A Christian, humble, devout, consistent:
A husband, tender, fond, devoted:
A Father, indulgent, kind, affectionate:
A Master, humane, generous, just:
A divine, learned, orthodox, judicious:
A Minister of the Gospel, zealous, wise, faithful.
Most esteemed and most lamented
by those who best knew him.
Born in Rockbridge Co. Va. Oct. 21st 1784
Died (suddenly) in Waynesboro, Jan. 10, 1840
Having served the church of Tinkling Spring
21 yr. & 2 mos.
Erected by those whom he loved.

BENJAMIN MOSBY SMITH, OF DANVILLE, BECOMES PASTOR

The spiritual fruit of a minister's pastorate is often seen in the conduct of his people after he is removed from the scene. Particularly after Dr. Willson's removal to his heavenly reward, his people gave evidence that the gospel truth of this sower had fallen on good ground.

An adjourned meeting of Lexington Presbytery gathered at Tinkling Spring Friday, November 20, 1840. Elder David Gilkeson represented the local church.⁴⁸ For the evening meeting at 6 o'clock, they gathered at the Waynesboro Academy and their minutes record:

An unanimous *call* from the Congregation of *Tinkling Spring and Waynes-*

⁴⁷Grave locations: C-19:3-8; C-18:3-0; and C-19:3-5. Dr. Shelton married, second, Mary Finley Van Lear, who, with a young son is also buried here.

⁴⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, X, 367.

boro for the pastoral labours of the *Rev. Benj. M. Smith* was laid before Presby., & being found in order was placed in the hands of Mr. Smith for consideration; and he having declared his acceptance of said call, Presbytery Resolved to proceed on tomorrow to *install* Mr. Smith pastor of said Congregation.⁴⁹

Presbytery set the following day, Saturday at 11 o'clock at Tinkling Spring for the presbytery and the congregation to assemble for the installation service. The Reverend James Morrison, pastor of New Providence Church, preached the installation sermon; the Reverend John Hendren, pastor of Mossy Creek Church, delivered the charge to pastor and people.⁵⁰

The first pastor of the early congregation—that became Tinkling Spring and Stone Meeting Houses—was installed as pastor of the "south part of Beverley Manor"⁵¹ by Donegal Presbytery in Pennsylvania when Robert Poage and Daniel Denniston answered for the congregation. The installation of Mr. Smith took place one hundred years and two months later, being the first time the Tinkling Spring congregation had taken part in the installation of a pastor, though Mr. Smith was the fifth minister who had served the church.

Benjamin Mosby Smith, son of Josiah Smith of Powhatan County, Virginia, was born June 30, 1811, into a family that had been greatly influenced by Rev. Samuel Davies, and later by Rev. John Holt Rice. He graduated at Hampden-Sydney in 1829. It was in his third year at college that he united with the church, and under the spiritual influence of a former associate, Rev. Daniel Allen Penick, in Milton, North Carolina,—while teaching there in 1831—he came to a definite satisfaction of heart in the matter of his salvation.⁵²

He entered Union Seminary at Hampden-Sydney December 28, 1831 and attended through 1833. He was licensed to preach, April 19, 1834, and became an assistant instructor at the college. While there he became the first librarian of Union Theological Seminary, publishing—when he was only twenty-two—the first catalog of the library.⁵³ In

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, X, 366.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, X, 368.

⁵¹*Supra*.

⁵²Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Press, Inc., 1947), pp. 1, 3, 17-18, 20.

⁵³[Benjamin Mosby Smith], *Catalogue of the Library belonging to the Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward, Va.* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by J. MacFarlan, 1833), 107 pp.

1836-37 he studied in Europe, and returned to accept the pastorate in Danville in January 1838.⁵⁴

In August 1838 he visited the Reverend James Morrison to take the "second sermon" at New Providence. He became interested in Mr. Morrison's daughter, Mary. He thought her ". . . undoubtedly a fine girl, mild, affectionate, simple and yet smart enough," and added, "her length is something considerable."⁵⁵ Mary was a granddaughter and namesake of Mary Moore, "Captive of Abb's Valley," and Rev. Samuel Brown, her husband. The friendship of Mr. Smith and Mary Morrison ripened rapidly into love and they became engaged to be married when on a picnic at the Natural Bridge, the wedding to be in October 1838.⁵⁶

The negotiation between Mr. Smith and the Tinkling Spring congregation began, no doubt, on the initiative of Mr. Morrison, soon after Dr. Willson's death in January 1840. Mr. Smith wrote Mr. Morrison, March 24, 1840, in part:

You are mistaken about the Waynesboro matter. I have received no *Call*, but an invitation to visit the people. . . . I cannot well go, till the latter part of May. I think it could have a bad effect on my people & also make the W[aynesboro] people think me anxious, were I to go on purpose. . . . M[ary] seems quite indifferent to going. I think her preference is Lexington but . . . [they] will look high, or be divided by new & o. school matter.⁵⁷

Mr. Smith later accepted the call to the Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro Church. His arrival in Waynesboro, where he rented a home, was soon followed by efficient ministerial work carried on by perfected organizations. So far as we are able now to discover, the first complete set of records for the church was begun at that time. The first Sessional Records begin:

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It appears on Enquiry that to this date their has Existed no Session Book in the Congregation of Tinkling Spring & Waynesboro. It was presumed that Some minutes of more important Sessional meetings; Existed among the loose papers of the late Minister, Rev'd James C. Willson, but none have been found; Of the Early history of the Church their remain no documents Except Such as may Exist among the papers of the Rev'd J. C. Craig now in the hands of his descendants—in the State of Missouri, whatever can be found Casting any

⁵⁴Flournoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-39.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵⁶*Loc. cit.*

⁵⁷Rev. James Morrison Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, letter by Rev. Benj. M. Smith dated March 24, 1840.

light on the Early History of the Church, will it is Expected, be Embodied in Some Convenient form, in a Book distinct from this.

The present Session of the Church Consists of

Rev'd Benj'n M. Smith, install'd pastor Nov. 21st. 1840

Jno. Guthrie Sen.
Thomas Calbreath
Charles Patrick
David Gilkerson
Jacob Vanlear

John P. Willson
Rich'd H. Henry
Wm. W King
Wm. S. Ramsey
Dan'l Fishburn

William Withrow. Stated Clk.

The Trustees of the congregation are

Tinkling Spring
Maj'r Arch'd Stuart
Zech'a J. McChesney
Lewis Wayland
William Gilkerson

Waynesborough
William Brooks
James M. Brooks
John Wayt

Treasurer of the congregation Maj'r Arch'd Stuart⁵⁸

The first recorded meeting of the session with Mr. Smith acting as moderator was at the Waynesboro Academy, December 19, 1840. Mr. William Withrow, Jr. was "unanimously Elected Stated Clerk of the Session."⁵⁹ The first item of business to concern the session was the General Assembly's recommendation concerning the selection of deacons. After a ruling requested from Lexington Presbytery, the church on July 31, 1841, elected their first seven deacons as follows: "William Gilkerson, John Wayt, John McCue, Hugh McCleure, James M. Brooks, Robert White & John Hamilton."⁶⁰

The session then proceeded to initiate a system of benevolent giving. The record is in part:

The following Overture was laid before Session—& after some time spent in a free discussion of the subject presented, was unanimously adopted by the Session

This Session regarding the Christian Church as the Instrument of her Great Head, for propagating the Gospel, & believing that in our day, the efficiency of the Instrumentality; so far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned, is intimately connected with the prosperity of her Missionary & other charitable Institutions & further, deeming it within the province of that oversight with

⁵⁸Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 12, 19; Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

which as a Session they are Entrusted; to provide a plan, for cultivating in this congregation a Spirit of Systematic, benevolent Enterprise, recommend to the Congregation, Annual contributions—to the leading objects of benevolence in the following order

1st. To object: of the Board of Publication and Virginia Bible Society—in the month of January—

2d. of Foreign Missions in the month of April

3d. of Domestic Missions & Union Seminary—July

4th of Board of Education & A[merican] T[ract] Society in Octr Resolved, 1st That notice of Collection Shall be given at least one Sabbath previous; & in case of Providential disappointment on a designated Sabbath, the Collection Shall be taken on the Earliest day practicable.

2d, That while the Session do not contemplate the aid of Agents in this undertaking; yet, so far as such Officers are recognized in our church, we will yield them all possible attention, reserving the discretionary right of authorizing the labours of Agents not sent out by our Church

On motion resolved. 1st, That it is Expedient to Establish a Depository of the publications of the Presbyterian Board, in the bounds of this congregation

2d, That Efforts be made in the Month of January next to raise One Hundred Dollars for this Object—and

3d, That the Pastors, with Dr. R. H. Henry & Dan'l Fishburn (the latter to act as a Depository)—be an Executive Committee to Carry the above resolutions into Effect.

4th, That Contributors to the Depository be entitled to purchase books at reduced prices, & all others at the retail prices of the Board.⁶¹

The clerk of the session was instructed to publicize through the *Watchman of the South* this proposed "Systematic benevolent action."⁶²

At a session meeting held at Tinkling Spring, October 3, 1842, there were amendments to this plan of systematic giving, reported in these words:

The following report was presented & adopted—The Committee appointed to consider & report amendments to the plan for Contribution to objects of Benevolence, respectfully report to Session.

Resolv'd 1st. That it is Expedient to conform to the Presbyterial arrangement, respecting contributions for Domestic & Foreign Missions & The Boards of Education & Publication

2'd. That a quarterly contribution shall be solicited for miscellaneous Expenses of the Chh. of T[inkling] S[pring] & to be call'd Church Funds, the disposal of which Shall be under control of Session,

3'd. That as a general rule all other contributions Shall be applied, agreeably to the wishes of contributors, when no wish is Express'd, the Session Shall from

⁶¹Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 8.

time to time designate, the proportion of Each quarterly contribution to the objects for which it is taken,

4th. That the plan as amended shall be arrang'd as Follows.

1st. Foreign Missions

2'd. Domestic Missions & Union Seminary

3'd. Education for the Ministry & Chh. Funds

4th. Board of Publication & *Religious Literature* including under this contributions, for the Bible, Tracts, & Sabbath School causes.⁶³

The session of the church was also active at this same time in building up the spiritual life of the people of the congregation. This effort began with a 1400 word pastoral message from the session, pointing out that ". . . the present is by no means a season of refreshing from on high in our bounds . . ." and that ". . . negligence of duty & formality of service prevail in the church & iniquity & transgression abound without." The "duty & privilege of Family" in private prayers and "catechizing" the children were enjoined upon every home. The evils that grew out of "the Amusement of Dancing . . . of the two Sexes together" were set forth as "calling for the interposition of that discipline, with which we are entrusted."⁶⁴

A session meeting of December 2, 1843, is typical of matters with which they ordinarily dealt. The deacons reported a balance, which was used "for increasing the Depository of Bibles" held for sale and gifts to the Virginia "Bible and Tract Societies." Subscription lists, prepared by the deacons, were ordered circulated to aid "the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland." A certain member was charged with "habitual neglect of the means of Grace" as offered by the church. The "Treasurer of the Board of Deacons" was "respectfully requested to procure" pure domestic wine for the communion "so long as it can be had."⁶⁵ In 1844 at a joint officers' meeting, the subscription-list-method used by collectors was replaced by a card system. The minutes in part are as follows:

Resolv'd 1st that in future the subscription cards, containing the result of solictary contributions for any object, shall be placed in the hands of the clerke of the Board of Deacons, shall transcribe them into a Book kept for the purpose, from which he shall draw off copies of the names of subscribers in Each deacons district, with which the Deacon shall be furnish'd for making collections 2'd That

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 12-17.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33. The pure wine is used to the present date.

all cash received in solicitary subscriptions shall be paid at once to the Treasurer, or retained by the Deacon receiving it to be handed over whenever all the collections shall have been made—or completed—3'd That in order to a full execution of this amendment, to the mode of procuring contributions, it is necessary to Elect another Deacon & the congregation is hereby call'd to meet in the chh. at Waynesboro on the 2'd Saturday of Sept'r immediately after sermon for proceeding to such Election.⁶⁶

The deacon elected at the Waynesboro meeting was Zechariah J. McChesney, who was already serving as a trustee.⁶⁷

The diary of Mr. Smith is revealing in regard to his extensive preaching appointments beyond the regular services in Waynesboro and Tinkling Spring. In 1841 the record is in part:

Apl 12th. Have been busy, lately. Friday to see old Gabriel Alexander⁶⁸ . . . Catechise and preach at Branaman⁶⁹—home Sabb. Sermon on Pres'd's death⁷⁰—great crowd. Aft. at A. Linch. Sermon for benefit of poor Mrs. Wm. Bush⁷¹ who is low with cancer . . . A. Linch a distiller and forbids anything said to him on Subject—once a member of this Chh.

Today thro' snow to Patrick to preach fun[eral] sermon for a child of Mrs. Eubank—daughter of old Mr. Turk⁷²—a family of large men. Home—visited Bell⁷³ on way—old Mr. Bell in dotage . . .

15-19 Quite busy. To Mr. Patrick's to catechise and thence to Mrs. Koiners. . . . Supped with a whole table full of dirty workmen . . . was so much pleased . . . I sent word I would breakfast with them. . . . They were very chatty & had much to say of Dr. Speece & Mr. Wilson.⁷⁴ Old Christian Koiner came in while I was there—who is one of the real dirty Dutch . . . was exceedingly amused & gratified to find I could speak German—Said to Mr. Koiner—why the creature talks German sure enough. He asked me, if I were the man who was to set Waynesboro straight. . . . Miss Kitty Coiner of Augusta Chh . . . told me of the Dunkards who wash each others feet & hold festival on their Communion Seasons, during the night. Provide lamb & soup—but no knives & fork.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁷Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶⁸Gabriel Alexander, the immigrant who settled on Long Meadow of South River, near Stuarts Draft, left four sons and two daughters. Gabriel, Jr., was one of his sons. He was a member at Tinkling Spring and died August 19, 1842.

⁶⁹John Branaman and his wife, Betsy, were members of Tinkling Spring Church.

⁷⁰Death of President William Henry Harrison.

⁷¹Mr. James S. Bush, and his wife, Rebecca, and Mrs. Rachel Bush were Tinkling Spring members.

⁷²The Turk family was located on South River below Waynesboro and was associated with Tinkling Spring from its organization.

⁷³John J. and Mrs. Mary B. Bell; Samuel H. and Mrs. Hannah H. Bell; Miss Margaret J. and Mrs. Nancy McC. Bell were members at Tinkling Spring and later charter members at Waynesboro.

⁷⁴Augusta Stone pastors.

24th [July] Preaching excursion to Mrs. Larews⁷⁵ back by Maj. S[tuart]s⁷⁶ not very well. Weather oppressive.

25th. Preached in W[aynesboroug]h Church to Negroes. P[reached] W[aynesborough] again at night in Acad[emy] . . .

26th. To . . . Coalters.⁷⁷ Had my sympathies strongly excited for the family. He is broken . . . a hard working man. Mrs. C. very much of a lady and also her daughter—who Mr. Fishburn hints is pious. Returned by 8½ P[er] C[lock]. . . .

30th & 31st. To A. Alexander's⁷⁸ to preach . . . Preached and baptized 4 Coalter children.⁷⁹ Poor woman she seemed wonderfully wrought on & deeply affected. Staid at Sam'l Hunter's.⁸⁰ To breakfast at Berts—called on way to Chh. at I. Smiths.⁸¹ His wife deeply serious, professes hope. Sent her Doddridge . . . Visited a deep hole in the top of a hill called Gibson's hole. Curious and deep place. Preached on Chh. Gov. Seven Deacons Elected.⁸²

The Smith diary shows another definite emphasis of his day—that of Bible study. Though a formal Sunday School appears not to have been organized at Tinkling Spring Church at this time, they were regularly participating in Bible study classes throughout the congregation. The diary closes 1841 with a New Year's resolution in these words:

Dec. 31st. 1841. Such a life. . . . The year is past—A few more end my time—Oh for grace to live more as I sh[oul]d. . . . More time to the Bible—more to Prayer. . . .

Jan. 1. 1842. . . . 8-9. To W. Davis⁸³ to catechising and B[ible] C[lass] bad riding and few out. Not very expert at answ[ering] questions either—at Sings[?] to stay Sat: night—quite a pleasant visit—became acquainted with Wm. Perry—knew Sam. B. O. Wilson—to T. S. to preach & aft: to Fishersville—dined at Baskin's⁸⁴ . . .

14-15: To David Bell Sr:⁸⁵ old man talked a little—at Gen'l Porterfields⁸⁶ at

⁷⁵Mrs. Elizabeth Larew, Tinkling Spring member, died April 2, 1843.

⁷⁶Major Archibald Stuart was a Tinkling Spring member and died December 15, 1849.

⁷⁷Mrs. Lucinda Coalter, wife of William, was a Tinkling Spring member.

⁷⁸Andrew A. Alexander was a Tinkling Spring member. He died August 2, 1842.

⁷⁹The children were Mary Ann, age 11 years and 3 months; Hetty Rhodes, 5 years and 5 months; Lucinda Mildred, 3 years and 10 months; and Rachel Maria, 1 year and 2 months.

⁸⁰Mr. Samuel, Mrs. Sarah and Samuel Alexander Hunter were Tinkling Spring members.

⁸¹Mr. Issac Smith was a Tinkling Spring member.

⁸²Benjamin M. Smith, *The Diary of*, VI, 77-83.

⁸³Both William Davis, who married Annis Caldwell, and Walter Davis, their son, who married Rebecca Van Lear, were members of Tinkling Spring Church.

⁸⁴Thomas S. and William W. Baskin were Tinkling Spring members.

⁸⁵Mrs. Mary Bell joined Tinkling Spring, by examination, March, 1841.

⁸⁶General Robert Porterfield was a Tinkling Spring member.

night—He is evidently failing fast. To breakfast at Mr. Patricks⁸⁷ B[ible] Class at Ramsays⁸⁸—quite a good attendance . . .

21-22. At McChesney's Zech: met there a Mr. Harper⁸⁹ half an infidel . . . To Mr. Ja: McCombs'⁹⁰ politely received by both wife & himself . . . with him to see poor John Coalter who is evidently declining fast. Talked to him of his situation but gave little heed. Bib[le] Class at Mr. Hunters—good attendance—to Andr. Alexanders at Ad[am] McChesney,⁹¹ at night.

23d. Sermon on Sabbath Law good attendance.

28 Preached John Coalter's funeral—poor man taken away unexpectedly . . .

Jan'y 29. Returned in a hurry to Squire McCues⁹²—full B[ible] C[lass] & Cat: B[ible] C[lass] also at Maj St[uart] . . .

Feb. 5. Returned from trip to P[owhatan] to see Em: married—quite a novel feeling to have a married sister . . .

11-12th. Cat: at Davis'—Friday night at Moffats⁹³—To breakf[ast] Van Lear's⁹⁴—Interesting conv[ersation] with Mrs. Van Lear.

.

27 Preached a sermon on Temperance.

Mar. 4-5 Cat: at Calbraith's⁹⁵ only went up Saturday—Rd. to Maj. St[uart]: dining at Mrs. Steele's—John no better.⁹⁶

The session report to the presbytery in the spring of 1842 indicates the pleasure of the people in this ministry:

Being appointed a Com'ee by the Session of *Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro Church*, to report on the faithfulness of our Pastor (Rev. B. M. Smith) to the people of his Charge,—We can say with pleasure that he has laboured in word & in doctrine with fidelity,—that he has attended to the catechetical instructions

⁸⁷Charles Patrick, son of John, was an elder at Tinkling Spring and one of the clerks who led in congregational singing.

⁸⁸William S. and Mrs. Martha A. Ramsey belonged to Tinkling Spring Church. He was an elder.

⁸⁹Joseph Harper was received into the Church on profession of his faith just before his death in 1863. The session met at his home. Whether he is the same as this Harper is not known.

⁹⁰Mrs. Susanna McComb, wife of James, was a Tinkling Spring member. James McComb is listed as a subscriber to the support of Rev. James C. Willson.

⁹¹Adam McChesney and his wife, Rachel Wilson, were received into membership by certificate February 21, 1841. He was a brother to Zechariah, and they were sons of Elizabeth Johnston, daughter of Zechariah Johnston, who married Robert McChesney.

⁹²Squire John McCue was a deacon at Tinkling Spring and served as church treasurer for a time.

⁹³Robert S. Moffett and his wife, Haddassa McClellan Guthrie, were Tinkling Spring members.

⁹⁴Jacob VanLear and his wife, Jane B., were Tinkling Spring members. He was an elder.

⁹⁵Thomas Calbraith, Sr., and his wife, Jane, were Tinkling Spring members, and he was an elder.

⁹⁶Smith Diary, *op. cit.*, VI, 92-98.

of the young, to the Bible instruction of the old & young, in Classes, and also to pastoral visitations, Ministering to the Spiritual wants of the Sick the afflicted & the anxious. We can also say that all these various duties have been performed with satisfaction to those over whom God in his providence has made him a spiritual guide.

Apr. 18, 1842.

CHAS. PATRICK (on the part of the Session)⁹⁷
R. H. HENRY

A similar report three years later emphasizes the pastor's diligence in "The course of instruction for the children, both in the Introductory, and (Shorter) Explanatory Catechism" and the "Bible Classes sustained in different parts of the Congregation"—no doubt the continuance in this form of the Sabbath Schools organized by Dr. Willson.⁹⁸

The church was greatly disturbed when Staunton extended a call to Mr. Smith. The congregational minutes on that occasion are as follows:

Tinkling Spring Saturday 23'd March 1844

A congregational meeting of the Chh. was held, at Tinkling Spring—with the view of considering the subject of a call to the pastor Rev'd B M Smith, by the congregation of Staunton & to ascertain the sense of the congregation on the subject of separation from their Pastor—to form this new connection—John McCue, was appointed chairman & William Withrow Jr. secretary

The following preamble and Resolutions were offer'd by Dr. R. H. Henry & on motion were unanimously adopted, by the meeting

Whereas the Presbyterian Chh. of Staunton having become vacant, by the resignation of their Pastor, they have invited our Pastor, Rev B M Smith, to leave his present charge & minister to them,—Therefore,

Resolv'd that we hereby express our strong attachment & our undiminish'd confidence in our pastor Rev'd B M Smith and also our decided approbation of his labours, & services amongst us, so that we desire he may feel it his duty, long to remain with us.

Resolv'd that we recognise no right whatever in the Staunton Chh. to interfere in the Pastoral relation now so happily existing between the Rev'd B M Smith & ourselves, or to disturb the peace & harmony now so prevalent in our bounds.

Resolv'd that we hereby declare our fix'd determination to resist to the last the call of the Staunton Chh. to our pastor & that we will use all honourable efforts, to defeat it, unless God in his providence—should hereafter point out some other line of conduct.

Resolv'd that a copy of these proceedings be signed by the chairman & secretary—& that a copy be furnish'd our Pastor & also a copy to the session of the Staunton Chh.

JN'o McCUE—Chairman

WM WITHROW JR. Secty⁹⁹

⁹⁷Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 37.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, XI, 220.

⁹⁹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

This action was effective, and Mr. Smith declined the call when it was presented at the spring meeting in Staunton.¹⁰⁰

A sample of the intensity of Mr. Smith's pastoral work is seen in another excerpt from his diary in the summer of 1845:

May 17h. Have been detained in R[ockbridge] at Mr. M[orrison]'s by the child's illness—yesterday left Mr. Ms. She is better but old Charlie (the horse) very low—came down & busily employed the afflicted—saw Franklin Marshall in low health—conversed with him not much evidence of penitence—also old Mrs. Black¹⁰¹ who seems with much complaining to have Christian resignation. Also Margaret Larew who is curiously affected with a hiccup. On coming by Mrs. Steele's¹⁰² heard that Mr. & Mrs. Porterfield¹⁰³ had lost their little boy—found both entertaining very correct views of the affliction & especially Mrs. P. who, I trust is a Xtian.

19th Returned to Mr. M[orrison]'s calling to see F. Marshall again yesterday—preached . . . last night—on reaching Mr. Ms found Charlie was dead. Child not so well.

20th. This evening much better. All day, today, trying some cases of discipline in Fairfield Chh. as one of a commission appointed by Presbytery.

26th Came home with family last week—child better—called to see Marshall & Mrs. B[lack] much as before—hope M. begins to feel—heard of Capt. [Alexander] Hall's¹⁰⁴ illness—to see him—weak & low—not much conversation—prayed with him.

29th. Rode to see Hall found Mrs. Douglas very ill—not much hopes for her—so I fear. . . .

June 2d. Went from Chh yesterday to see Mr. M[arshall] rather more of conviction & some hope—then to see Mrs. Black. Spent night and left her very poorly but comfortable. Then early to Capt. Hall's Mrs. D. very low, but calm & peaceful. Ellen¹⁰⁵ & the rest very much distressed.

7th. Went again to see Mrs. D.[—] Hall getting better. She still sinking yet calm as ever—doesn't think she will get well—then to Mrs. B's as usual & then to Marshals—who is now professing to rest on Christ Jesus . . .

9th. Yesterday hearing that Miss Annie Caldwell was very poorly—called to see her this morning very early—found her very low—dropsical—resting on the Sav'r.

¹⁰⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 168-69.

¹⁰¹Mrs. Jane Black, widow of James Black, died July 5, 1845.

¹⁰²Frances Hunter was a recent widow of Captain Samuel Steele.

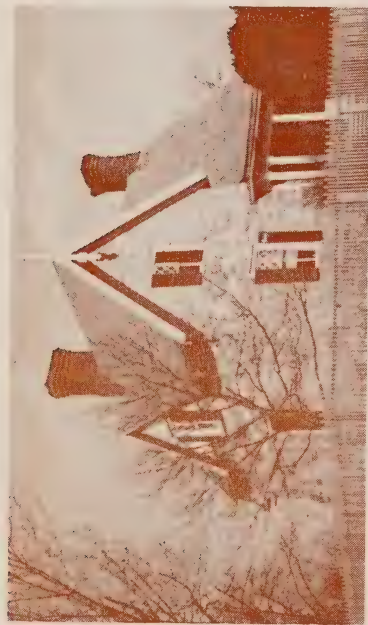
¹⁰³Robert Porterfield, son of John and grandson of General Robert, was married to Sarah Ann Wayt, daughter of John, November 17, 1842, by Rev. B. M. Smith.

¹⁰⁴Eleanor Hall (who married John A. Douglas), and Alexander S. Hall, were children of Alexander Hall and grandchildren of immigrant Archibald Stuart's daughter Eleanor, who married Edward Hall, a Tinkling Spring elder.

¹⁰⁵Eleanor Douglas, born 1821, was a Tinkling Spring member and became the second wife, in 1847, of Squire John McCue, a Tinkling Spring trustee and deacon. She was a zealous pioneer in the women's work of Tinkling Spring, and was honored in her 77th year when the Young Ladies Missionary Society of the church changed its name to "The Ellen McCue Missionary Society."



Figure XXVIII
The Church After Remodeling in 1916



Rev. R. L. Dabney's "Stony Point"



"The Barrens" home of the Johnstons bought by
Rev. John McCue



The Manse, 1859-1910



The Manse built in 1911

Figure XXIX
Where the Ministers have Lived

11th Her funeral was preached today she died yesterday.

13th. Rather vexed by a sudden call to attend a burial of a child in the mountains—went not with a very willing spirit & felt rebuked by it. It was a distressing scene. There lay the coffin & the mother & her 5 or 6 girls all weeping besides 4 or 5 boys—was touched—& determined to attend such calls cheerfully here after.¹⁰⁶

In the fall of 1845 Staunton renewed its call before presbytery and, in spite of Squire John McCue's presentation of the congregation's protest, presbytery voted unanimously—Tinkling Spring yielding graciously—to dissolve the pastoral relation, and Mr. Smith accepted the Staunton call.¹⁰⁷ The principal motive in this decision was the desirability of organizing Waynesboro into a separate church, which would more likely occur if Mr. Smith removed.¹⁰⁸

Before taking leave of Mr. Smith at Tinkling Spring and Waynesboro, let us note the constant interest and effort on his part in public education. He “. . . got up the first Educational Association ever formed in the South” at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1831, and formed a similar group at Hampden-Sydney in 1832.¹⁰⁹

While a student in Europe in 1836, Mr. Smith made studies of the educational system of each country he visited and was called upon by Governor David Campbell in 1838 to prepare a report on the Prussian system.¹¹⁰ Though the recommendations were not followed by the Virginia Legislature, the report set forth the system that has been accepted and put in practice in the state in more recent years.¹¹¹

He was active with the Presbyterians in Staunton and Augusta County in founding the Augusta Female Seminary in Staunton in 1842 and was made a trustee of Washington College,¹¹² Lexington, Virginia, the same year. At the same time, he was much interested in the Academy at Waynesboro and conducted a school of his own that had twenty-eight pupils in 1845—eight of them girls.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶Smith Diary, *op. cit.*, VI, 106-9.

¹⁰⁷Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 249-50.

¹⁰⁸Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:470, October, 1852.

¹⁰⁹Flournoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

¹¹⁰Charles William Dabney, "Dr. Benjamin M. Smith's Famous Report On the Prussian Primary System," *The Virginia Teacher*, 16:117-24, 147-55, 170-78, 195-203, September-December, 1935.

¹¹¹Flournoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 45, 53.

¹¹³Smith Diary, *op. cit.*, VI, 103.

The legislature having failed to act favorably on the governor's recommendations for establishing a sound public school system, the citizens of the Valley, under the leadership of President Henry Ruffner of Washington College, sponsored popular conventions in which Mr. Smith was a predominant influence. These efforts resulted in the legislature's authorizing county school boards and superintendents with sufficient authority to provide free public schools. Eleven counties and four cities proceeded to do so.¹¹⁴ The record of Mr. Smith's success in promoting public education while pastor in Staunton and later while serving as a professor at Union Theological Seminary in Prince Edward County (where he served for eleven years as superintendent of public schools) gives the impression that his influence was second to none in establishing free public education in Virginia.¹¹⁵ While laboring unceasingly for this cause, he was also performing his duties as Professor of Oriental Languages at Union Theological Seminary¹¹⁶—an institution he is credited with having saved from financial ruin in the days of reconstruction after the War Between the States.¹¹⁷ This institution conferred upon him both the D.D. and LL.D. degrees. In 1876, the highest honor of his church was bestowed upon Mr. Smith when the General Assembly elected him its Moderator.

The records of the church under Mr. Smith's ministry supply us with the first membership list that includes all the individual members of a family. While Dr. Willson had reported a membership of about three hundred, Mr. Smith found and enrolled only about two hundred of them. These and the additions during his pastorate are reported in the Church Register.¹¹⁸

WAYNESBORO SEPARATES FROM TINKLING SPRING

Immediately upon the removal of Mr. Smith to Staunton, the congregation secured the services of elderly Rev. William Calhoon, son-in-law of James Waddel and former pastor of Hebron and Staunton, whose

¹¹⁴Flournoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 125-42.

¹¹⁶Walter W. Moore, and others, *General Catalogue of The Trustees, Officers, Professors and Alumni of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1807-1924* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1924), p. 41.

¹¹⁷Dr. Benjamin R. Lacy, Jr., president of the seminary, having been credited with this tribute to Dr. Smith was asked on what occasion he made the statement; he replied, "I have said that so often you cannot limit it to one occasion."

¹¹⁸Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 7 *et passim*; see Appendix D, VI.

ministry was most cordially received by the congregation for more than a year. The session report states:

. . . He has, during the inclemency of the winter travelled to our Churches—one of them a distance of 13, & the other 18 miles, & never in one instance failed to meet his congregation—and has with all this labor of travel and preaching, catechized throughout the Congregations, & these services have been generally highly instructive & interesting.¹¹⁹

An excellent tribute to a retired minister of seventy-four years of age!

At the April meeting of presbytery, 1846, in Staunton, the Waynesboro people presented their request to be organized into "a separate Presbyterian Church," to be known as the "Waynesboro Church." The request was granted and a committee appointed to complete the organization.¹²⁰

The Waynesboro work had grown steadily from its first recognition by presbytery. Both Messrs. Willson and Smith had made their homes in the growing town.¹²¹ Their first building, constructed of logs in 1798, was replaced by a larger brick structure in 1824.¹²²

On Sabbath morning, April 26, 1846, the session at Tinkling Spring, upon request, transferred forty-seven of their members "to unite themselves with the Ch. to be formed at Waynesboro." This number not only constituted an approximate twenty-five percent of the membership of the mother congregation but also included the Clerk of the Session, William Withrow, Jr.; elders Daniel Fishburne, Charles Patrick, William W. King; and deacons James M. Brooks and John Wayt. About this same time the church lost elder William S. Ramsey by dismissal to another church, leaving the official group of the church much depleted.¹²³

The presbytery committee, with only two present, organized the Waynesboro Church, May 9, 1846, and Lexington Presbytery received it under their care at the August meeting of the same year.¹²⁴ They pro-

¹¹⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 271; Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 51 *et passim*.

¹²⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 260-61.

¹²¹*Supra*.

¹²²C. Newman Faulconer, *Commemorating the Centennial of the First Presbyterian Church, May 5-6, 1946* (Waynesboro, Virginia: Waynesboro Publishing Corporation, 1946), 90 pp.

¹²³Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53. It appears that William Withrow, Jr., was Clerk of the Session but not an elder, since he is not listed as an absentee when not attending; and it cannot be found where he attended presbytery.

¹²⁴Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 284.

ceeded in the same meeting to present a call to Mr. William T. Richardson, who was in the process of transferring as a licentiate from West Hanover Presbytery. The call was accepted and presbytery ordered Mr. Richardson's ordination and installation at their next meeting.¹²⁵ Mr. Richardson's was a long and fruitful pastorate of twenty-three years, building the young church into a strong spiritual unit in the Kingdom.¹²⁶

The old congregation having lost so much strength in the birth of this second daughter was weakened but did not falter in attempting to secure a pastor to live and labor among them. Three successive efforts to replace Mr. Smith failed.¹²⁷ One of those who declined was the Reverend Daniel A. Penick, friend and former spiritual tutor of Mr. Smith. He wrote from Pioneer Mills, Cabarrus County, North Carolina, November 21, 1846:

Touching the Tinkling Spring affair:—I have thought very much—felt very deeply & still find it very hard to be fully satisfied as to what is duty . . . I know of no place to which I would go as soon as T. S. But . . . *What is dutiful?*

. . . I was much pleased with the T. S. people . . . Dear brother—pray for me—that I may have light—may not be permitted to go wrong.¹²⁸

A large family to be educated and fear that the salary was not commensurate with the cost of living in the Valley were items of consideration for Mr. Penick.¹²⁹ He, as two others had done, declined the call.

The pattern of God's providence working through ill health—as it had done in sending John Craig into the ministry and James Waddel to Tinkling Spring¹³⁰—had the church's next pastor in preparation. A young man of Louisa County, doing mission service as a licensed probationer for the Presbyterian ministry, was suffering from a "bilious colic." With hope of relief, he went to White Sulphur and Hot Springs to drink the medicinal waters, but found no cure for his trouble. Calls came from Norfolk and Danville, but "He preferred old Louisa."¹³¹

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, XI, 295-96, 317.

¹²⁶Faulconer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹²⁷Thomas Cary Johnson, *The Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond, Virginia: The Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1903), p. 106.

¹²⁸Morrison Papers, *op. cit.*, letter dated November 21, 1846.

¹²⁹*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁰*Supra.*

¹³¹Robert Lewis Dabney Letters, 1846-1853. Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, letters dated February 18 and September 5, 1846. Other Dabney letters are to be found at The Library, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

Robert Lewis Dabney,¹³² licensed missionary in Louisa, in later life wrote of the influence that turned him toward a Valley pastorate, when his mother's physician said to him:

"You look badly. I hear of your colic. What do you take? Calomel and opium, I suppose. Now, Mr. Dabney, you will never be cured by taking medicine. Your hope is in change of climate and water. You must get into a region entirely free from malaria, and drink limestone water. I wish you could have a year in Staunton, and drink out of the well at Mrs. Garber's tavern. No one ever had a chill, *i. e.*, a native-born chill, in Staunton. This will cure you."¹³³

Mr. Richardson, Waynesboro pastor, was instrumental in bringing together Dabney and the congregation.¹³⁴ On March 12, 1847, his second letter to Dabney on the subject, assured him the invitation of the people for him to visit and preach would be forthcoming the next Sunday.¹³⁵ On Monday, March 15th, Messrs. John McCue, David Gilkeson, Jacob VanLear and Hugh G. Guthrie wrote to Mr. Dabney:

The old church and congregation of Tinkling Spring have instructed us to invite you to visit them at an early day, so that they can have an opportunity of hearing you preach, and becoming acquainted with you, and you with them, with a view to your becoming the future pastor of this church, should each party be equally well pleased.¹³⁶

The invitation was accepted for the "communion season" with Rev. Solomon J. Love, Hebron pastor in charge, the second Sunday in April. On this visit Mr. Dabney preached four times, visited twelve or fifteen families and left with the assurance of "a very flattering and prompt call from the church." His Sunday evening service was the largest Dabney had ever preached to, being estimated as "at least four hundred people."¹³⁷ He saw the prospect of usefulness here as "immeasurably greater . . . But in Louisa the destitution is greater."¹³⁸

¹³²Life sketches of Robert Lewis Dabney are as follows: Johnson, *op. cit.*, 585 pp.; and Frank Bell Lewis, "Robert Lewis Dabney: Southern Presbyterian Apologist," (unpublished Doctor's thesis, The Graduate School, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 1946), 253 pp.

¹³³Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹³⁴*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁵*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹³⁷*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁸*Loc. cit.*

On Monday, April 19th, the following letter was posted to Mr. Dabney:

Dear Sir: It affords us great pleasure to inform you that you were on yesterday, by an almost unanimous vote of the congregation of Tinkling Spring, elected pastor of that church, only two dissenting. The cause of their disagreement, being wholly political, should never be permitted to enter the church of God. A call was prepared in the usual form, and signed by a large committee of the congregation, and the blank filled with the sum of six hundred dollars. This will be sent to you by mail after meeting of the Lexington Presbytery, or carried by a commissioner to be appointed for that purpose, to the meeting of the West Hanover Presbytery. We do sincerely hope that when the call is presented to your Presbytery, that body will place it in your hands, and will throw no obstacle in the way to your accepting it, provided it may be your wish to do so. The field to which we call you is a very interesting one in very many respects, and holds out many strong inducements for you to come and occupy it, viz., its geographical position, the large and very interesting groups of young people growing up in the midst, most of whom are out of the fold of the Good Shepherd, a large and floating population who have no identity with any particular church, many of whom we think may be brought within the fold of Christ, and that we have been without a pastor for eighteen months, that this is the fourth effort we have made to secure one, and that you have been *elected* with almost *unprecedented unanimity*. Should you *fail* or *refuse* to *accept* the *call*, owing to the opposition stated, it is the opinion of the more intelligent and discreet members of this church, Mr. Calhoun uniting with them in that opinion, that it would be attended with the most disastrous results to the peace and amity of this ancient congregation. . . . That the great Head of the Church may guide you to a correct decision of the all-important question presented for your consideration is the sincere prayer of your friends and well-wishers,

JOHN McCUE,
DAVID GILKERSON,
JACOB VAN LEAR,
H. G. GUTHRIE,¹³⁹

Wednesday of this same week, April 21st, Lexington Presbytery met in the newly organized Waynesboro Church, and Tinkling Spring sent Jacob VanLear as their representative. He presented, for presbytery's approval, their call to Mr. Dabney; and the church was granted leave to prosecute the call before West Hanover Presbytery.¹⁴⁰

Young Dabney, born March 5, 1820, was from a cultured home background and secured his college work at Hampden-Sydney and the University of Virginia. After teaching school and assisting his widowed

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.

¹⁴⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 301.

mother with the mill and farm for a year, he attended Union Theological Seminary, 1844-1846, and was licensed to preach May 4, 1846.¹⁴¹

Dr. Johnson tells of the various influences brought to bear upon Mr. Dabney to respond favorably to this call from the Valley. He relates that the call was reinforced by many letters, saying:

. . . Mr. Richardson argued, urged and pled. He predicted disaster to this important church in case Mr. Dabney should not accept the call. Rev. B. M. Smith, then pastor at Staunton, united his voice with that of this church, whose members "cover fifty square miles of fine land, are most substantial in character, almost entirely devoted to the Presbyterian faith, so far as they have ecclesiastical predilections." He tells him that his "specimens of preaching have given universal satisfaction, and produced deep impressions on the minds of some young people, of whom there are fifty or sixty, that have knowledge of the truth, but have hesitated to avow a faith in the Lord Jesus."¹⁴²

The call of the church was accepted by Mr. Dabney. He transferred to the care of Lexington Presbytery at their June meeting¹⁴³ and began his work at Tinkling Spring July 1, 1847.

THE DABNEY PASTORATE

"Rev'd Robert L. Dabney commenced his labours as Pastor of Tinkling Spring Church on the 1st and was installed on the 17th of July, 1847."¹⁴⁴ The story of his pastorate is well told by his own quill pen as he wrote to members of his family to whom he was peculiarly devoted. It is of interest to note his reaction to the innovation of "steel pens":

. . . My fingers were not made to write with them, and notwithstanding the eloquent puffs of the multifarious classes of Victoria pens, gold pens, and diamond pointed pens, I shall have to continue to use the product of the grey goose's wing.¹⁴⁵

Upon arrival in his new field, the first problem was to find a boarding place. After comparing Mr. Hugh G. Guthrie's quiet bachelor's place

¹⁴¹Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-95.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁴³Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 320-21.

¹⁴⁴Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XI, 323-25. The presbytery minutes say the ordination and installation service was Friday, July 16, 1847.

¹⁴⁵Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, February 5, 1846.

with Mr. Samuel H. Bell's house with a ". . . growing crowd of lusty little squalling brats," he wrote his mother soon after arrival:

My last letter to you was from Waynesboro' about a fortnight ago. I have been at Mr. Guthries now, ever since that day . . .

The first Sunday I was here I had a slight attack of colic, enough to make me miss preaching. There was a tremendous congregation, and all agog with curiosity to see my *debut*. I think it was very fortunate that I was prevented from preaching, for it is next to impossible for a man to satisfy expectations on such an occasion; and the people were not met in a temper of mind which promised any profit. I have been well since, in the main, although very closely confined, and I think there are appearances of a favorable change in my system. But I am not sanguine, as I have never been, and am willing to wait for a radical improvement.

Day before yesterday I went into Staunton to be examined on my college studies. Yesterday the Presbytery met and heard my sermon, and nearly all the rest of my examinations. There is no doubt of my being sustained, and they expect to proceed to my ordination to-day. To-morrow and Sunday we expect to hold a communion season, Mr. Benjamin Smith assisting us. Before you receive this I shall be a bishop, if nothing happens.¹⁴⁶

The church session numbered only four and one of these was an old man. Jacob VanLear had been made Stated Clerk of the Session. One of the early acts of the session, with Mr. Dabney as moderator, was presented to the people in these words:

It was Resolved that we request the Congregation to elect four ruling Elders, and suggest the following persons viz: Frankling McCue, Thomas Calbreath Jr., Hugh McClure, and William Guthrie as suitable persons; but request the Congregation, if others seem to them more fit, to make their own selection.¹⁴⁷

The next record on this matter relates:

The persons, whom the Congregation elected to the office of Ruling Elders, not seeing their way clear to take upon themselves said office, and having declined to do so:—Resolved: That we request the Congregation to elect four persons, whom they may think suitable to fill the above office. Closed with prayer.

JACOB VANLEAR, Clk of Sess.¹⁴⁸

These records imply resentment on the part of the congregation against the session for trying to name the new elders. The congregation did not

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, July 16, 1847.

¹⁴⁷Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

select new elders so Dabney's pastorate proceeded with a depleted session in which the aged and infirm Thomas Calbreath, Sr., was always marked absent.¹⁴⁹ The session was so small that presbytery was requested on one occasion to handle a case of discipline for the church because of the inadequate number on the session.¹⁵⁰ However, a major organizational move was made:

... in order that the two boards of Deacons and of Trustees may be gradually consolidated into one. The Board of Trustees of Tinkling Spring Church will therefore consist of

Zechariah J. McChesney,
Hugh G. Guthrie,
Hugh McClure,
John McCue, and
Robert M. White.

And the Board of Deacons of
John McCue: Treasurer,
Robert M. White,
Hugh G. Guthrie,
Hugh McClure¹⁵¹

As we think of the Dabney pastorate, we note with interest some of his pronounced beliefs, particularly on issues of his day. He wrote concerning church music:

Believing as I do that *vocal* religious music is a part of worship of divine appointment, and that the articulation of words conveying divine *truth* is its essential, I cannot but regret the introduction of instruments into church music. With the worldly ostentatious intention, with which it is usually done, I have no doubt but that it is a very great sin.¹⁵²

... I wish you also to see a fair specimen of Presbyterian worship in its original simplicity and strength, without the popish accessories of choirs and organs. ...¹⁵³

His unconverted brother requested the purchase of Valley whiskey and, having to live near a tavern called "Whiskeyville," he replied feelingly:

... There is only one of our Presbyterian folks that makes whiskey now, in this neighbourhood, a sort of eye sore, & black sheep in our flock. He only stills a little occasionally, & that of no peculiar reputation. But there is an *Episcopal* man (Hear that, Mistress D.) named Abney about 8 miles above this, who has carried on the business regularly & who is said to have some good rye whiskey, that already has age. ... I shall have to say to him, however, that the purchase

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 62 *et passim*.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

¹⁵¹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

¹⁵²Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, February 5, 1846.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, October 21, 1851.

is altogether yours, & not mine, & that I disapprove of your keeping it, as much as I do of his making it.¹⁵⁴

Of special interest is his belief—and the change that took place in that belief—which fitted him naturally as Stonewall Jackson's Chief-of-Staff on the controversial issue of slavery. His two opinions, eleven years apart, are very different. He related his opinion in 1840 as follows:

. . . Before the abolitionists began to meddle with our affairs, with which they had no business, I remember that it was a common opinion that domestic slavery was at least injudicious, as far as the happiness of the master was concerned. I do believe that if these mad fanatics had let us alone, in twenty years we should have made Virginia a free State. As it is, their unauthorized attempts to strike off the fetters of our slaves have but riveted them on the faster. Does this fact arise from the perversity of our natures? I believe that it does, in part. . . . If we had hastened on to give the slave his liberty at once, as I believe public sentiment was tending, we might have done irreparable injury. I am no Abolitionist. I do not doubt that liberty would ruin the African race in the Southern States; that they would wane away, like the unfortunate Indians, by the effects of their own vices and from the pressure of a more powerful and more enlightened race. I cannot conceive of any duty arising from the command to love my neighbor as myself which compels me to inflict a ruinous injury on that neighbor, and such would be immediate freedom to our slaves. But yet I do not believe that we ought to rest contented that slavery should exist forever, in its present form. It is, as a system, liable to most erroneous abuses.¹⁵⁵

But in 1851 he said:

. . . In my political feelings I am entirely alone here. Although the number of slaves increases moderately in the county between the Ridge and the north mountain, this is, at heart, an anti-slavery community. West of the north mountain, it is worse. . . . There is such an entire lack of harmony in principle between the politics of the region & my own, that I never talk politics.

.

There is another influence at work, subtle, but powerful, which is even now restoring this balance [between slavery and anti-slavery states]. This is one which the student of Theology & Church history will understand better than the mere politician. It is *religious Heresy*. The north is widely infected with heresies.

.

Another thing wh. should be done is this; to push the discussion on the fundamental ethical question of the justification of slavery. This question of *moral right* is at the bottom of the whole matter . . . If we want to affect the general current of national opinion on this subject, "Is slaveholding intrinsically immoral

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, April 29, 1850.

¹⁵⁵Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68, citing letter dated January 22, 1840.

or unjust?" We must go before the nation with the bible as the test, & the "Thus saith the Lord," as the answer. The policy is wiser, because we know that on the bible argument, we are, logically, impregnable. . . . The bible being found to stand on our side, they will have to come out, and array themselves against the Bible. And then the whole body of sincere believers at the north will have to array themselves, tho' unwillingly, on our side. They will prefer the bible to Abolitionism. . . .¹⁵⁶

Early in his pastorate here Dabney was writing much about love. Of course, there was an inspiration behind such sentiments. He tells his mother in rather complacent words of the circumstances:

About ten days ago I wrote . . . A day or two after that, I started to the meeting of Lexington Presbytery, in Rockbridge, intending to go a day before hand to Mr. Morrison's near the place, and join a party on a mountain excursion with Ben Smith, who is his son in law. The party was interrupted by bad weather, so Richardson & I laid on our ears there until the next day.¹⁵⁷

He later wrote:

. . . Now, my associates in the Seminary from Rockbridge and Augusta, had often spoken of Miss Lavinia Morrison, the second daughter, whom they truly regarded as the most charming lady in that region for piety and good sense, and as the best of daughters, but somewhat indifferent to marriage. She was then about twenty-four years of age. When approaching Bellevue, I, like any unmarried young man, had indulged my imagination as to the appearance of this young lady I was about to meet. I said to myself, I suppose that Miss Morrison is one of your pattern young ladies, of Puritan manufacture. So I shall find her a tall, angular person, with sandy hair and blonde complexion, sharp Roman nose and gold-rimmed spectacles, and very primpy manners, talking of "missionary heralds, theology," etc.

At dinner she did not appear, nor during the afternoon. . . . Miss Lavinia had been working that day in the kitchen, making cakes, pies, bread, etc., etc. Her father had told us, at dinner, to excuse his daughter, as she was helping the cook to prepare for Presbytery. The next day I was her escort, both of us on horseback, and during the meeting I had several rides with her on horseback. Miss Lavinia had a fine horse, and she was a very fine rider, and could manage a horse perfectly. I thought she was remarkably graceful. Mine was very nearly a case of "love at first sight," but I have never thought this unreason or rashness, as I had heard much of her character from her admirers, whom I knew to be young men of good sense and truth. So I was acquainted with her essential traits. It only remained for me to see if her person and manners would suit my notion. I soon decided this.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, January 15, 1851. For letters speaking of his own slaves, see those dated December 31, 1849 and August 4, 1851.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*, August 26, 1847.

¹⁵⁸Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16.

Mr. Dabney's pen wrote as lucidly on his beliefs about love as on any other subject. They planned the wedding for February or March 1848—the Reverend Mr. Morrison, the bride's father, to the contrary notwithstanding.¹⁵⁹ The ceremony was performed March 28, 1848. In good Presbyterian style, the young romantic theologian took his bride to presbytery. It met at Harrisonburg and they stayed with Mrs. Dabney's uncle, Rev. Henry Brown, Harrisonburg pastor.¹⁶⁰

The young preacher's joy in the fellowship of his people and his delight in the countryside is unmistakable. He brought his bride to Mr. Guthrie's home where they lived until after Mr. Guthrie's marriage, which, along with other considerations, made it desirable to locate in their own home the latter part of November 1849. The beauty of the country around Barterbrook is described in the spring "as green as emerald, except the cornfields,"¹⁶¹ and in June he wrote his brother:

. . . The wheat is now in bloom, or a little past it; and the weather is extremely favourable just now. The grass in Mr. Guthrie's meadow is about knee high and as thick and heavy as it can be. The meadows here, are not by any means confined to flat lands. Mr. Guthrie's best meadow embraces a hill . . . and what is strangest, although the bottom part is the richest, judging by the corn it will bring, the hill has the best grass. I should think from appearance, there will be two tons (4500 pounds) to the acre. . . . I wish I could just fling you an acre, soil and all. You might take off the grass for hay, and then haul out the clay for manure.¹⁶²

The hospitality and devotion of his people is reiterated again and again, particularly that of David Gilkeson and Hugh G. Guthrie. A typical reference to this was made to his brother:

. . . Old friend Guthrie is as kind as a man can be, and as uniform in his attentions. I think Lavinia has rather supplanted me in his good graces—but we are none the worse for that. . . .¹⁶³

Devotion of the less prominent but no less necessary folk in his flock is cited with a touch of humor when his second son was born. He wrote his mother April 3, 1850:

. . . Last Monday evening my wife presented me with another April fool, a black haired, long legged Dabney boy. He arrived just 13 months and 12 days

¹⁵⁹Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, January 17 and March 7, 1848.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, May 5, 1848.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, May 24, 1848.

¹⁶²*Ibid.*, June 2, 1848.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, December 4, 1848.

after his senior brother. . . . Her mother was on the way to come to see her, intending to be "in at the death;" but she had stopped by the way in Staunton, for a few days. She & the doctor, therefore, being sent for, arrived about a half hour after the tea party was over. Lavinia had a very kind and experienced old neighbour woman, a member of our church, and a professional lady of colour, old Aunt Dinah—who did as well as a whole faculty of physicians, and a jury of Grandmothers could have done. Indeed I shall soon be quite *au fait* myself, by dint of observation and an inquiring mind . . . I could pick up a living in Aunt Dinah's profession . . .¹⁶⁴

The zeal of the new pastor bore fruit first in stimulating the people to tear down the old stone church building, then in very bad repair, and rebuild with brick. Mr. Dabney served as chairman of the building committee, and his letters reveal both his joys and his sorrows in the undertaking. In February he wrote to his brother and later his mother:

I am full of trouble and care now about building a new church. We have advertized for bids; and I am awaiting the result with very great misgivings. I think the Congregation generally have wrong ideas as to the cost of the building; and expect the job done too cheaply. They have raised us about \$3100, and want to build a house some 62 feet long with it . . . To make the matter worse, they passed an order, at the instance of Squire McCue, requiring us to get the designs and estimates in Staunton. There is but one Architect here, and but one or two large contractors.¹⁶⁵

.

Today we closed contracts for our new church, by which we pay 3661 dollars for the house, furnished from top to bottom, painted & all, and the rubbish cleaned away. It will be a very neat handsome & convenient house, the best country church any where in this part of the country. . . . The people grunt & groan very much about raising the money; but very unreasonably. They are well able to build such a house, or a much finer one. The Sheriff of the county told me that the people who attend regularly at our church own about \$800,000 worth of property. It is to be done by the 1st of next Dec. Mr. Guthrie and old Uncle David Gilkeson are my wheelhorses in this matter.¹⁶⁶

The building committee was able to maneuver a successful bid where they wanted it, away from the local bidders whose business was largely the work for the state hospital. Dabney wrote the first of March:

The latter part of February we proceeded to let our building, & the successful applicants were a Harrisonburg carpenter named [David S.] Jones, & a country bricklayer, a very honest old fellow named Smiley. . . . The floor of Church room . . . will be 56 by 42 in the clear, with two aisles, & four tier of pews.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, April 3, 1850.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*, February 6, 1849.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, February 26, 1849.

One end gallery only. . . . The house will be of the plainest Doric denuded of all ornaments nearly, but of very chaste proportions . . . cost of \$3661. This is thought cheap here; and was about \$500 below the bids of the treasury chickens hereabouts, who were competitors . . . The number of brick is about 155,000. . . . I am chairman of the building com. and have a thousand difficulties to reconcile, and clashing views to conciliate. . . .¹⁸⁷

Following the contract came that inevitable and blessed time when each had his own way of constructing the new edifice—and tempers and patience were, as usual, tried to the breaking point. Exhibiting peace and wisdom before his people, the building committee chairman pours out his ugliest thoughts to a brother far away:

Our Ch. building is progressing tolerably well. We have succeeded in getting a most excellent kiln of bricks, which are now ready. We begin to lay probably tomorrow, & the mason says he can finish the wall in four weeks. The wood-work is well forwarded, and we shall soon have the shell of a house at least. I fear, however, that by the time the house is finished, there will be no congregation to worship in it. They seem to be, a part of them, possessed with the devil, & jower & snarl about every trifle in the arrangement of the matter. I have been fretted until I heartily wished the old trap was standing still, with all its defects. Both parties in these altercations are to blame, some of meddlesomeness, & some for repelling that meddlesomeness in too rash a manner. Mean time, by an exertion of great forbearance, I steer clear of both, & try to keep the peace between them, but in vain. The Scotch Irish are the most inflexible of people in the world, when in the right; & the most vexatiously pig headed & mulish when wrong, on the face of the earth. The men who were known to be of most questionable sincerity & piety in the church, are of course the most active in making mischief. But while such foolish contentiousness is extremely disgraceful to religion & no doubt throws the Devils into perfect convulsions of sardonic glee, it is consoling to see that the persons really active in the evil doing are few, & that there are many moderate, forbearing, forgiving christians, whose pious endurance of these annoyances *honours* the gospel, as much as the conduct of others disgraces it.¹⁸⁸

Delight over the new sanctuary was common to both pastor and people. No doubt the pastor's pride was responsible for his estimate of the people his new church would hold. The last day of 1849 he wrote to his brother:

. . . Our church is now almost done, & promises to be a perfect gem, plain, chaste & proportioned & convenient. Some say, that although it cannot compare

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, March 8, 1849; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, Subscription list to build a new church, 1849.

¹⁸⁸Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, July 30, 1849. It is fair to note that the epithet, "mulish," is one Dabney used in connection with those he loved—Tinkling Spring and the Dabney family!

in costliness of ornaments, & in size, with many others, it will be one of the most tasteful churches in Virginia. It is withal a very cheap house. Our ch. will cost about 3400. Seats about 500 people commonly, 700 by cramming aisles & pews.¹⁶⁹

The building was first used March 3, 1850, and on Friday, April 12th, it was dedicated to the glory of God. The dedication sermon was preached from Psalm 96:6, "Honour and Majesty are before him; strength and beauty are in his sanctuary," by the Reverend Benjamin M. Smith, former pastor and brother-in-law of Mr. Dabney.¹⁷⁰

Mr. Dabney's heart yearned for the influence of the Holy Spirit to take hold of his work and lead the congregation into richer spiritual experiences. The large number of unsaved youth, that had been pointed out to urge upon him the call to this work, were not responding to his efforts. Lack of success drove him almost to despair. Again in 1849 his own pen expresses best his sentiments:

... I have experienced more depression of spirits the last few weeks than for many a month before. A part of it is caused I reckon by anxieties about my wife ... much of it by the apparent fruitlessness of my ministry. My charge hangs on my hands like a growing burden—heavier & heavier continually. They listen to my preaching very attentively, & often with fixed interest; but it always feels to me like the interest of the understanding and imagination only, and not of the spiritual effect, except to make them compliment me; and that I count a bad effect, bad for me, and bad for them.¹⁷¹

.

We are jogging along as usual in church matters. There is dreadful lukewarmness; and I frequently come from church after preaching to a drowsy congregation, half fit to hang myself. But I ought not to complain: far too large a share of this lukewarmness is in my own heart. . . .¹⁷²

Out of the church's sense of inadequacy and faithful work, the revival came soon after they were worshipping in their new sanctuary. He writes to his mother and later to Betty, his sister, who had visited some of the families concerned:

We have preaching twice a Sabbath, and once on Wednesday evening of each week. I expect to have something of a protracted meeting before harvest. We have about 25 or 30 under concern, and out of them a goodly number hoping

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*, December 31, 1849.

¹⁷⁰John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, note on p. 46.

¹⁷¹Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, January 9, 1849.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, July 9, 1849.

that they are born again. I think, if I could get the church aroused, we should have a glorious work. But alas: this is harder even, than to arouse sinners.¹⁷³

.

We had a communion a fortnight ago. 29 joined the ch. among them Misses Lizzy Davis, both the Misses Vanlear, Miss Eliz. & Marg. McCue &c. There are still a good many cases of interest.¹⁷⁴

The session reported to presbytery that year thirty-three added by examination on profession of faith and four by certificate of transfer¹⁷⁵—by far the largest number that had been added in any one year since Dr. James Willson's revival season twenty years earlier. For the third year in succession, the church budget had gone above \$1500—an amount far in excess of their former stewardship.¹⁷⁶

This revival also touched the slave section of the congregation, occupying the gallery in the new church. "Margaret Ann, a girl of colour belonging to Mr. Solomon Coiner, was examined and received as a member."¹⁷⁷ In like manner, Mildred, belonging to Thomas Johnston, and Esther, belonging to John Hamilton, were brought into the church.¹⁷⁸ It was in this revival season that Mrs. Ellen McCue—to mean so much to the church in the future—transferred from Staunton to Tinkling Spring.¹⁷⁹

"My thoughts have turned somewhat of late, to the possibility of my getting a home of my own," he wrote his brother as early as 1848.¹⁸⁰ "Mr. Guthrie is married," he wrote in May 1849, "I am delighted at it, for he has married an excellent, & suitable woman."¹⁸¹ This event no doubt led to his purchase of a home, Sleepy Hollow, about a mile from the church and located on the old Staunton-Waynesboro road. The extension of the railroad through the Valley brought on an inflation that Mr. Dabney thought was temporary; therefore, he was very cautious about the price of his new home. He wrote his mother in October:

. . . I have bought a home; even the little lot of Clarke the Smith, on the Staunton Turnpike . . . the last you will address [before Synod] to Barterbrook.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, June 8, 1850.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, July 6, 1850.

¹⁷⁵Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

¹⁷⁶*Loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁷Sessional Records, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 74, 77.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁸⁰Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, December 4, 1848.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, May 1, 1849. This was Mrs. Bettie Patterson Gilkeson.



First Presbyterian Church,
Staunton, Virginia



First Presbyterian Church,
Waynesboro, Virginia



Finley Memorial
Presbyterian Church
Stuarts Draft, Virginia

Figure XXX
Three Daughter Churches



Figure XXXI

Hermitage Presbyterian Church; First Unit, 1885 (inset)

Thenceforward it will be Fishersville, which will be a great relief: for there we have a daily mail. . . . We move there the middle of Nov. or thereabouts. . . . Have me a good *garden hoe* made: for here they do not make broadhoes, they buy a set of little worthless things, made out of sheet iron, from the stores. And also a *bread tray*, if there are any of your coloured acquaintances that deal in these articles. . . .¹⁸²

During the days of building a church and conducting a revival, Dabney had been all-the-while working at practical manual labor at Sleepy Hollow. He chides himself in a letter to his well-to-do brother:

. . . The old adage says, "Extremes meet." This I have realized in my fate; for by one short step, I passed, as Rev. Mr. Blain said, from a Tuckahoe gentleman to a Cohoe nigger, from being the honoured guest of the Honourable Mr. Bates, C. W. Dabney, &c, from lolling on spring mattresses and crimson velvet cushions, and eating with silver forks & drinking *Claret de Sauterne* to getting up the cow, currying the horse, shelling corn &c &c. "Oh what a fall was there, my country men"? My hands have passed into a state of distant estrangement from silk gloves; and, what with blisters & sunburn, resemble a human claw less than an old turkey gobbler's foot.

.

I have gotten a good deal into the notion of buying me a negro man. . . .¹⁸³

This hard work paid dividends, and the Dabneys began plans for a better and more permanent home. The Lord's blessing in spiritual and material things had made of Mr. Dabney a new man—so clearly evident in his letter of February 1852:

. . . It seems that my misadventures excite more concern down in Louisa than with me. I have become caseharded to annoyances, & can cut wood, curry a horse, or shell corn, with no more disturbance to my equanimity than eating my breakfast. We are getting on swimmingly now. Our two new servants seem good, & Lavinia especially, has become such a lady in her department, that her health is affected for the lack of exercise. I also find my digestion decidedly less omnivorous than when I was my own nigger . . . By way of seeking excitement I have been buying a tract of poor land this week, a thing which some of my friends think very foolish. . . . Mr. Guthrie said he thought it was not worth more than \$20. . . . I shall think myself well off if I come off for \$1000, for buildings . . . I will try what architectural science can do to combine taste & beauty with economy. My house *must* be some thing *very* small, & *very* plain; but these are no reason, in the eye of skill, why it may not be pretty. . . . We shall be in the circle of the Barterbrook neighbourhood, the most sociable & moral tone in the congregation. The quality of the land is limestone & gravel.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, October 8, 1849.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, August 4, 1851. This letter is the first in the collection on which there is a postage stamp.

It has been abused, & has a bad face upon it. But the larger part, I think is naturally good. There are thirty acres of wood land besides scattering trees. . . .¹⁸⁴

The following month he called it "Stony Point, a name literally true and appropriate," using the name since it was "suggestive of revolutionary glories" on which he could enlarge by way of teaching his children the greatness of their country.¹⁸⁵ He designed the home, to be built of the rock on the place, and with his own hands quarried the stone. "Yesterday I made two visits . . . and quarried a perch or two of limestone," he wrote his brother in April. The excavation for the basement and surface limestone supplied the stone necessary. In the process of building Stony Point, his "wheelhorses" again were Mr. Hugh G. Guthrie, who contributed the lime, and Mr. David Gilkeson, who, with other neighbors, hauled the sand. Mr. Dabney paid "about 50 cts per perch for laying" the stone.¹⁸⁶

Mr. Dabney's first letter to his mother, sent enclosed in an envelope instead of folded and addressed on the letterback, was a report on the home building project:

. . . My "rock house" as the Cohoes call it, grows reasonably fast, & has gotten up within some 6 feet of the eaves at one end. . . . It will be a very peculiar, pictureque and tasteful house, and within, a perfect little snugery . . . Neighbours thereabouts have been very kind, especially Mr. Gilkeson. He just comes, and sees what is wanting and has it done as if it were his house. . . .¹⁸⁷

The people of the church, under Mr. Dabney's leadership, had been toying with the idea of a local school of their own. From Sleepy Hollow he wrote his brother in January 1852:

. . . I am in the notion somewhat of carrying out my school project this winter. The people have some of them made proposals to make up a school for me, & take the trouble of every thing about it, but the teaching, off my hands. If they succeed, I shall teach. . . .¹⁸⁸

Fourteen months later a letter to Betty indicates the success of the school:

. . . I am getting excessively sick of teaching & score off every month of my bondage . . . 6 of them [months] are gone and only four remain; thanks to a

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, February 4, 1852.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, March 16, 1852.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, April 30, 1852.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, June 30, 1852.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, January 7, 1852.

kind providence. . . . My school is very large; some 26 or 27, and quite profitable, some \$75 per month. I work very hard on the whole, but my personal exertions this year will bring me in a good deal of money, some \$1300. This is more than a great many lawyers can say after deducting their expenses. I have no expenses: not even a riding horse: for Sam is degraded to the plough, and I earn my money on foot. My only apparatus is the brain. My earnings come to something like \$5.00 per day for every working day, during the session of the school. . . .¹⁸⁹

How he did it, we do not know; but during all these activities in a heavy schedule, Dabney found time to do a vast amount of writing for publication in newspapers and periodicals on questions of the day.¹⁹⁰

Lexington Presbytery, eager to elevate the ruling eldership to a higher degree of usefulness, appointed Mr. Dabney, at the evening session August 22, 1850, chairman of a committee to prepare a pastoral letter to all sessions, particularly pointing out their duties in vacant churches and on Sabbaths when the regular minister was away. Overnight the letter was prepared and was presented and approved by presbytery on the following day.¹⁹¹ By the end of September, Mr. Dabney had his own session adopt the recommendation:

Resolved:—That it be made the standing order of Session that, whenever there is no Ministerial supply for the pulpit of Tinkling Spring Church, a prayer-meeting shall be held on Sabbath morning at the Church, in which each member of the Session shall preside one Sabbath, in rotation beginning with the Senior Elder who may be present.¹⁹²

"Mrs. Dabney says come to the house," a messenger boy called to Mr. Dabney in the field where he was planting corn in the spring of 1853, "Who do you suppose has been elected professor in Union Theological Seminary?"

"Who?" he replied in astonishment, aware of the fact that he was a member of the board of electors.

"She says you are," the messenger declared.¹⁹³

Mr. Dabney was greatly perplexed. The vacant professorship had been a matter of deep concern to him and some of his personal friends had promoted him for the position. However, a year previous to this

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, March 4, 1853.

¹⁹⁰Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-34.

¹⁹¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIII, 110, 114-19.

¹⁹²Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁹³Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

Dabney had reluctantly voted for the widely known Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, having preferred Rev. Benjamin M. Smith of Staunton for the position but because of kinship had hesitated to promote his name.¹⁹⁴ Dr. Breckinridge declined as Dabney thought he would, and the other electors had conferred and decided without his knowledge that Mr. Dabney himself was the one to fill this chair of Ecclesiastical History and Polity.¹⁹⁵

He was just now getting comfortably settled in his own home at Tinkling Spring where his work as pastor, preacher and schoolmaster with these people was proving to be a heart-warming and spiritually stimulating experience. His congregation had come to see Dabney's tenderness and intense affection burst forth often from beneath his usually severe bearing, and they responded with an absolute trust and devoted love.¹⁹⁶

In April 1853 he wrote his brother:

... removed my P[ost] off[ice] to Barterbrook, where we only have a weekly mail on Wednesday.

.

You have perhaps heard by this time, that there is a possibility of my never living in my new house much, after all. The prospect of my removal is now exceedingly uncertain; but we will talk about it more when you come.¹⁹⁷

In the May meeting of the electors, with Dabney absent, he was unanimously elected; and it was this word that came to him by messenger boy in his Saturday corn-planting at Barterbrook. Pressure came from important sources upon Mr. Dabney to see the call of God in this selection and the reception and commendation from the church at large was such that it could not be turned aside lightly.¹⁹⁸ On May 24th, he notified his brother:

... I have done what you prophesied, & concluded to go to the Seminary . . . I immediately made our people a talk & told them what I thought of doing. They took it in very good part, and as my friends tell me, there is not a man in the Congregation who is angry, though some appear to be really grieved.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁹⁷Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, April 5, 1853.

¹⁹⁸Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁹⁹Dabney Letters, *op. cit.*, May 24, 1853.

At the meeting of Lexington Presbytery in the Bethel Church on August 19, 1853, he asked leave to resign his charge and the following day his request was granted in this unusual tribute:

The following *minute* was adopted *respecting the removal of Rev. Dr. Dabney*:—The Rev. R. L. Dabney D. D. having been elected professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in the Union Theological Seminary, applied to Presbytery for a dissolution of the pastoral relation existing between himself, and the church of Tinkling Spring. The congregation, through their commissioner, Mr. Jacob Vanlear, expressed their warm attachment to their pastor, and their extreme reluctance to part with him: yet, stated that, in view of the whole case, they had resolved not to oppose his removal. The subject was extensively discussed in the Presbytery, and it was finally resolved by a large majority that the request of Dr. Dabney be granted; that the pastoral relation be dissolved, and the church of Tinkling Spring declared vacant.

While the Presbytery felt constrained to yield to what they regarded as a call from the head of the church to their beloved brother to a higher sphere of usefulness, they regard it as due to him, to themselves, and to the church of Tinkling Spring to record on their minutes the pain they experience in the performance of this duty. They sympathise deeply with the church in being deprived of a pastor beloved in no ordinary degree, and whose ministry had been so universally acceptable, and so blessed of God, and which promised, under the smiles of the Head of the church, to be still more abundantly useful. And they pray that the bereavement may be sanctified to that people, and that they may be soon supplied with another faithful shepherd. The Presbytery would also express the pain they experience in parting with this beloved brother, and faithful fellow laborer in the vineyard, who had endeared himself to them in no ordinary degree. And they pray that the blessing of God may rest abundantly upon him in his person, & his family, and make him a richer blessing to the church of Christ in the office to which he has been called.²⁰⁰

Dr. Johnson, with the Dabney Letters of Union Theological Seminary library before him and an intimate knowledge of Dr. Dabney's life at the Seminary, wrote of the devotion existing between this pastor and his people and the distinctive usefulness to which he was headed in the church at large as he left Tinkling Spring and his beloved Stony Point home:

. . . His Valley charge had been his first real pastoral charge. He loved that people as he never loved any other to the end of his life. They were hard-headed folk, as the Scotch-Irish ever are, and hard to lead; but his own honesty and earnestness had met honesty and earnestness in them; and they loved him as they have loved few pastors. Here are letters from the Guthries, and the Bells, and the Van Lears, etc., lamenting his departure, and breathing out a reverential affection for him. . . .

²⁰⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIII, 250-52.

At Union Seminary he was to stay thirty years, fill with great distinction, two professorships—first, that of Ecclesiastical History and Polity, and, later, that of Systematic and Polemic Theology—he was to be co-pastor for many years of College Church, the adviser of many in need in his community and elsewhere. There he was destined, by his writings, to bring the philosophical and theological world into debt to God for him; and while residing there, he was to figure as a patriot and soldier.²⁰¹

The Presbyterian Church in the United States elevated Dr. Robert Lewis Dabney to its highest office. He served in 1870 as Moderator of the General Assembly meeting in Louisville, Kentucky.

TINKLING SPRING SCHOOLS

As ardently as the tradition is perpetuated that Rev. John Craig taught day school during the weekdays (following his arrival in 1740), there is not found in original documents a single item to support this idea. In fact a reasonable inference from the facts now available is that Parson Craig's school teaching was limited to one year's teaching in Pennsylvania and tutoring an occasional pupil in such subjects as Latin, Greek, bookkeeping or theology. There is every indication that he was not a grade day-school teacher.

The Tinkling Spring congregation, like other groups of Scots in old Augusta, were never without instruction for their children, even if it had to be done by parents at home. The old South Mountain Meeting House section had its Robert Alexander,²⁰² who lived immediately beyond the border of Tinkling Spring congregation; North Mountain had its Vance family among whom was a schoolmaster; Linville Creek²⁰³ and the Massanutten settlement of Germans had their early schools; and Tinkling Spring had her William Wright, "schoolmaster,"²⁰⁴ living on Long Meadow Run and a schoolhouse built on James McClure's land before 1747. About 1742, Eleanor Wright, presumably a relative of William (the proper age to be a sister), married Andrew McClure,

²⁰¹Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

²⁰²Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Mr. Booker's thesis is a recent research study, efficiently done, and will be used here as a source of much of the material on Tinkling Spring schools.

²⁰³Charles E. Kemper, "The Settlement of the Valley," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 30:179, April, 1922. Mr. Kemper says William Wright was the earliest schoolmaster who appears upon the record of Augusta County and states he was teaching on Linville Creek in 1743. How that may be we are now unable to find out, since he was settled in this congregation and became a charter member in 1741 and an officer before March 1, 1744.

²⁰⁴Zachariah Johnston Papers, 1742-1856, Virginia State Library, Archives Division, Photoprints, Accession No. 23893, ac.

son of James.²⁰⁵ William Wright lived two and a half miles down the east fork of Long Meadow Run from the McClure schoolhouse. The presence of this school is certified in depositions of a half dozen families of the church, some of whom attended school there in 1747.²⁰⁶ It seems reasonable to assume, on the basis of distance and relationship, that Mr. Wright's teaching was done at the McClure schoolhouse. Let it be noted, but without desire to discredit the just fame to which his efforts came, that this school predates by one year Robert Alexander's school.²⁰⁷

Two other schools within the congregation before the Revolutionary War are mentioned by Edward Hall in 1862²⁰⁸ and Thomas Stuart,²⁰⁹ founder of Stuarts Draft, both Tinkling Spring men.

The schools of Staunton and Waynesboro that have been mentioned were within this congregation and were energetically sponsored by pastors and other leaders of the Tinkling Spring congregation.²¹⁰ No doubt they were patronized by families in the church who were able to afford the expense involved. Both these institutions gave way in later years to Augusta County's free school system.

The time came when the prosperous farmers immediately around the church were desirous of a local school. Mr. Dabney began such a school near Barterbrook while living with Mr. Guthrie. It was located 500 yards north of the large spring and three quarters of a mile north of Round Hill on present state highway 608. It was advertised in the Staunton paper as "situated in a neighborhood of fine moral and religious influences" and claimed to maintain a reputation "equal to any of the best Schools in the Valley of Virginia." Boarding was available "in pleasant families of the highest respectability for about \$8 per month; washing, fuel, &c., &c., included."²¹¹ The sternness of school discipline persists as a tradition. Slates are said to have been broken over the heads of naughty pupils—the frame left about the neck for

²⁰⁵James Alexander McClure, *The McClure Family* (Petersburg, Virginia: Presses of Frank A. Owen, 1914), p. 89.

²⁰⁶Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), II, 28.

²⁰⁷*Ibid.*, II, 440.

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, I, 477.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, III, 189.

²¹⁰*Supra*; Booker, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-73.

²¹¹Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 75, citing an advertisement of the Barterbrook Classical and Mathematical School in *The Staunton Spectator and General Advertiser*, August 10, 1853.

ornament! The pitching or throwing of articles at hand was common practice. The Reverend B. C. Patterson, D.D., born in 1865, now retired and living at the old homeplace adjacent to the old Barterbrook school, says:

The school never accommodated more than 30 or 40 pupils. A spot on the wall had been pointed out to residents of the community as being the place where Dr. Dabney was said to have thrown a Latin dictionary at the head of one of his pupils.²¹²

The teacher's authority was challenged more than once, and at times parents sided with pupils against the teacher, but Mr. Dabney was master of the situation at all times.²¹³

With the prospect of others of his congregation wanting a school opened at the church, Mr. Dabney turned for help to one of his spiritual children, John Newton Craig.²¹⁴ Mr. Craig united with the Tinkling Spring Church in August 1853 and the same month announced the continuance of the Barterbrook School upon the recommendation of Mr. Dabney who was removing. He was succeeded by J. D. Morrison as instructor, and Mr. Craig returned to school for his Master's degree—and ultimately the Presbyterian ministry and a brilliant career in the Home Mission cause of the Presbyterian Church.²¹⁵

The Tinkling Spring School is said to have started in the session house²¹⁶ while the schoolhouse was being constructed. It however, appears that this may not have been the case since the matter was under consideration in January and advertised in July, 1852, before school opened in September. Where this building was located and how long it was used we are now unable to learn. Mr. Booker cites the advertisement that describes the school and its purpose:

The subscriber will open a school for instruction in the classics, sciences and modern languages, at "Tinkling Spring Church", Augusta, on Wednesday the first of September next. This school is intended chiefly for the improvement of the youth of his charge; but scholars from a distance will be boarded either in

²¹²*Ibid.*, p. 74.

²¹³Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

²¹⁴*Loc. cit.*; Mr. Craig was a Washington College graduate, whose parents were in the Augusta Stone Church. He had served for a limited time as a teacher in the Waynesboro Academy, where, under Mr. Dabney's preaching, he was brought to Christ.

²¹⁵E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), p. 153.

²¹⁶Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

the family of the subscriber, or in other respectable and christian families near the school. The course of instruction will embrace all that is usually taught in Academies of the highest class. The school will be brought habitually under a christian influence, and prayer and the study of the Scriptures will be a part of its daily exercises.

The subscriber may be permitted to say with regard to his fitness for the office of teacher, that besides the usual professional education of the Presbyterian ministry, the nature of which is well known to the public, he received a course of instruction at Hampden Sidney College, and also took the highest degree in the University of Virginia—that of Master of Arts—and has had four years experience in the business of instruction, as teacher of a classical school. Numerous references of the highest respectability might be given, among the Professors of our learned Institutions, and the gentlemen who were pleased when he was formerly engaged in teaching, to express the highest gratification with his success in the management of their sons and wards. But the subscriber believes that this is wholly unnecessary.

The terms will be lower than is usual in schools of this grade, because the chief object of the enterprise is not pecuniary advantage, but the promotion of liberal christian education. The tuition will be in every case \$30. for the term of ten months and board may be obtained in the best families of the neighborhood at about \$8. per month, both to be paid semi-annually. No scholar will be received for less than five months. The months of July and August will be a vacation.

ROB'T. L. DABNEY
Fishersville Post Office, Va.²¹⁷

Families of the congregation in the Fishersville area began their first school on property purchased from Franklin McCue in 1869 by trustees David S. Bell, Absolam Koiner, Henry H. Hamilton, John G. Guthrie and Zachariah T. Galbreath—Bell, Hamilton and Guthrie were Tinkling Spring officers. The school was called Oak Forest Academy.²¹⁸ In 1872 the instructor was John G. Stover from Churchville, Virginia. He was an elder in the Loch Willow Presbyterian Church but transferred to Tinkling Spring and was made an elder here in April of 1873.²¹⁹ This school served local families principally but in 1872 advertised for a limited number of boarders at \$80 per half-session, payable in advance.²²⁰

In 1873 the trustees of the academy deeded their property to the:

. . . School Board of South River District . . . to employ no other than white teachers nor admit any other than white people into Oak Forest Academy. The

²¹⁷Booker, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78, citing *The Staunton Spectator and General Advertiser*, July 21, 1852.

²¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

²¹⁹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

²²⁰Booker, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

School Board to encourage to the full extent of their authority the introduction of the higher departments of education.²²¹

The buildings were used for many years as a public school for white children. After the erection of the Fishersville School at its present location in 1922, the school board, contrary to their agreement, or with a waiver of that condition, used the buildings for a negro public school.²²²

In the case of all of these school buildings, it appears they were community centers used for social, political and religious purposes. The Ladies Benevolent Society of Tinkling Spring Church met at Barterbrook on December 31, 1874.²²³ The Tinkling Spring School was used constantly as a center of community activity and to such an extent that the traditional name that has persisted to the present is the "Community Building." In the case of Oak Forest the original title specifies:

It is also provided that the society of gentlemen now organized at Fishersville in the said County of Augusta, known as the society formed for the purpose of securing stolen horses and for the arrest of horse thieves and also known as the "Fishersville Agricultural Club" shall be allowed to hold the meetings of said society in the school house . . .²²⁴

In the transfer of this property to the school board, "Public meetings, social, religious or political . . ." were authorized as long as they did not interfere with the interests of the school.²²⁵ The Tinkling Spring Session met at Oak Forest Academy frequently.²²⁶

All of these academies in the congregation were antecedents of the Augusta County public schools of this area and served as the beginnings out of which grew, through the county public school system, the Wilson Memorial High School of Fishersville, serving a large section of the eastern part of Augusta County. It is now said to be one of the largest strictly rural high schools of the nation, enrolling more than thirteen hundred pupils annually.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

The idea of George Washington to bind the Union by the "indissoluble bonds" of commerce and trade had been developed by 1850 to such

²²¹*Ibid.*, p. 99, citing Augusta Deed Book, *op. cit.*, LXXXVII, 14.

²²²*Ibid.*, p. 100.

²²³*Ibid.*, p. 76.

²²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 98.

²²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 99.

²²⁶Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 191.

an extent that the James River Canal reached 197 miles inland to Buchanan, Virginia, and the advent of the steam engine had made possible the pushing of the Louisa Railroad to the Blue Ridge Mountains. One of the illustrated histories of the Chesapeake and Ohio Lines (developed to link the Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River) says:

In 1849 the Blue Ridge Railroad was formed to build a steel trail over the mountains to the West. Construction on this line presented some of the most difficult problems ever encountered in railroad history and the present day roadbed of the C and O reflects the genius of Claudius Crozet's achievement. A town on the mainline is named for him.²²⁷

When this road was built through the center of the congregation at Tinkling Spring, the questions of inflation, intemperance, profanity, immorality and quarrels increased with such rapidity that the people might well have asked if the advantage of this new mode of transportation was worth the cost in marred lives, but the condition was thrust upon them, and the church dealt with sin as it reared its ugly head. This they did on many occasions when reproach was brought upon the church by the conduct of its members. With stern justice and Christian spirit, the session admonished, arbitrated and suspended the guilty, not showing the least hesitancy in exercising their spiritual oversight in cases of the rich and influential as well as the poor and humble.

When a lady of the church "exhibited a violent temper" and "Public Rumor" was circulated about it "unfavorable" to her Christian character, the session "informally requested" the pastor to visit her and upon her appearing voluntarily before the session in penitent confession she was admonished.²²⁸ A member charged with "a personal encounter" near Gibbs' Hotel in Waynesboro with a Fishersville citizen "contrary to the Law of Jesus Christ Romans 12—18," was cited and heard. After his defense, the session gave only a "serious admonition" since ". . . the provocation seems to have been great and such would be difficult for any to endure without anger."²²⁹ However, when the session proved, by a witness, a few months later that all the while this same brother was guilty of immoral conduct and charged with a "misdemeanor" he was, without a hearing, ". . . debarred from the sacraments of Christ's church

²²⁷*George Washington's Railroad, His Dream Realized* ([n.p.] published by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, [n.d.]), p. 4.

²²⁸Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

²²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.

... til such time as these imputations shall be satisfactorily disproved." Refusing to appear when cited, he was "suspended from the Communion of Tinkling Spring Church for contumacy and contempt of session" and the record ordered read from the pulpit.²³⁰

Another case was a member charged with "a habit of exaggerated and extravagant speaking" and still another with "intemperance in drinking."²³¹ While yet another, typical of the cases in more prominent families, was an informal request by the session to two of her men:

... to come before Session for the purpose of answering inquiries respecting their feelings towards other brethren of the Church, with whom they had had collision, and the spirit manifested was considered Christian.²³²

One of these men exercised such Christian qualities in a later case in which another influential Tinkling Spring member who had "made a violent assault" on him was involved²³³ that the church elected him an elder a short time later²³⁴.

The problem of intemperance was attacked in other ways, particularly by education. Presbytery heard messages on the subject of temperance often. Just before Mr. Dabney presented his resignation before Lexington Presbytery, they had heard an address on "Temperance" by Major J. T. L. Preston,²³⁵ of Lexington, a descendant of John Preston of Tinkling Spring. Waynesboro had an active "Sons of Temperance" organization that in 1849 secured permission and built their hall above the Waynesboro Academy rooms.²³⁶

Closely associated with intemperance and just as strictly forbidden by the church rules was the practice of dancing. This question, however, was brought before the session often before the appearance of outsiders accompanying the railroad development. Mr. Smith and his session, on more than one occasion, visited and admonished ladies who had danced or allowed dancing in their homes. After explanation and "sincere sorrow" for such conduct "The acknowledgments & explanations of the ladies mention'd consider'd Satisfactory."²³⁷

²³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 82-87.

²³¹*Ibid.*, p. 84.

²³²*Ibid.*, p. 89.

²³³*Ibid.*, pp. 91-92; Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIII, 211, 230.

²³⁴Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

²³⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIII, 237.

²³⁶Booker, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

²³⁷Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

When an elder in one of the churches of presbytery took his family to a dance and was bold enough to say ". . . that the Church had no authority from Scripture for making a rule prohibiting dancing," the case was referred to Lexington Presbytery.²³⁸ The presbytery referred the question to a committee headed by Dr. William S. White of Lexington, and the layman on the committee was Mr. John P. Willson, Tinkling Spring elder. The accused was heard "at some length, & in his own defence"²³⁹ but presbytery judged him as ". . . deserving of pointed disapprobation . . . [and he was] directed to refrain from acting as an Elder . . . till next meeting of Presbytery."²⁴⁰ The next presbytery allowed him to continue in the privileges of church membership but declared him "incapable of serving the Church to edification in the capacity of a Ruling Elder."²⁴¹

Thus the Tinkling Spring Church had a part in formulating the stern Presbyterian attitude regarding the tendency of the public dance to undermine spiritual zeal, especially when associated with the drinking of alcoholic beverages.

Another issue in which there was a wide diversity of opinion and much discussion in the churches was the question of slavery. This church was no exception, but the subject will be discussed in another connection.²⁴²

A letter preserved from this particular period gives an individual's reaction to the new railroad transportation. A lady writes:

. . . I took Miss Julia to the depot at Fishersville Friday morning We got up here and started at four oclock and got there nearly two hours before the cars came When it did come through it was enough to scare one half to-death She had just time to get in. The cars started before she got her seat . . .²⁴³

The Tinkling Spring Church and her pastors made more than a normal contribution to Christian democracy in the days following the Revolution when the principles in our way of life were crystallizing into their

²³⁸ Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIII, 44.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 47.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XIII, 48-49.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XIII, 66.

²⁴² *Infra.*

²⁴³ Brown Craig Patterson, Genealogical Notes and Miscellaneous Material on the Patterson and Guthrie Families, letter written by Mary Willson to Samuel A. Lambert, Cedar Spring, Virginia.

present form. She, along with her Scotch compatriots, held the balance of power in Virginia. Under the leadership and spiritual inspiration of those ardent Presbyterians, Rev. James Waddel and Zechariah Johnston, there was given that necessary support to the Jeffersonian form of democracy which made it succeed over other proposed forms.

In the spirit of the day, this new found freedom was followed and supported by education. The pastors of the church, loyally supported by the people, were ardent sponsors of public and Christian education, by which her freedom in a democracy was to be nurtured to full strength through the years.

PART FIVE
POSITION IN NATIONAL DIVISION AND
RECONSTRUCTION



THE HERMITAGE SESSION

Front row (left to right): Rev. C. S. Harvey, Jr.; R. H. Drumheller; R. L. Corbin; W. M. Shiflet; *second row:* R. H. Gleason; J. E. Wampler; W. F. Brower; Rev. H. M. Wilson, Moderator.



THE HERMITAGE DIACONATE

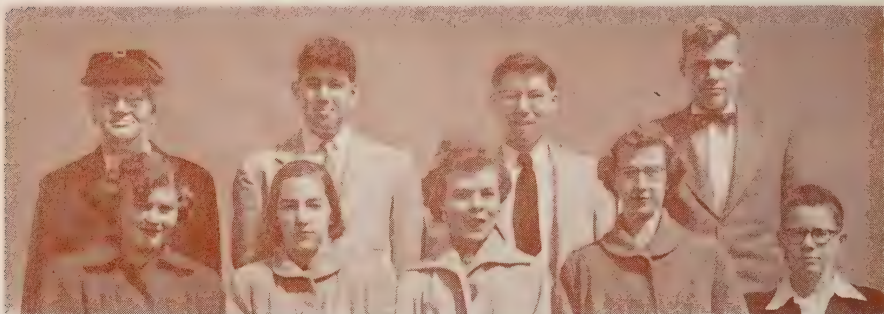
Front row (left to right): George T. Eutsler; H. L. Pleasants; B. E. Borden; *second row:* H. L. Wade, Chairman; W. H. Drumheller, Treasurer; J. C. Coiner; Fred Pleasants, Caretaker.

Figure XXXII
Hermitage Church Officers



HERMITAGE CHOIR, 1953

Front row (left to right): Joyce M. Key; V. Dian Lilly; M. Judith Gleason; Doris E. Corbin; *second row:* Mrs. Fay F. Coiner; Mrs. R. H. Drumheller, Pianist; Miriam L. Borden; Mrs. Noah H. Corbin; Mrs. Carl L. Drumheller; *third row:* Marshall F. Coiner; Hugh L. Wade, Jr.; C. Franklin Drumheller.



HERMITAGE YOUTH FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL

Front row (left to right): Joyce M. Key; Doris E. Corbin; June Y. Miller; Miriam L. Borden; Glenn E. Drumheller; *second row:* Mrs. R. H. Drumheller, Adviser; Ray C. Drumheller, President; C. Franklin Drumheller, Secretary-Treasurer; Marshall F. Coiner.



HERMITAGE BOARD OF THE WOMEN OF THE CHURCH

Front row (left to right): Mrs. R. H. Drumheller; Mrs. Carl L. Drumheller, President; Mrs. Fay F. Coiner; Mrs. Ashby Lilly; *second row:* Mrs. R. L. Corbin; Mrs. W. M. Shiflet, Secretary; Mrs. B. E. Borden; *third row:* Edith Kerr; Hester Kerr, Vice President; Mrs. J. E. Wampler; absent: Mrs. R. H. Gleason, Treasurer.

Figure XXXIII

Hermitage Leadership for 1953

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

In the Confederacy

AFTER Robert L. Dabney's removal in the summer of 1853, the church set about the task of finding a new minister. On February 11, 1855, Mr. Elisha B. Cleghorn, a licentiate from Philadelphia Presbytery, for the first time ". . . met the congregation of Tinkling Spring after receiving his call to same."¹ At the April meeting of presbytery Mr. Cleghorn presented his transfer and accepted the church's call officially.² Presbytery adjourned to meet at Tinkling Spring the last of May for the ordination and installation service.³ They met according to plan, on Thursday, May 31, 1855, and proceeded to examine four candidates for licensure, following which the examining committee reported on Mr. Cleghorn's attainments in literature and science, which report was "accepted" and "laid on the table." Later in the day it was noted ". . . that there were certain *rumors* abroad touching Mr. Cleghorn's connexion with American Colonization Society calculated to injure his reputation . . ."⁴

Rumor must have gone rampant through the congregation as they gathered for the 11 o'clock order of the day expecting to join presbytery in ordaining and installing their new pastor; but instead, while a committee examined "certain papers of the Am. Colonization Society," they listened to presbytery as they licensed four candidates to preach the gospel—among these licentiates was Charles S. M. See. Presbytery deemed it wise to set an adjourned meeting for three weeks later ". . . that Mr. Cleghorn may have an opportunity, as he requests, more fully to vindicate himself from the imputations to which he has been so unexpectedly subjected at this time."⁵ Let it not be forgotten that there was already in the church a strong division of opinion between north and south on the question of slavery which might well enter into the feeling between a northern man and a southern presbytery.

¹John Craig, Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, see note, p. 46.

²Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XIII, 318, 320.

³*Ibid.*, XIII, 322.

⁴*Ibid.*, XIII, 331, 333-34.

⁵*Ibid.*, XIII, 338-39.

Presbytery met again, June 21st, at the Tinkling Spring Church and heard Mr. Cleghorn most of the day. In examination of his dealing with the society, presbytery found a lack of "due caution" but no "intentional wrong" or "dishonorable purpose."⁶ However, to install him in "one of our most important churches," presbytery minutes declare in part, "it appeared that his literary, and scientific attainments were" in doubt.⁷ It seems that this deficiency, supplimented by rumor, had ruined this man's prospect of usefulness. The presbytery minutes read:

Upon the adoption by the Presbytery of the *minute* in the matter *concerning* Rev. Mr. Cleghorn, he arose, and stated that he held in his hand the call presented to him by the congregation [of] Tinkling Spring—that he had never sought that call, and that he now returned it, and desired that it should never be renewed. The Presbytery regard this act of Mr. Cleghorn as highly honorable to him, because it indicates the sacrifice of feeling, and plan which he was willing to make from a sense of duty to the church of the Lord Jesus Christ.⁸

About a year later, on August 27, 1856, the church presented a call to licentiate Charles S. M. See, whose trial parts and licensure the congregation had observed at the Tinkling Spring meeting of presbytery the previous year. Mr. See accepted.⁹

THE SLAVERY QUESTION

There were slave owners in Tinkling Spring from its beginning, though the percentage of slaves in the upper Valley was small compared with other sections of Virginia. James Patton owned slaves, William Crow traded in slaves and the first pastor, Rev. John Craig, at his death left five slaves.¹⁰

The Reverend John McCue received some undesired notoriety in his ownership of slaves when a northern brother, then pastor of the South River Congregation at Port Republic, was commissioner of Lexington Presbytery to the Presbyterian General Assembly when that body was questioning the right of Christians to own slaves. He reported, without calling his name, as typical of Virginia clergymen, Mr. McCue's riding

⁶*Ibid.*, XIII, 343-44.

⁷*Ibid.*, XIII, 363, 366-68.

⁸*Ibid.*, XIII, 345.

⁹*Ibid.*, XIII, 337; XIV, 3-4.

¹⁰*Supra*; Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. 15-17.

horseback to Madison County and returning by Port Republic with two male slaves chained together marching in front of his horse, a slave woman riding behind him on his horse and two slave children in front of his saddle, cradled in each end of a long bag. Later in the terrifically bitter encounter between the Port Republic pastor and presbytery, he made Mr. McCue admit the essential truth of this incident.¹¹

Mr. McCue and presbytery won in this bitter encounter in the year 1815. Mr. McCue, along with many others, continued to own slaves, and the quarrel ended in the death-knell of the anti-slave brother and his South River Congregation. They deposed him "from the Office of the Gospel Ministry" for his strong marks of contempt shown toward presbytery and the Port Republic work was later dissolved.¹²

The longer view of subsequent events makes one wonder who was the ultimate victor, for a few years later the issue was far from settled in the congregation—apparently less so than in the county. It is related concerning Squire McCue:

The people of the county seem to have been ripe in 1831-32, for the gradual abolition of slavery. John McCue, one of the delegates from Augusta, presented a memorial to the legislature in December, 1831, signed by 215 ladies, praying for emancipation. Similar petitions, numerous signed, were gotten up in the county. In presenting the memorial of the ladies, Mr. McCue delivered a vigorous speech in opposition to slavery. The contrary sentiment prevailed in the state; but at the next election, April court day, 1832, John McCue was returned to the legislature from Augusta. His colleague was Thomas Jefferson Stuart.¹³

An undated, unsigned original communication to "The Reverend Sesion of Tinckling Spring Congregation" is thought to fit into this pre-Civil War period:

To the Elders of Tinckling Spring Congregation
Gentlemen:

As I wish to Follow peace with all Men Not Desiring the ill will of Aney it is with the greatest Reluctance that I have wrote the following but when I Consider the Degeneracy of the age in which I live An Evil prevailing Amongst us without The Least remorse of Conscience that might be A Terror to A heathen let be A Cristian I Can No Longer Conceal My mind I Mean the

¹¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, VI, 60, 63.

¹²*Ibid.*, VI, 97-98; X, 386.

¹³Jed. Hotchkiss and Joseph A. Waddell, *Historical Atlas of Augusta County, Virginia* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins & Co., 1885), p. 18. Thomas Jefferson Stuart was the oldest son of Judge Archibald Stuart associated with Zechariah Johnston and Thomas Jefferson (*Supra*) in setting the form of freedom in the new republic; and both father and son were descendants of the Tinkling Spring Stuarts.

Encouragement of slavery Do Not we Brand the Algerines with the Hard Names of Tyrants & infidels for taking the Americans prisoners on the high seas & keeping them slaves During life but are we Not guilty of A Double Crime for stealing the Africans in their Own Countrey & bringing them slaves to America Which has Caused hundreds to be guilty of self Murder Chusing Rather to suffer Death than to be slaves in A strange Countrey perhaps you will say you Neither stole Nor Bought from them that Had stolen But if I Buy A horse that I knew had Been stolen suppose he had Been sold sundry times am I Not Equally gilty is Not The Receiver as Bad as the thief if there was no slavemonger in America there would be no slaves Brought in here yet we profess to Do as we would Be Done by suppose the Moors or some other Nation would Make A sudden invasion Land A Powerful Army take you & I and several of our Fellow Citizens prisoners to Africa (which is, not impossible) or some other Countrey & sell us for slaves During life how would we like it yet we think it No Crime to serve The Africans as Bad if Not worse. O Cruel!

Tell it Not in Agusta publish it Not in the streets of staunton. Perhaps you will say we paid Our Money for them & how shall We Loss it so said Amaziah king of Judah to the Prophet what shall we Do for the hundred Talents That I have given to the Army of israel but what Was the prophets Answer second Cronicles 25th. & 9th. But suppose you gave 50 or 60 pounds for A Negro five or six years of that Fellow if he was faithful would pay you well for your Money & then you Might set Him free without Aney loss or if you rais'd him From A Child 25 or 30 years would Certainly pay pay you well for your trouble but perhaps you Will say again the Children of israel was alow'd to keep them under the mosaical Law & why may not we Under the gospel to which I Answer the Children of israel was alowed to keep servants 6 years on The seventh they were to go free unless it was Their own Choice. For My own part I Can never Believe that he that would keep A slave would Do as he would be Done By for I am well persuaded he would Not like to be kept A slave himself (Remember the sin of the Antient whore of Babylon Revela:s 18th & 13th) So Let his profession be what it will, if he Die in that opinion he Must Certainly go Down to the grave with A Lie in his Right hand Brethern's a few years or perhaps A few months Or few Days will finish our time in this world And then what will Become of our Riches and grandeur our Minister's preaches Against Covetousness & worly mindedness but where will will you find men greedier for the world than some of themselves they will Not Even trust A poor Man for A hundred of hay or A Bushel of grain if his family was starving what greater sign Can be given of a Worling but I wish Not to throw Reflections or give offence to Aney person But let us Consider these things and the God of Peace Make you perfect in Every good work is the Ernest Desire of gentlemen your Most Obedient & very humble servant: Timothy intelligent

Evil Communication Mostly spoils good Manners
 And Dirty ill Flead hides Make Rogish Tanners
 Scarcity of grain sometimes Makes Rogish Millers
 But Lucre of gain Much More Makes Rogish stillers
 Four proverbs I to you have put in Metre
 Another Warning you have from saint Petre
 The first Epistle Chapter fifth and second verse

The words are these if I Can them Rehearse
 Gods people fed & watch Not by Constraint
 But willing that there be No Complaint
 And Not for filthy Lucre Do your part
 But be you faithful with a ready heart
 But if you Can slave keeping Justify
 I hope An Answer you will Not Deny¹⁴

The days prior to the Civil War were characterized by a division of strong political sentiments in Augusta County.¹⁵ One of the prominent men of the church was called before the session for being engaged "in a quarrel and fight" that brought reproach on the church. His explanation that it was brought about by the parties becoming unduly excited in a political discussion and regret over the occurrence was accepted as satisfactory.¹⁶ However, until the war actually was upon them, they were earnestly in favor of maintaining the Union.¹⁷ As a county she labored vigorously to keep Virginia the "Flagship of the Union" exerting:

"... her power and influence to preserve, on the one hand, the known and equal rights of her own people as citizens of a common country, and, on the other, the harmony of the Union and the integrity of the Constitution."

... For themselves, they proposed to remain in the Union. And although seeking peace, they reserved the right to determine on which side they would fight, if fight they must.¹⁸

Upon President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation, April 15, 1861, calling for troops to force secessionists back into the Union, the Virginia people were repulsed from Union sympathy. Two days later the Virginia Convention passed an order of secession, subject to the vote of the people. The people then almost unanimously took the Southern side.¹⁹

CHARLES S. M. SEE, PASTOR AND CHAPLAIN

Charles Sidney Matthews See was a Washington College and law school graduate. He was licensed to the Presbyterian ministry by Lexington Presbytery at Tinkling Spring Church the day of their excitement

¹⁴Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, An anti-slavery letter to The Reverend Session of Tinkling Spring Congregation by Timothy intelligent.

¹⁵Jos. A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871* (second edition; Staunton, Virginia: C. Russell Caldwell, Publisher, 1902), p. 441.

¹⁶Tinkling Spring Church Records, The Sessional Records, 1840-1892, pp. 127-29.

¹⁷Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 456.

over investigation of irregularities instead of the ordaining and installing ceremonies for Mr. Cleghorn.²⁰ As a licentiate he worked for six months at Charlotte Court-house²¹ and was briefly stated supply of Bethesda and Hermon Churches of West Hanover Presbytery.²²

Charles See was born September 15, 1826, son of Jacob Warwick See—one time sheriff of Randolph County and a Presbyterian elder. His mother was a daughter of Dr. George A. Baxter. Among his teachers at Lexington were the Misses Baxter, his aunts. While attending law school he came under the ministry of Dr. George Junkin who brought him to Christ. He was within a week of graduation in law when he made a sudden change and declared his intention to preach. His prospects in law practice were so bright that this decision came as a shock to all his friends and family; except his Christian mother whose reaction was a calm statement that it was to that end that she had dedicated him in his infancy.²³

Colonel Preston of the Lexington Church where See was a member proved helpful when he entered the seminary in the fall of 1852. The biographer states:

Dr. See had to obtain his education largely through his own efforts. Going to the Union Seminary, he refused aid, and taught in the family of Mrs. Cocke, a sister of Col. J. T. L. Preston, carrying on his studies at the same time, and graduating with honors in 1855.²⁴

The Tinkling Spring Congregation met Sunday morning, August 10, 1856, with Rev. William Brown, Augusta Stone pastor, serving as moderator, and took the following action:

The Congregation of Tinkling Spring being on sufficient grounds, well satisfied of the ministerial qualifications of you Rev. Charles S. M. See, and having good hopes, from our past experience of your labours, that your ministrations in the Gospel will be profitable to our spiritual interests, do earnestly call and desire you to undertake the pastoral office in said congregation; promising you in the discharge of your duty all proper support, encouragement, and obedience in the Lord.

And that you may be free from worldly cares and avocations, we hereby promise and oblige ourselves to pay to you the sum of eight hundred dollars in

²⁰*Supra*.

²¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXI, 124-25.

²²Walter W. Moore, and others, *General Catalogue of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1807-1924* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1924), p. 79.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁴Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXI, 124.

semiannual payments, during the time of your being and continuing the regular pastor of this church. In testimony whereof, we have appointed the Elders & Deacons of this church to subscribe this call on our behalf, with the liberty given to any voters of this congregation who may choose to do so to affix their signatures to it.

DAVID GILKESON
JACOB VAN LEAR
DAVID S. BELL
H. G. GUTHRIE
ROBERT M. WHITE
JOHN MCCUE
HUGH MCCLURE²⁵

This call was presented to presbytery at its meeting the same month and having been placed in Mr. See's hands was accepted by him. The time for Presbytery meeting was set for his ordination and installation at Tinkling Spring Church November 20, 1856.²⁶

Presbytery met according to plan with Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, new Staunton pastor, presiding at the ordination ceremony and delivering the charge to the new pastor, with Rev. W. W. Trimble, presbytery moderator and pastor at Bethesda and Timber Ridge, delivering the charge to the people. The ordination and installation took place on Saturday, November 22nd.²⁷ The Reverend W. W. Trimble was a son-in-law to Mr. David Gilkeson, senior elder at Tinkling Spring.²⁸

The early days of Mr. See's pastorate were characterized by significant additions to the church roll. Several of the Guthrie family returned from the Waynesboro church and Mr. John G. Guthrie was made an elder. A rather large number of young people—many of whom had been Mr. Dabney's pupils in school—of the Coalter, Moffett, Hunter, McComb, Coiner, Hamilton, Patterson and Alexander families united with the church at this time. It was in this period that Solomon D. Coiner transferred from the Lutheran church to Tinkling Spring. An unusual number of servants professed faith in Christ.²⁹

In 1857 Mr. See married Miss Rebecca Bosworth, member of the Tygart's Valley Church of Beverly, where Mr. See was doing supply

²⁵Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, Call to Rev. Charles S. M. See, 1856.

²⁶Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIV, 3-4.

²⁷*Ibid.*, XIV, 17, 31. Five weeks later at the beautiful new manse in Staunton there was born to the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson and his wife a son, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, destined to become the twenty-eighth President of the United States and famous advocate of world government.

²⁸James Alexander McClure, *The McClure Family* (Petersburg, Virginia: Presses of Frank A. Owen, 1914), p. 204.

²⁹Sessional Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 *et seq.*

work when called to Tinkling Spring.⁸⁰ The church for the first time in its history assumed the responsibility for the minister's home and built a "parsonage" on the location of the present manse.⁸¹ Twenty-nine and a half acres of land was purchased from David Reeves and a two story, four roomed, thirty-eight by eighteen feet addition was added to the front of the small house already on the property. Mr. John East contracted to construct the addition and supply all materials for \$575.00; "Said J. East . . . to board himself while doing the work."⁸²

The session was most active, numbering now six elders. The Communion of the Lord's Supper was set for four times a year instead of the two or three celebrations in past years. The congregation was districted with an elder heading each district, and they resolved: "That each Elder visit the families within his District in company with the Pastor . . ." A committee appointed to study the duties of ruling elders brought in a report that in addition to the duty of attending "Church Judicatories" that: "a personal, pastoral care over the flock devolved upon the Elder as a part of his duty as an Office-bearer in the Church."⁸³ These duties were evidently carried out in a joyous spirit. The Session Minute of "last Friday of September at 21½ O'clock" 1858 is not without its significance:

Session met according to adjournment and was opened with Prayer. All the members were present. After some time spent in conference and in singing and prayer the Session adjourned to meet in this place on the last Friday of October. Closed with Prayer.

D. S. BELL Clk. of Session⁸⁴

As the Civil War progressed Lexington Presbytery took knowledge of her responsibility not only in the giving of her sons but also in her spiritual duty. Mr. See in 1861 ". . . addressed Presb on the subject of the wants of our *Army hospitals*" and presbytery responded with a resolution of appeal to all congregations for renewed efforts on behalf of "sick & wounded soldiers"⁸⁵—large numbers of whom were brought into Staunton for hospitalization. In 1862 presbytery heard a ringing challenge from Chaplain Richard McIlwaine that chaplains be supplied

⁸⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXI, 124.

⁸¹Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, Plat and title of Parsonage land, 1859.

⁸²*Ibid.*, Specifications for the Parsonage of Tinkling Spring Church.

⁸³Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-16.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

⁸⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIV, 298.

for the army. Presbytery proceeded to designate "suitable Ministers for the office" and C. S. M. See was the first one named.³⁶ The session minutes, October 11, 1863, with Rev. William T. Richardson serving as stated supply of the church, point out that the pastor was absent "by leave granted by the congregation to go as chaplain to the army during the war."³⁷ Just prior to his departure for chaplain's duty, Mr. See and Mr. Hugh G. Guthrie, Tinkling Spring elder, made their reports to presbytery as commissioners to the General Assembly.³⁸

The Church Register lists as a result of a week's activity by chaplain See nine men "Baptized in the army at Pisgah Ch'h in Smith's Brigade, Earlie's Div'n, Ewell's Corps, near Orange C. H."³⁹ Mr. See sent a certificate of membership to the church session the last of 1864 for Lieutenant Benton Coiner whom he had received into the church in the army. Licentiate William W. Houston served as stated supply of the church from November 1864 to June 1865.⁴⁰ The pastor returned and was at the session meeting of September 3, 1865. During the war the church had lost by death two faithful officers: Elder John P. Willson and Deacon John McCue, Esquire, son of the former pastor, Rev. John McCue.⁴¹ Mr. Jacob Van Lear, the minutes say, "long loved and respected as a member of the session has grown very infirm aged and afflicted by deafness" and "very seldom meets with the session."⁴²

Another young Civil War officer, Lieutenant William L. Hunter, Jr., was received soon after the war by certificate of transfer, having united with the church earlier at Fort Delaware.⁴³ In addition to these veterans of war, there were added to the church at this time an unusual number of young people from families in the church, namely, Bells, Coiners, Courseys, Austins, etc.⁴⁴

Tinkling Spring Church has been signally blessed in selecting many unusually godly men to serve as elders on the session of the church. Surely none have surpassed David Gilkeson who served from 1815 to 1866; all those who have been honored by the church in this office

³⁶*Ibid.*, XIV, 320.

³⁷Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

³⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XIV, 374.

³⁹Tinkling Spring Church Records, The Register, 1840-1882, p. 52.

⁴⁰Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 142; Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, Receipts.

⁴¹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 44.

⁴²Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37, 151.

⁴³Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴⁴Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-51.

might well choose him as the one to typify the qualities of a worthy Presbyterian Elder. The session spread upon its minutes the following memorial to Elder David Gilkeson, whom Mr. Dabney affectionately called "Uncle Davy," his "wheelhorse":

We deem it right and becoming as a Session to enter upon our records a brief memorial of the life and worth of our co-presbyter, and beloved father in the church David Gilkeson who has been removed from us by death

He was born Dec 11'th 1782, and died 7. o. clock on the evening of the 7'th Dec. 1866 lacking but three days of having reached his 84'th year, and though he had passed the usual span of life, yet his mental and bodily powers were to an unusual degree unimpaired; His eye was not dim, his hearing was sharp, and his mimicry was quick and retentive his hair was not more sprinkled with grey than most men at 45 or 50 and was still thick and well set.

He was ordained an elder in may 1815 at the same time with John Guthrey and Charles Patrick and continued to serve this church faithfully and efficiently as an elder until his death, a period of 51½ years. He was a man of great firmness and weight of character. He was endowed naturally with clear sound judgment and a retentive memory. His education was limited, reaching to the first rudiments of an English school But his sound thinking, and his diligent reading of the Bible; of our christian classics, of our excellent standards, and of the religious periodical made him a man of extensive information in regard to the doctrine doings and condition of the church He was a man of inflexible integrity and of enlightened and tender conscience. His religion was distinguished by springing so much from a clear conscientious conviction of duty, and so little from impulse. He was not cold, but he was calm, and steady, we expected in him no fits and starts of zeal; no effervescence at one time and collapse at another. We all felt that we knew what he would do in all circumstances for we felt the law of God was the supreme law, and the behests of conscience must be obeyed. And we felt that if any man we new would follow the dictates of conscience even to martyrdom that he was the man. It was this steadfastness of life, this soundness of judgement, this conscientiousness that gave him so much weight of character and influence in the church the session, and the Presbytery of which he was often a member. With strong will, with clear convictions and such broad experience—he was still free from pride of opinion and from obstinacy, making him a pleasant as well as a trustworthy counsellor while his "life pointed to heaven and lead the way."

He faithfully used the means of grace—

His place was seldom vacant in the church the session or the prayermeeting. He carefully almost anxiously renewed the ground of his hope; and sometimes a sense of his unworthiness brought a passing doubt across his mind; but these clouds soon passed away and his closing days were marked by a calm settled trust in christ.

His departure was not rapturous & exultant we would not expect it in one so constitutionately dispassionate; but his trust in christ was simple and entire and his end was peace. We shall miss his familiar face and venerable presence

in our meetings. We shall miss greatly the wisdom of his counsel and the weight of his character; but while he rests from his labours his works do follow him & the influence of his example still lives among us. We thank God for giving us such a man & leaving him so long among us. To his name be all the glory.

Adjourned. DAVID S. BELL C of S.⁴⁵

There was soon a request from the session that the congregation elect additional elders, and they pointedly suggested "... that they chose from among themselves suitable men without nomination from the session."⁴⁶ The congregation responded on September 29, 1867, by electing Joseph S. Raymond (a newcomer who was a Presbyterian from Lewisburg Church), David V. Gilkeson (nephew and namesake of David Gilkeson), William H. Shirey and William Brown Patterson. The latter two declined to serve but, after Mr. Raymond's transfer arrived, the other two were ordained, May 17, 1868.⁴⁷ A year later the following were chosen and ordained new members of the diaconate: George Hansberger, Franklin McCue Bell, John A. Gilkeson, William Brown Patterson, Robert W. Moffett, C. Benton Coiner and James Thomas Black.⁴⁸

Time moved on! The godly aged moved on to their reward and the young took their places upon the stage of Christian action. Mingled with the changes in church officers were issues of the day to be decided in the church's program.

The grace of liberality had waned slightly and you can almost hear some of the older members saying: "Let's return to the good old days when each family paid an assigned amount for his church pew." The session took knowledge of this demand and requested Mr. See to announce:

... that a large number of the people of the church desire to adopt the *pew system*; and that the Session wish to know; whether the former objections to it have subsided; and whether it would be advisable to make any move in this matter, at this time.⁴⁹

Following specific recommendation of this system, by the session, the congregation gave its decision, along with the election of deacons, on a Sunday morning after worship. Even under the pressure of a large

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 152-55.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 158a.

⁴⁸Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-34.

⁴⁹Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

"arrearage" in the pastor's salary, the minutes indicate the vigor of that decision by a double underscoring in the following record: "The question of allotting the pews was taken up for consideration, and it was decided by a majority vote not to allot the seats to families as proposed."⁵⁰

Some of the new elders may have been inexperienced, but the session did not lack tact and determination in making improvements in the church music—improvements long overdue in the view of some, but tenaciously opposed by others. Their minutes on this subject are:

A Congregational Meeting having been called & the vote of the congregation having been taken upon the question of introducing instrumental music which resulted 49 for & 33 against; the Session took up this question, and, after full conference, adopted the following resolutions unanimously, namely;—

Res'd 1st That, inasmuch, as a large part of the opposition, to the introduction of instrumental music into this church, seems to rest on this ground, namely; That there are other things that we ought to do *first*; the Session deem it better to postpone any farther steps, in this matter, until these other things have been attended to,

Res'd 2nd That, if *then* the opposition has so far yielded, as to make it seem advisable (as we hope and believe it will); we advise the purchase of a Cabinet Organ or Carmonium, of suitable size and power for the church, to cost not less than \$250 (two hundred and fifty).⁵¹

A revival in the Valley, beginning in the year 1789, created a desire on the part of many to discard Rouse's version of the Psalms and turn to singing the smoother, more evangelical hymns of Watts. Dr. Henry Ruffner tells us, however, that Tinkling Spring delayed this transition that caused trouble elsewhere. He says:

. . . the Church at Tinkling Spring, under the pastoral care of Mr. McCue, was indulged for more than twenty years longer in the use of Rouse's psalms; until at last, for want of opposition to this venerable psalm-book, it was by common consent laid aside.⁵²

The only clerks named in connection with the church music under the old regime of psalm-singing are Charles Patrick and Samuel Steele. They appear to be the last of the leaders using Rouse.⁵³

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 166; Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

⁵¹Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

⁵²*Washington and Lee University Historical Papers* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1890-1895), I, 59-60.

⁵³Matthew Pilson, Esq., "Recollections of Tinkling Spring," *The Young Virginian*, 3:84, November, 1876.

For about fifty years the church sang hymns without the aid of an instrument. It seems certain that the session's "advise" about an organ in 1869 was followed, but the exact date of purchase is unknown. Tradition tells us that the first organist was Miss Lee Kindig, who lived at the present J. K. Livesay place. She was followed by Mrs. G. Wellington Koiner, who lived at the present A. D. Thompson place. She in turn was succeeded by Miss Josie Watson, daughter of Dr. James M. Watson and Martha C. Alexander, his wife.

WAR SACRIFICES

It seems out of place to try to review all the local Civil War happenings between 1861 and 1865, but we are instead concerned with the happenings in the church. Let it be remembered also that during these days Augusta County had supplied men and provisions to the Confederacy, housed sick and wounded and Federal prisoners in large numbers—in which work Tinkling Spring people were active. Staunton and the surrounding area had been first occupied by Federal troops on June 6, 1864, after Southern troops lost the battle of Piedmont at New Hope, just beyond the border of the Hermitage section of the congregation.⁵⁴ Occupation occurred again for a few days in September when General Early was forced to withdraw, and General Torbet marched through the Tinkling Spring community to occupy Waynesboro. In this experience the reaction of the Fishersville negro is of interest. An eyewitness wrote:

They entered very few houses, and committed no depredations of any consequence. They impressed all negro men into their service, and took them down the railroad to destroy the track and bridges. The colored people were very indignant, and did much less damage to the railroad than they could have done.⁵⁵

In the fall of 1864 a part of Early's command encamped near Fishersville.⁵⁶ At the end of February 1865, General Sheridan's command of mounted men swept into this section of the Valley plundering, burning and living off the land. He, on March 2, 1865, defeated General Early on the ridge west of Waynesboro in the last important battle in north-

⁵⁴Hotchkiss, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁶*Loc. cit.* The writer's first impressions of the Valley of Virginia were received from an aged grandfather, Williamson Allen Wilson, who was a "sharp-shooter" and "scout" in Ewell's Corps, under General Early's command in the Confederate States Army in their maneuvers in the Valley.

ern Virginia.⁵⁷ On April 9, 1865, Lee met Grant and surrendered at Appomattox, Virginia.

Space allows only brief mention of some of those with Tinkling Spring connections who led in the Confederate Army units of Augusta or units that fought in Augusta on that side. General J. D. Imboden's wife, who was a daughter of Colonel Franklin McCue, along with two of the children are buried in the old cemetery. The church's former pastor, Rev. Robert L. Dabney, was a member of General "Stonewall" Jackson's staff, having declined the chief-of-staff position. Captains in the companies of the 52nd Infantry are of interest to us as follows: Samuel McCune, Elijah Bateman, C. Benton Coiner, Bolivar Christian, James A. Dold and William Long; in the 5th Virginia Regiment: James W. Gibson and William Hall.⁵⁸

The sacrifices and hardships of being occupied by enemy troops were humiliating enough, but the great cost of this war to the congregation was the loss of her sons. The list is incomplete but is supplied in part from the stones in the church cemetery. The following are among the young men aged nineteen through thirty-six who were buried here from 1861 to 1864: Andrew Brooks, Moffett Brooks, William Brooks, Joseph S. Coiner, Hugh Brown Craig, Abraham Croft, Columbus Green Davis, James A. Dold, William W. Finley, Joseph Harper, William Luther McComb, William Wirt McCue and George Baxter See.⁵⁹

Regardless of our feeling today, as we look back upon it, their feeling was that they were fighting for a liberty that was theirs under the constitution. William Luther McComb's epitaph reads: "If to die for liberty be right[,] remember me, if wrong[,] forget me."

The fifth and youngest child of George Evans Craig and Matilda Guthrie, his wife, was Hugh Brown Craig, born November 5, 1837, at the home of his uncle, Hugh Guthrie, Tinkling Spring elder. His father died when he was nine, and at fourteen or fifteen he was adopted by his Uncle Hugh. After doing his preparatory work at Barterbrook school, he attended Washington College where he graduated with his A. B. degree in 1858. He became a school teacher and, when the Civil War broke out, was teaching in Tallahassee, Florida. His brother, Rev. John N. Craig, on leave from his Presbyterian charge in South

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵⁹The names are found on stones in the Tinkling Spring cemetery.

Carolina, was serving as chaplain with the Confederacy and was with him at his death. Their sacrifices and convictions, as they tied in with the local church, are best told by a family historian. He says:

He entered the Confederate service, at the first call for volunteers, in Fla., for a few months. Then J. E. B. Stuart's Cavalry, 1st Regiment, Army of Northern Va. His health failed and he was home the latter part of '62. Then Adjutant 26th Va. Battalion, Col. George M. Edgar, Echols Brigade, Breckinridge's Division. He was killed at the battle 2nd Cold Harbour below Richmond, Va., June 3, 1864. His command was at the extreme right, the weakest part of the whole Confederate Line. They were assaulted at daylight by overwhelming numbers, the attack made by Hancock's Corps. Brown was by the colors, in charge of the color guard. The Confederate Line was broken, seventy-five yards to the right and the trenches were filled with the foe. The color bearer was shot down and he seized the colors. Then in a hand to hand combat, he received two balls from Enemies within six feet of him, one passing through his lungs, and one through his liver. The Confederate Lines were re-taken in a few moments by re-enforcements, Finnigan's Florida brigade. He lay there in the sand, in the trench, all that long hot day, with the firing going on over him, suffering as he told J. N. C. agonies. No one could pass in or out during the day for the sharp shooting. After dark he was carried out to the Division hospital. His brother, J. N. C., in search of him, met the litter corps, carrying him from the field. He was perfectly rational but suffering greatly. His brother talked and prayed with him, but in some twenty or thirty minutes after reaching the hospital he died about ten o'clock, P. M. He dressed the body that night, and started after daylight next morning in an ambulance for Richmond. Thence by rail to Lynchburg and Charlottesville and on to Fishersville in Augusta Co., Sunday afternoon. He took the body to Hugh Guthrie's at Barter Brook, where his friends had been summoned by telegraph. General Hunter was rapidly advancing up the Valley after the battle of New Hope. So J. N. C. and Hugh Guthrie and his negroes buried him at sun-rise, Monday morning, June 6, 1864, in the Cemetery at Tinkling Spring. He was in his twenty seventh year. "He was a man much like his father, pure, gentle, the soul of uprightness and honor, generous and sympathizer with all in their sorrow. He was dearly beloved by the soldiers and by all who knew him." Such is his brother's tribute. He adds:—"He fought and fell in the battle for 'Constitutional Liberty.' That was the principle involved in the war, whether or not rights agreed upon by contracting parties and lodged in the terms of a 'Constitution' were to be held against a mere majority. He fell and the cause for which he died failed and my belief is that Constitutional Liberty on this continent, died in that failure."⁶⁰

THE MISSIONARY INTERESTS GROW

The missionary interests of Tinkling Spring Church grew with the church, but reached a most creditable expression about the time of the

⁶⁰Alexander W. Crawford, *Crawford Ancestry*, pp. 62-63.

Civil War. In the pastorate of Dr. James C. Willson, the church at large was sending missionaries, particularly to settlements where Presbyterians moved westward.⁶¹ One of the real indications of a growing interest in this cause at Tinkling Spring was the increase in the financing of missions. The first recorded gift for missions from Tinkling Spring was in 1825 when the church gave \$50.⁶² In 1861 twelve percent of the total budget of the church was given to domestic and foreign missions;⁶³ and still later, one of the elders of the church left a rather large legacy for the foreign mission committee to send the gospel to the ends of the earth.

One of those who promoted the beginnings of foreign mission endeavor in the congregation was the Reverend Benjamin M. Smith. When he visited the sick in the Douglas and Hall home⁶⁴ and expressed his concern about Ellen Douglas' distress over the illness of her mother, little did he dream of her future development of interest in missions and what zeal she would exhibit in this cause. Ellen Douglas was a great granddaughter of one of the founders of Tinkling Spring—the immigrant Archibald Stuart and his wife, Janet Brown. Ellen Douglas moved to Staunton after her mother's death in 1845 and lived with her cousin, the Honorable Alex. H. H. Stuart, where she taught in a private school. In 1847 Miss Douglas became the second wife of Squire John McCue of Tinkling Spring, a trustee, deacon and treasurer of the church. In 1850, after her marriage, she became again a member of Tinkling Spring.⁶⁵ Ellen Douglas McCue is one of those of whom it was said in her eighty-seventh year that she promoted the cause of missions for three quarters of a century. The Young Ladies Missionary Society of Tinkling Spring Church was a group of young ladies studying the mission cause, and in later years changed its name to "The Ellen McCue Missionary Society," to honor her memory.⁶⁶

One of those who contributed very largely to the growth of missions in the Tinkling Spring congregation was Rev. Robert L. Dabney, who taught his school first at Barterbrook and then at Tinkling Spring.⁶⁷

⁶¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, X, 92 *et passim*.

⁶²*Ibid.*, VIII, 174.

⁶³Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁶⁴*Supra*.

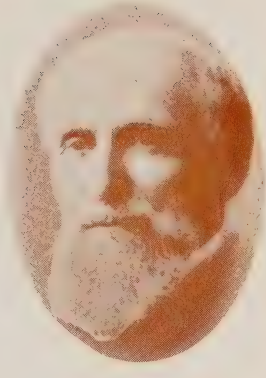
⁶⁵Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 30.

⁶⁶Miscellaneous Records, *op. cit.*, "Who was Mrs. Ellen S. McCue?"

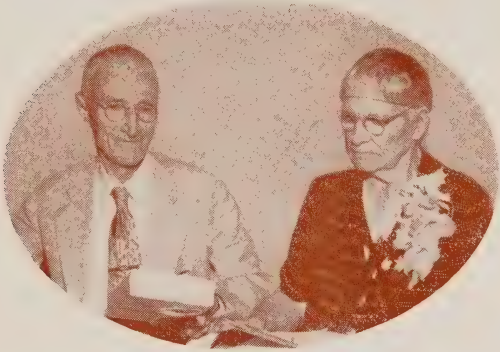
⁶⁷*Supra*.



Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Worth



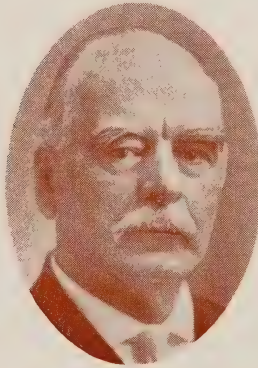
Dr. J. N. Craig



Dr. and Mrs. B. C. Patterson



Dr. C. D. Gilkeson



Dr. and Mrs. A. S. Moffett



Figure XXXIV
A Few Distinguished Sons and Daughters



Lena Venable

Cato. at D. Gilkersons
 Cato. at Maj'r Stuarts
 Milly at Dan'l Fishburn
 Esau. at Doct. Waddell [March 20, 1841]
 Marilla Jane, at Wm Hamilton's June 10, 1844
 Margaret Ann. at Sol. Coiner's. Oct 13, 1850
 Mildred, at Thos. Johnston's, July 20, 1851.
 Esther, at John Hamilton's Oct. 19.th. 1851.
 Ann at Wm. Gilkerson Aug 24th/56
 Benjamin Wm. Gilkerson Aug 24th/56
 Mary Margaret at Jno. Hunter's Aug 23. 1857.
 Fanny at Dr. Hall's Nov. 22. 1857
 Fanny at Hugh McClure's Aug 1st 1858
 Esther at Jacob Van Lear's Aug 1st 1858
 Addison at Dr. Hall's Oct. 31st 1858
 Nancy at Hugh G. Guthrie's, Oct. 31st 1858
 Hannah at Thomas Webb's Feb. 20th 1859
 Esther at Jos. Harper's May 8th 1859
 Jerry at Dr. Isaac Hall's Nov. 25th 1860
 Martha at Wm. Coalter's Nov. 25th 1860

Hiraim Thompson, April 2, 1871.
 Samuel Miller, Aug. 20, 1871.
 Adam Johnson, Jan. 23, 1876.
 Edmund Baldwin, Aug 18, 1878.
 Lena Venable, June 16, 1901.
 Ollie Venable, Nov'r. 10, 1907

Figure XXXV
 The Negro Members

At Barterbrook when he was contemplating the beginning of the school at the church, he secured the services of John Newton Craig,⁶⁸ a spiritual son, to serve as an instructor. He in time turned to the ministry and went into home mission work and became Executive Secretary of Assembly's Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. In that office he served efficiently for seventeen years, and his death came suddenly while addressing the Synod of Virginia on Assembly's Home Missions at their meeting in Newport News in 1900.⁶⁹

A pupil of Dr. Dabney's in his Tinkling Spring school was Alexander Stuart Moffett.⁷⁰ The school had several girls in attendance. Tradition tells us that "Sandy" Moffett was one of the stalwart boys who loved to annoy the girls. One of his pranks was to bring a worm into the school room and put it on top of the hot stove—then watch the girls cringe and scream over the frying worm. Sandy Moffett was noted for his physical stamina. He is said to be the only young man who, at Barterbrook mill, could without help place three barrels of flour one on top of the other. It was in 1870, after a Civil War experience, that he made his profession of faith in Jesus Christ, at the age of twenty-three, while a senior at Washington and Lee University.⁷¹ He decided on the ministry and entered Union Theological Seminary in 1871. The missionary phase of his life is connected with his romance. He fell in love with and married his cousin, Carrie Lena Crawford, a descendant of an Augusta County family but a resident of Louisville, Kentucky. Six of their children became foreign missionaries.⁷²

In the home of Elder William Brown Patterson was born a son on June 26, 1865, whom they chose to name for their beloved and lamented cousin and neighbor, Hugh Brown Craig, who, a year earlier, fell at Cold Harbor and was buried at sunrise at Tinkling Spring. Brown Craig Patterson, son of these godly parents, became a missionary to China, married a missionary and was the father of three missionaries.

Interest in missions brought Mr. See's pastorate to a close in 1870 when presbytery "in view of his desire to enter upon work of Domestic Missions in the bounds of this Presbytery" dissolved his pastoral rela-

⁶⁸Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶⁹E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), p. 153; Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁰Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

⁷¹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁷²Carrie Lena (Crawford) Moffett, *Diary, 1871-1898*, 9 vols.

tion with Tinkling Spring. The presbytery minutes recite the church's regret in resolutions at his resignation from this pastoral relationship:

... which has been well filled by him; in diligent labor in the Masters work, with a zeal in all his pastoral duties, becoming the gospel of Christ; to which service we take pleasure in bearing our testimony—and commending him for his past fidelity, as our under Shepherd, to all the churches in this Presbytery.⁷³

THE NEGRO MEMBERS

Soon after negro slaves were brought into the settlement they attended worship at Tinkling Spring. They were assigned the "small addition" that had been constructed at one side of the log meeting house—an addition built to satisfy the aristocratic feeling of a family whose "lady" wished to sit separate from the rest of the people but was soon removed.⁷⁴

The earliest mention of individual slaves in the congregation was made by Colonel James Patton in his will, made in 1750, revealing ownership of at least ten slaves. The disregard of moral standards for slaves, prevalent in that day, is inherent in an item in the will: "... I Leave my Daughter *Mary* . . . one Negro woman named hanah & her three Chil's [viz] Cooper, Lucey, & Jack with al their Isue as also negro Ned . . ." ⁷⁵ The pastors owned slaves as did the church officers. Mr. Craig's will reveals that he owned five, Dr. Waddel had sufficient men slaves to be his pallbearers and Mr. McCue named four in his will.⁷⁶

In opening a new record for the church in 1840, Mr. Smith listed three negro members. His interest in instructing and receiving members "of colour" is evident from the record. The church minutes, early after his arrival, relate in part:

The following persons presented themselves for Examination, with a veiw to connecting with the church, viz.

Mrs. Mary Bell, wife of J. J. Bell

Miss Mary Frances Henry &

Esau, a man of colour; on the verge of 70 years, whose Early religious in-

⁷³Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XV, 250-51.

⁷⁴Benjamin M. Smith, "Sketch of the Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Virginia," *The Presbyterian Magazine*, 2:466, October, 1852; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes, 1741-1793, p. 26.

⁷⁵Augusta County Court Records, James Patton Will, File Box II, recorded in Will Book II, 131-34.

⁷⁶Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; Will Book, *op. cit.*, XII, 416; Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Virginia: Mary S. Lockwood, 1912), III, 134, 174.

struction, was deriv'd from; & Baptism administer'd by—the Rev'd James Wad-
del, a minister & Evangelist of another century: Upon giving Satisfactory Evidence
of Experimental religion, were respectively admitted to full communion of this
Chh.⁷⁷

Mr. Smith's Diary relates this experience:

Returned home by the Catechizing & then Mrs. Blacks. Saw there an old
negress sd to be the first born in Augusta now 80 years old. Very sprightly &
intelligent christian. When asked on what ground she relied for Salvation—"On
the Lord Jesus Christ" was her answer. She reads & loves the Bible, and its
truths & has no idea of the doctrine so common among Negroes that she does
not need any more Bible truth.⁷⁸

Since slaves made no contributions separate from the head of the
family to which he (or she) belonged, the old church minutes—largely
subscription lists—do not give us a single name of a negro member, but
the "Colour'd Communicants" from 1840 through 1860 are listed sepa-
rately in the Register, all received by examination.⁷⁹ After the Civil
War the listings were made as free-men with both names.⁸⁰

In the second building, constructed of stone about 1792, the gallery
was no doubt reserved for the negroes. It was entered by steep outside
steps at the west end of the church. The church of brick was constructed
in 1849 with a gallery in the west end over the entrance. This was
used for negroes until it was removed in 1916. Since that time the few
negro members have been seated in the main sanctuary.

The negro cemetery has always been maintained separately and is lo-
cated 200 yards southeast of the present church. It is now impossible to
determine the number of graves located there, but the number appears
to be much greater than the membership list.

There are interesting facts to note about a few of these members.
The last two slaves, Jerry and Martha (also called Lucy), who joined
Tinkling Spring, though they were with different masters, were noted
as husband and wife when received. Hiram Thompson was a church
sexton. Edmund (also called Edwin) Baldwin was said to be near a
hundred years old at his death in 1908. Adam Johnson before joining
here "Had once belonged to Episcopal Church."⁸¹

⁷⁷Minutes, 1741-1793, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁷⁸Benjamin M. Smith, *The Diary of*, VI, 104-5.

⁷⁹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁸⁰*Loc. cit.*; Tinkling Spring Church Records, Register, 1850-1908, pp. 134-35. See Figure
27, opposite p. 339.

⁸¹Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

The one remaining colored member at this writing (1952) is Lena Venable. She was born near Greenville, Augusta County, in 1884. Her parents were John and Mary Venable. She was one of eight children left when her father died. Mary Venable, the mother, found Christian homes for her little children among the white people. Lena came to make her home with the William F. Gilkesons when she was thirteen years of age. Mrs. Gilkeson brought her to Sunday school and church and, at the age of seventeen, she gave her heart to Christ and united with this church. At the death of Mrs. William F. Gilkeson, Lena accepted the invitation of the A. Crawford Gilkeson family to make her home with them—Mr. A. C. Gilkeson being a son of Mr. William F. Gilkeson.

Miss Lena Venable, now in her sixty-ninth year, is highly respected and beloved throughout the congregation. She has been for more than fifty years a faithful worker for Christ and a loyal member of Tinkling Spring, where she attends with clock-like regularity. She is a member of the Women of the Church and takes her regular place in the activities of that organization. When she was but thirteen years old Mrs. Gilkeson taught her to make the bread for the communion of the Lord's Supper, a task which she has continued to perform for more than fifty years.

At a recent fellowship dinner given the Women of the Church by the Men of the Church, the gentleman at the door helping seat the ladies overheard a voice as she entered, "Lena, come sit with us." This voice was not from a traditionally "understanding" old member, but from a comparatively new member who came to us from the "deep south." All feel that Lena Venable exhibits among us an exemplary life in the Christian graces and is genuinely "one of us" in spite of prejudices that too frequently prevail elsewhere. Because of her unique position in a Southern Presbyterian Church and her outstanding Christian faith, the Tinkling Spring Church delights to pay tribute to her here.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Spiritual Vigor Follows Reconstruction

TINKLING SPRING CHURCH had many great pastors, and Dr. Givens Brown Strickler was among the finest of them. If John McCue was the most diligent, and Dr. Waddell the most eloquent and Dabney the most profound, then Dr. Strickler was the most beloved as a preacher and pastor.¹

THE BELOVED DR. G. B. STRICKLER

Givens Brown Strickler, son of Joseph Strickler and Mary Jane Brown, his wife, was born April 25, 1840, at Strickler Springs (now Wilson Springs), Rockbridge County, Virginia. He represents the joining of a devout German Lutheran strain with a devout Scots Presbyterian line, for his great grandfather was a minister of the Lutheran Church who had migrated from Holland into the new world. His mother was a descendant of John Stuart, brother of Tinkling Spring's Archibald Stuart. This young man was one of five children. One brother died in infancy. Another brother of rare personal attractiveness, Cyrus Strickler, lost his life in the first battle of Manassas. Another member of his family was Miss Virginia M. Strickler who lived with him at Tinkling Spring and became a teacher at Mary Baldwin Seminary, a woman of exceptional talent and character. About the age of fifteen, young Strickler was thrown upon his own resources and found work on a newspaper at Lynchburg, Virginia. At this task he worked far into the night helping prepare the paper and early the next morning was found distributing it to subscribers.² He entered Washington College in 1859. On June 16, 1861, he was "First Corporal" in the "Liberty Hall Volunteers" when they were called out to become a part of the 4th Virginia Regiment in the Stonewall Brigade. Within two years time Corporal Strickler had been promoted to Captain of his company. In the Battle

¹Sketches of Givens B. Strickler are as follows: Thomas C. Johnson, "Dr. Givens Brown Strickler," *The Union Seminary Review*, 25:1-15, October-November, 1913; Synod of Virginia, Minutes, 1913, one hundred and twenty-sixth Annual Session, pp. 271-73; E. H. Barnett, "Rev. Givens Brown Strickler, D. D., LL. D.," *The St. Louis Presbyterian*, 21:435, September, 1896; E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), pp. 691-92.

²Johnson, *op. cit.*, 25:1-2, October-November, 1913.

of Gettysburg he was taken prisoner and was held to the end of the war in Fort McHenry and on Johnson's Island.³

In this experience, Strickler found much that he used as preparation for the gospel ministry. He kept a diary in those days in which he says:

. . . I have purposed also as a part of the plan of this register, to embody in it such comments and reflections upon passing events as may appear to me to be just and appropriate; and now, if the reading of what shall be recorded upon these pages, shall be a source of pleasure to any friend to whom I may grant this poor privilege, I will be most amply remunerated for my labor.⁴

The prisoners in "block fifteen" formed a literary club and conducted frequent debates and delivered orations and poems. The club critic writes:

I would give all I have and all I ever expect to have for Capt. Strickler's voice. Its very tones almost carry conviction to the heart. . . . Therefore, as your critic I . . . pronounce Capt. Strickler the most accomplished rhetorician, the most skillful master of the art of elocution, the best speaker, the nearest approach to the orator in the club.⁵

Following his release, Mr. Strickler re-entered Washington College under the presidency of General Robert E. Lee in 1865, from which he graduated with distinction in every branch except mathematics in 1867. He entered Union Theological Seminary in 1868, graduating two years later.⁶ Mr. Strickler was called, under the guidance of Dr. See, to the Tinkling Spring Church in which he was ordained to the gospel ministry, May 19, 1871.⁷ Here he labored most efficiently for thirteen years. He developed into a warm hearted doctrinal preacher and his pastoral work was done in a most friendly manner, which endeared him to his people. The outstanding success of the work at Tinkling Spring during these years was taken notice of across the church. In 1878 Washington and Lee University conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him. As time moved on, a number of large and influential churches sought him as their pastor, but he preferred to remain with his first charge.⁸ These calls came from St. Joseph, Louisville and from other

³*Washington and Lee University Historical Papers* (Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Company, 1904), VI, 111-36.

⁴Johnson, *op. cit.*, 25:3, October-November, 1913.

⁵*Ibid.*, 25:5, October-November, 1913.

⁶Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 691-92.

⁷Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XV, 335-37.

⁸Barnett, *op. cit.*, 21:435, September, 1896.

places. Finally the call from Central Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia, appealed to him and he decided to leave Tinkling Spring—his first love. Presbytery dismissed him, against the unanimous protest of the Tinkling Spring Congregation, to Atlanta Presbytery, September 27, 1882.⁹ He and his family tarried with the people with whom they maintained such deep affection until the spring of 1883.

Dr. Strickler's work at Tinkling Spring was but a beginning. He was honored as the Moderator of the General Assembly in 1887. He was active in the courts of the Presbyterian Church, helping make decisions on the most important questions of the day. He went to Hampden-Sydney in the year 1896 and became professor of Systematic Theology in Union Seminary, a position which he filled until his death, August 4, 1913.

Dr. Strickler, soon after arriving at Tinkling Spring, married Miss Mary Frances Moore, a daughter of the Nathan G. Moore family of Falling Springs Church near Natural Bridge.¹⁰ To this couple were born seven children:

Mrs. C. F. Rankin of Laurens, South Carolina;
Dr. Cyrus W. Strickler of Atlanta, Georgia;
Miss Mary Strickler;
Mrs. George H. Denny of the University of Alabama;
Mrs. R. K. Timmons of Lawton, Oklahoma;
and Givens and Dabney Strickler, who died in infancy.¹¹

Dr. Strickler's grandson and name-sake is at the present (1952) serving as treasurer to the Board of Church Extension, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

It has been said of Dr. Strickler:

The most cautious critic would perhaps pronounce him the greatest preacher of doctrine to the people which our Church has possessed in its life, and without a superior perhaps in our wide country in his own day. . . .

He was great not only as a preacher but as a pastor. He directed his people wisely. His churches were full of enterprise and well-directed enterprise. He knew how to value the beginnings of movements and how to quash those he disapproved. . . . He was the Master of impressive silence as well as impressive speech. This he used sometimes in pastoral work.

Dr. Strickler was great as a propagator of Presbyterianism. . . . He was

⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVII, 278-83.

¹⁰Barnett, *op. cit.*, 21:435, September, 1896.

¹¹Johnson, *op. cit.*, 25:9, October-November, 1913.

given to training choice young men of his congregation for Christian Work—for leading in prayer, for Sunday School and other forms of Christian work. These young men went out, as encouraged to do so, to neighborhoods where Sunday Schools were needed, and organized such schools. . . .

He was great as a friend. He was not a demonstrative man. He did not seem to court friendships; but when men were thrown with him, they found him affable, interesting, lovable, quietly affectionate and helpful. . . .¹²

Such an one was Dr. Strickler in his Tinkling Spring pastorate. When he resigned, his people voted unanimously that they were "enjoying so much harmony and unity of feeling between Pastor and People, for the past 12 years as seldom falls to the lot of any people . . ." ¹³

THE HIGH SCHOOL

The school at Tinkling Spring continued after Dr. Dabney's day but was no doubt severely handicapped during the Civil War and in the difficult days of reconstruction.

The congregation in the spring of 1880 under the leadership of Dr. Strickler authorized "the School Building Committee," Messrs. W. B. Patterson, C. B. Coiner and W. F. Gilkeson, to proceed with a house twenty-four by forty feet in size, not to cost more than \$700. "The Board of Directors of the Classical School under the supervision of this church . . ." secured Robert Fishburne Campbell, a Washington College graduate with his Master's degree, to teach a term beginning November 20, 1880. Eighteen boys were enrolled as scholars, and a number of them "studied the classics." Mr. Campbell came to the local school as its instructor, it is said, because he wanted to be under the ministry of the great preacher, Dr. Strickler. He is said to have had no watch but was very exact in school hours, judging the time of day by the sun. No doubt Dr. Strickler encouraged Mr. Campbell in his decision to become a minister in the Presbyterian Church.¹⁴

Other teachers were William Campbell Hagan, another ministerial candidate,¹⁵ and Professor Alexander S. Paxton who moved here from Harrisonburg, Virginia, to head the school. He remained for several years, increased the enrollment and reported:

. . . that the general progress of the pupils has been of a marked character,

¹²*Ibid.*, 25:11-13, October-November, 1913.

¹³Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVII, 280.

¹⁴Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes of the Annual Congregational meetings, 1870-1902, pp. 31-34; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 112; traditions related by Dr. B. C. Patterson.

¹⁵Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

and that they have shown in their studies a degree of zeal and application rarely found in the same number of boys.¹⁶

Mr. Paxton became an elder in the church, and they offered him land on which to build a home, but he removed to Stanford, Kentucky, just prior to the opening of school in November 1885.

The directors were fortunate in securing a Washington and Lee student, Mr. Edward R. Leyburn, who taught the 1885-1886 term successfully. He, like some of his predecessors, entered Union Theological Seminary later for ministerial training.

In 1886 "The Trustees of Tinkling Spring Academy reported that there is a prospect of having a High-Grade Classical School for boys and girls . . ." presumably under the Augusta County school system.¹⁷

The school had discipline problems, which give us a glimpse of the instructor's rugged task. An observation related by a pupil still living is to the effect that an unruly son of a prominent family was determined not to obey the instructor's commands. When the teacher gave the boy stern orders to be obeyed following a recess period, the school re-assembled with considerable tension, since the pupils knew that the boy had put in his pocket a large rock. When the command was repeated, following recess, the boy stubbornly refused and when pressed to obey, threw the rock, which barely missed the teacher's head and tore its way through the thin blackboard, leaving a hole as large as a man's fist. The teacher immediately took the boy to his father for parental support, which was heartily given, and the boy was forcibly brought to obey—at least temporarily!

When Dr. Strickler resigned the Tinkling Spring pastorate, one of the reasons advanced against his removal was ". . . his connection with our high school known as Tinkling Spring Academy."¹⁸ This classical school soon gave way to the public school system of Augusta County, and an elementary school of several classes was continued on the church property¹⁹

THE GROWTH OF THE SABBATH SCHOOLS

When Dr. Strickler arrived at Tinkling Spring, there had been scattered Bible classes over the congregation and a small Sunday School

¹⁶Congregational Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 49-50, 52.

¹⁷Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Congregational Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 65.

¹⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVII, 281.

¹⁹A. Brooks Booker, "History of the Academies of Augusta County, Virginia," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1949), p. 78.

in the church. In the spring of 1872, the session's report to presbytery stated that two Sunday Schools were in operation, one in the church and one at Sanger's School House, the two enrolling one hundred pupils and twenty teachers.²⁰ The following year the report stated "... a growth in teachers and pupils . . . *five* scholars had been added to the church."²¹ The report a year later stated "... in every respect the church was in a growing condition. . . . large increase in scholars . . ." with twenty-two members added to the church.²² The next year, 1875, they reported "considerable increase in numbers over last year."²³ By 1880, Sunday Schools had been held, though the places had shifted a few times, in Barterbrook, Stuarts Draft, Christian's Creek, Sanger's School, Hermitage; and all the while, the central school was held in the church. That year the total number of scholars at Sabbath School was 367.²⁴ The superintendent at Christian's Creek in 1879 was John G. Guthrie. The same year at the Hermitage Chapel Mr. David S. Bell served as superintendent.²⁵ It is well to note in connection with these schools that they did not run the entire year. They usually opened May 1st, and it is assumed that they continued as long in the fall as weather permitted. Dr. Strickler received into the church during his ministry 162 added on examination and seventy-six added on certificate, the great majority of whom came into the church from among the Sunday School pupils.²⁶ It is appropriate to add at this point that Dr. Strickler had not done all this work in person, as Willson and others had done it. His method was entirely different in that he trained the men to be Sunday School leaders and Bible teachers;²⁷ no doubt, the women soon took their part to become instructors for the small children in Bible story and verse.

In August of 1872, probably under the leadership of Mrs. John McCue, "the Young Ladies Missionary Society of Tinkling Spring Church" was organized and became an active part of the church.²⁸ Within the next few years this idea of bringing missionary information to the church resulted in an organization, reported in 1876, of a "Girls' and

²⁰Tinkling Spring Church Records, The Register, 1840-1882, p. 346.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 348.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 349.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 350.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 316.

²⁵Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, p. 240.

²⁶Register, 1840-1882, *op cit.*, p. 316.

²⁷Johnson, *op. cit.*, 25:12, October-November, 1913.

²⁸Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

Boys' Missionary Society."²⁹ These organizations indicate that the study of the Bible had caused the people of the church to turn their eyes upon the fields "white unto the harvest," and these organizations imply a determination to fulfill the primary object of the church to carry Christ to others. In this task their hearts were made glad and they sang the praise of God as they had not done before.³⁰

SONS OF THE CHURCH ENTER THE MINISTRY

Mr. Robert Stuart Moffett and Hadassah McClellan Guthrie, his wife, had nine children, the youngest of whom was Alexander Stuart Moffett. Young Moffett, after an experience in the Civil War, responded to the call of God to become a minister of the gospel. He was graduated from Washington and Lee University with his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1871 and immediately entered Union Theological Seminary from which he received his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1874. At his sister's wedding during the Christmas season of 1873, he met a cousin, Carrie Lena Crawford, from Louisville, Kentucky. Their attraction to each other is noted in her diary,³¹ but she was a popular young lady with other suitors. The love affair between them seems to have begun in earnest the following year. She wrote in her diary: ". . . I have rec'd one long one [letter] from 'A. S. M.,' " then she breaks forth in prayer as she often does in her diary, "Oh! bless 'them', bless 'him'. Guide 'us' Each and all in love. Grant purer aims, holier thoughts, more earnest striving day by day to 'Us'—!"³²

"Sandy" Moffett visited in the Crawford home in the fall, and Lena wrote, "Yes Lena, my dear, I think you know your own heart now! !" ³³ They were engaged in November, 1875, and married in Louisville, June 28, 1876.³⁴

When Mr. Moffett had completed his training and was licensed in 1875, by Lexington Presbytery,³⁵ he faced a problem of adjusting to his work in which he felt a burdensome sense of duty rather than a delight in proclaiming the good news of the gospel.³⁶ In those reconstruction

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 351.

³⁰Sessional Records, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 256.

³¹Carrie Lena (Crawford) Moffett, Diary, 1871-1898, III, item dated December 25, 1873.

³²*Ibid.*, item dated February 13, 1874.

³³*Ibid.*, item dated November 15, 1874.

³⁴*Ibid.*, IV, 65.

³⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVI, 208-9.

³⁶Diary, *op. cit.*, V, item dated November 21, 1875.

days, conditions tested the souls of men; and Mr. Moffett, in faithful fashion surrendered his problem to God and moved slowly forward as light was given, step by step. He first accepted temporary supply work in Pine Ridge and Fayette, Mississippi, then returned and, on a temporary basis, supplied Loch Willow Church in his own presbytery.³⁷

In contrast to Mr. Moffett's problem, his bride-to-be, having always planned to be a missionary, was radiant in faith and witness, with a heart that continually sang with the joyous psalmist, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!" She wrote on the occasion of their problem her prayer:

But oh! to-night I can thank Thee dear King with all my heart; for Thou hast taken away all the *bitterness* and I am content. I can trust it all to Jesus. *He* knows best! If Jesus, removes, dear Sandy, from His service in this path and places him in another, "Thy will be done" I say cheerfully, dear Father—and trust it all to Thee. All my prayer is that Thou wilt really and truly guide him in the way, Thou wouldst have him to go, Dear Jesus. *Lead Thou us; and through Grace, "We will follow."*³⁸

Not many days afterward her own problem was uppermost in her mind. Perhaps it was when she was notified that single missionaries were not being sent. She questions in her diary:

Did my Father—my Heavenly Father give me this yearning for a Missionary Life? Am I wrong to think of it so much? How can I help it? O! what does it all mean? Jesus, dear Jesus help me to-night! !—My heart is full of yearning *to be sent!* If I am wrong, *show me!* O Lead Thou me. O! Thou knowest *all.* Help me *trust* and *wait!!!*³⁹

This prayer was continued and intensified. She wrote in part two months later:

Sandy and I are betrothed . . .

Now what shall I do with these two heart-throbs—yearnings? My Love for Sandy—*pure-true, deep-unquestioned;* and my Eager yearning love for perishing Heathen souls. How can I possibly give up Either? How can I reconcile the two? O Jesus.

Dear Jesus, *I will not try.* In Thy Hands I place it *all; solemnly, sacredly:*—Do Thou take *both* our lives—Sandy's and mine—and do with them *what Thou wilt.* . . . and at *least* once a day—let me retire—*alone with Jesus;* that I may pray this my prayer—*face to face* with Him. Solemnly I this evening re-dedicate,—re-consecrate my *all* to Jesus. Jesus can do it; if He wills. "*His Will be*

³⁷Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

³⁸Diary, *op. cit.*, V, item dated December 31, 1875.

³⁹*Ibid.*, V, item dated January 12, 1876.

done." "It"—Yes, "it," i. e. answer *both my prayers; make them one!!!*—Solemnly, reverently, prayerfully, *very slowly*, have I written these pages to *Jesus*.⁴⁰

The Lord heard their prayers and gave them both "peace" and "joy" in the solution of their problems.⁴¹ Their feeling grew to an assurance equal to the Lord's saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it" together,⁴² and they were married June 28, 1876.⁴³

Sandy and Carrie Lena Moffett were guided to Loch Willow Church, where they were supremely happy in the service of Christ. She wrote at the end of her twenty-first year while visiting her cousin Baxter Crawford near Churchville:

Today all is *bright*. This holy Sab[bath] Eve *my song* is truly "*Bless the Lord*." For my life is *crowned with loving-kindness and tender mercy*. (I am sitting now by a window over-looking the knoll where my great-great-grand-father and mother were killed by the Indians.)⁴⁴

Much might be written about the ministry and missionary spirit of the Moffetts—four years at Loch Willow in Churchville, Virginia; five years at Round Hill Church near Winchester, Virginia; three years at Stanford, five years at Midway and fifteen years at Lebanon, Kentucky; four years in Lexington, Missouri and concluding his ministry with a nine year's pastorate in Pensacola, Florida.⁴⁵ In 1894 Mr. and Mrs. Moffett volunteered to go as missionaries to Brazil, and were appointed, but were not sent out because they withdrew in favor of a younger missionary. This missionary spirit so evident in their ministry for Christ finds its fullest expression in the lives of their children.

On September 28, 1890, while Mr. Moffett was on a trip to Europe and Palestine, Mrs. Moffett was almost overwhelmed with the care of their six children but found time for her precious silent hour with Jesus. Her writing reveals the secret of the Lord's blessing upon their children in these words:

. . . O! my precious children how I love them all—my boys and my girls. O! that God by His grace would make me a faithful, wise, good christian mother.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, item dated March 19, 1876.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, item dated May 14, 1876.

⁴²*Ibid.*, items dated June 7, 18, and 25, 1876.

⁴³*Ibid.*, item dated June 28, 1876.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, item dated August 13, 1876. Alexander Crawford and his wife, Mary McPheeters, were murdered there in the year 1764.

⁴⁵Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

I do feel my *faults* as a *mother*; they are so *many*. If it were not for the promise "My Grace is sufficient for thee" I would utterly despair: but "I can do *all* things through Christ strengthening me". I feel that my life-work—the work God is giving me to do *now*; is to train my darling children for God and His service;—as missionaries; *ALL* of them if it *be His will*. I have *consecrated* Each one of them to this work—A Missionary life—the grandest life they can live.⁴⁶

The Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., writes that children of Alexander Stuart Moffett and Carrie Lena Crawford, his wife, who have gone as missionaries under their supervision number six and are as follows:

Rev. Lacy Irvine Moffett
Miss Carrie Lena Moffett
Mrs. R. J. McMullen [Emma Hadassah]
Mrs. J. C. Crenshaw [May Craig]
Mrs. Francis R. Crawford [Martha Paxton]
Miss Natalie Moffett

The second child, Harry McClellan Moffett, also became a Presbyterian minister—making seven of their eight living children to enter a church vocation! Two sons, both named for their father, died in infancy. The Lord did indeed answer both of Carrie Lena's prayers—to love Sandy Moffett and serve the missionary aims of Christ's church!

Mr. Moffett's initials follow a different handwriting on the last page of Lena's Diary:

Dear Lena passed peacefully into the heavenly Home Sabbath, July 10th 1898 at 5:30 p. m. "the Silent hour," So long observed. "Even So, Come, Lord Jesus, Come quickly" attend with beaming countenance & peaceful Smile & She Entered into the presence of her Savior—So precious to her—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from hence-forth: yea, Saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors: & their works do *follow* them" Rev. 14:13⁴⁷

Dr. Moffett was married the following year to Miss Clemmie Itilla McFadden, of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, to whom were born two children. His earthly ministry closed ten days short of his seventy-fourth birthday. He died in Pensacola, Florida, September 2, 1921.⁴⁸

Elder John G. Stover and Evelyn Huff, his wife, were parents of Edwin Harvey Stover, who after graduation from Hampden-Sydney

⁴⁶Diary, *op. cit.*, item dated September 28, 1890.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, IX, item last written page.

⁴⁸Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

College in 1881, entered Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, in 1882. Though ill health prevented his continued study and turned him temporarily away from the ministry (while he engaged in teaching and dentistry) for more than five years, he returned to the Seminary and completed his work in 1891. He was married in 1895 to Helen Wallace Holliday of Rapidan, Virginia, where he was pastor of the Waddell Memorial Church and supplied Madison, Orange and Mitchell Churches. Mr. Stover's ministry was in this one field. He was called from his earthly labors on February 1, 1904, at the age of forty-five.⁴⁹

Thus we see the educational work of Willson, Smith and Dabney followed by the evangelical work of Strickler bearing fruit in the Tinkling Spring congregation as he nurtured the youth of the church under the leadership of his session. He brought the local school to its high degree of efficiency, tripled the Sunday School attendance and doubled the membership of the church.⁵⁰ With spiritual vigor he not only reaped the fruit of his own labors but also cultivated a seed bed that would produce even greater fruits for Tinkling Spring in the future, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 690.

⁵⁰Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 316.



Figure XXXVI

The Educational Building Erected 1950 and the Community Building (inset)



THE CHURCH CHOIR ABOUT 1885

Front row: Mrs. David Hanger, Mrs. Hamilton, *first circle:* Mr. Stover(?), Kate Coiner, Mary Watson, Josie Watson, Josie Coiner, Edwin H. Stover, *second circle:* C. Benton Coiner, Wirt Stover, William F. Gilkeson, A. H. McCue and F. M. Bell.



TINKLING SPRING CHOIR, 1953

Seated (left to right): M. Frances Cline; Lillian Pennell; Mrs. R. W. Moffett, Director; Mrs. J. M. McChesney, Jr., Organist; Mary Evelyn McChesney; *standing:* Mrs. McClelland Gray; R. E. Griffin, President; Barbara Floyd; F. P. Brown; Mrs. H. H. Hevener; Phyllis M. Moffett; L. B. McChesney; Nancy Weaver; M. Leona Hanger; H. H. Hevener; Mrs. L. B. McChesney; Florence G. Moffett; R. K. Irvine and Mrs. F. P. Brown.

Figure XXXVII

Early and Late Tinkling Spring Choirs

PART VI
A PART OF THE NEW SOUTH

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

A Program of Service

THE greatness of Dr. Strickler's ministry at Tinkling Spring was not only indicated in the people's allegiance to him but even more so in their allegiance to Christ and his work. Much of Dr. Strickler's work was planting and cultivating, though the ingathering of his pastorate was as great as any before him.

THE PRESTON PASTORATE

Upon Dr. Strickler's removal, the Tinkling Spring congregation began at once to seek a new pastor. They turned to the pastor of the Pendleton Church, where the Reverend John A. Preston was completing his fifth year in the ministry. At a meeting of presbytery, July 11, 1883, the Tinkling Spring call was presented to Mr. Preston, who was serving at the time as Moderator of Lexington Presbytery.¹ The Reverend J. E. Booker was asked to take the Chair, and presbytery proceeded to dissolve Preston's pastoral relation to the church in Franklin (now West Virginia), and to make arrangements for Rev. James Murray, pastor of the Bethel Church and Rev. Alexander Sprunt of the Augusta Stone Church to install Mr. Preston. This installation took place August 11, 1883.² It is certain that Mr. Preston's abilities attracted Tinkling Spring to him as their pastor, but they could not have overlooked the many family connections with Tinkling Spring.

His given name, John, had been inherited from his immigrant great, great grandfather, who with his wife, Elizabeth Patton, joined others in the founding of the Tinkling Spring Church.³ His father, John Thomas Lewis Preston, an elder in the Lexington Church was a professor at Virginia Military Institute, and his mother, Sally Caruthers Preston, was a niece of Dr. Archibald Alexander, hence the Alexander in his name. Mr. Preston's wife was Elizabeth Cortlandt Smith, the fifth child of Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin M. Smith, whom he had met and married while

¹Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XVII, 347; E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), p. 584.

²Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVII, 348-53.

³*Supra.*

at Hampden-Sydney College.⁴ Mr. Preston was an apt successor to Dr. Strickler, continuing his interest in Christian education, nourishing the spiritual life of his church in Bible study through the Sunday Schools and preaching in a manner that warmed the hearts of his people.

In his six years at Tinkling Spring, Mr. Preston received 144 new members on profession of faith. He admitted forty-two to the church fellowship by certificate of transfer with a resulting increase in the total membership of about twenty percent. The Sunday Schools continued to increase, and at the conclusion of his pastorate numbered three hundred eighty-three.⁵ Writing of his abilities at a later time, it was said:

He was a rare man; rare in mental gifts and personal graces; rare in his tact, in the felicity of his speech, but above all in his knowledge of the way to the hearts of men. His preaching was sometimes great; it was always simple, tender, persuasive; but his prayers rather than his sermons, proclaimed the man. They were all-embracing; no class escaped his attention. It is safe to say that every street car man . . . has asked concerning him . . . How tender he was when he prayed for those who have infirmities! that they might be delivered from the power of the particularly besetting sin. It has been remarked by many that his prayers will be remembered after his sermons are forgotten.⁶

This interest in the welfare of people and service to them in the name of Christ characterized not only Mr. Preston⁷ but his congregation as well.

SERVING IN THE HOME MISSION FIELD

The same year in which Mr. Preston came to Tinkling Spring, 1883, a son of the church, Dr. John Newton Craig, had been made Executive Secretary of Home Missions by the General Assembly. The interest and pride of Tinkling Spring in John Newton Craig can be easily understood. His success story began in pioneer days. His grandfather, George Craig, lived in the Augusta Stone Church community. When he was above fifty years old and unmarried, into his father's home came a working girl of "superiority and character" where she did the weaving at the loom in the Craig home. Though she was twenty years younger than George Craig and separated from him by social differences, they fell

⁴Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Press, Inc., 1947), opposite p. 58.

⁵Tinkling Spring Church Records, *The Register*, 1840-1882, pp. 317-18.

⁶John Alexander Preston, "Death of Rev. John A. Preston, D. D.," *The Christian Observer*, 84:2 (922), September, 1896.

⁷Randolph Preston, *The Life and Work of John A. Preston, D. D.*

in love and were married.⁸ They lived and labored happily together until her death which occurred at the birth of her sixth child. They named him George Evans Craig.

This baby was reared to the age of thirteen by the James Bell family, and at that time was apprenticed "to David Gilkeson, a highly respectable and honorable man, a cabinet maker" who, with his wife, took the lad into their home and agreed to teach him the carpenter's trade over a period of seven and a half years. At the age of nineteen a great change took place in his life, when he gave his heart to Christ under the assurance that "... he knew he was born again."⁹

It is said of Mr. David Gilkeson, the Tinkling Spring elder that:

Six months before the expiration of his [George Evans Craig's] apprenticeship, Mr. Gilkeson gave him an order to make a tool chest. When it was completed, the old man took down a full set of tools, placed them in the chest, locked it, handed him the key and told him to accept the tools and the balance of his time as an expression of his high regard for him and his appreciation of his uniformly upright conduct during his apprenticeship.¹⁰

This young man, having been apprenticed to an elder at Tinkling Spring, came to know intimately the Guthrie family; and on October 28, 1824, married Matilda Guthrie, daughter of Hugh G. Guthrie. They settled in the western part of Virginia (now Pocahontas County, West Virginia) where he became a successful merchant. To them were born five children. While the father was away on a trip to Waynesboro in 1834 the youngest child, William Moffett Craig, died under such tragic circumstances that their grief drove them to give up their business and move back to Augusta County where he bought and managed for eighteen months the Barterbrook store near Tinkling Spring. An indication of the intensity of their grief is seen in the fact that they brought the child's body with them one hundred miles across the mountains and reburied him at Tinkling Spring. They did not remain long at Barterbrook but returned to western Virginia where he opened another store. Within a few years Mr. Craig died leaving his wife, Matilda Guthrie, a widow with four small children.

John Newton Craig, the third child and oldest son, observing the trials and afflictions of his parents, took upon himself at an early age

⁸Alexander W. Crawford, *Crawford Ancestry*, pp. 41-42.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

rather heavy responsibilities. At the age of twelve he began clerking in his father's store. Before he was fifteen years of age he was sworn in as a deputy clerk in the county court, and a little later deputy clerk in the circuit court. This success led him, at the age of seventeen, to announce as candidate to fill the vacancy in the clerk's office; but when an opponent raised the issue of his legal age, he withdrew from the race releasing the majority of votes that he felt were pledged to him. Following this experience, he entered the Waynesboro Academy, where his two older sisters had attended.¹¹ It was there under the preaching of Dr. Dabney, Tinkling Spring pastor, in a series of services that this young man united with the church and three months later transferred by certificate to Tinkling Spring, where he became a school teacher.¹²

After the proper training, he was licensed as a Presbyterian minister by Lexington Presbytery in 1858. His first work was in Lancaster, South Carolina, from which he was released for chaplain's duty in the Confederate Army. While a chaplain he was married to Miss Lydia Brevard Harris. In 1870 he was called to Holly Springs, Mississippi, where his work was an outstanding success. The University of Mississippi conferred on him the Doctor of Divinity degree in 1877. In 1878 an epidemic of yellow fever, in violent form, struck his people. He and his wife visited the sick and worked from house to house until both contracted the disease. His was in such violent form that the report got abroad of his death, and the newspapers published a death notice and eulogy to him. However, he recovered and continued his work. It was from this pastorate that the General Assembly, in 1883, called him to serve as Home Mission Executive. He served efficiently for seventeen years presenting eloquently and sympathetically the needs of the home mission areas of the southland.¹³

The work was more important to him than his own life. Just before the close of the nineteenth century, he was told by his physician that the end was near. Though he was nearly seventy years old, during the summer of 1900 he faithfully and ardently toured the church presenting the cause so dear to his heart instead of relaxing from his labors as his doctor had advised. He stated that it was his purpose to "die in the

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

¹²Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 13; A. Brooks Booker, "History of the Academies of Augusta County, Virginia," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1949), p. 75.

¹³Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

harness." In October of 1900, upon invitation of the Synod of Virginia, he addressed their session at Newport News on the General Assembly's home mission work. His schedule was so full that while he spoke there was a carriage waiting at the door to rush him to a boat that would get him to the Synod of South Carolina before its adjournment. In spite of this pressure for time, it is said that he spoke with unusual vigor and earnestness and made one of the finest addresses of his life. At the conclusion of his speech, he picked up his watch and looking at it said, "My time is up. I can say no more." He took his seat on the pulpit chair, his head drooped, his notes scattered to the floor; in a few minutes, with his friends gathered around, he was gone. The Synod held services in the afternoon. He was returned to Atlanta, where appropriate services were held, and was buried in a family plot in Louisville, Kentucky, on the morning of October 31, 1900.¹⁴

SERVING IN THE FOREIGN MISSION FIELD

One of the Guthrie's neighbors near the Barterbrook store was an humble, godly man, William Brown Patterson, who was an elder at Tinkling Spring. His wife was Margaret Tirzah Willson. They were evidently great admirers of Mr. Patterson's cousin, young Hugh Brown Craig (the son of George Evans Craig, adopted after his father's death by William Guthrie, his uncle) who lost his life at Cold Harbor; and when a son was born they named him Brown Craig in memory of their deceased friend.¹⁵ Brown Craig Patterson in his autobiographical sketch relates:

I recall most vividly the teaching of parents and Aunt Bettie Guthrie and their prayers. I see myself yet, watching Uncle [Hugh G.] Guthrie snuff the large candles with the snuffer scissors and recall kneeling in prayer with face in the yellow sheepskin in the chair.

From 5 to 16 I was under the ministry of Dr. Strickler whom I greatly admired. When 13 years old, my father was uncertain about sending me to high school and college. So he persuaded Dr. Strickler to give me some lessons in first year Latin as a test. At the end of 3 months his answer was, "Yes, Craig can take an education if he will work!!"¹⁶

Four years later B. Craig Patterson entered Washington and Lee University from the Tinkling Spring School. At twenty-one he graduated

¹⁴Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁵This fact verified by Brown Craig Patterson.

¹⁶Brown Craig Patterson, *Memoirs of*, 1951, p. 2.

with honors and returned home to farm for a year while his brother, Blackwood, took a year at business college.¹⁷ During that year, Mr. Patterson toyed with the idea of going into the medical profession, but Dr. Strickler advised with urgency the ministry. To this influence was added the memory of "Father's and Uncle Guthrie's" prayers for those who sat in "heathen darkness." So in 1888 he entered Union Theological Seminary from which he graduated in the spring of 1891. He volunteered to go as a missionary to China and after a summer's experience in filling Dr. James Murray's pulpit at Bethel Church sailed in September 1891.¹⁸

The spring meeting of Lexington Presbytery, May 5, 1891, was held at the Mossy Creek Presbyterian Church. Tinkling Spring Church was represented by Elder William F. Gilkeson, and because of the candidates before presbytery for licenture and ordination, it was a meeting of great interest to Tinkling Spring Church. Three sons of the church were before presbytery for licenture. Mr. Charles David Gilkeson, Mr. Edwin H. Stover (returned after five years absence from ministerial work) and Mr. Brown Craig Patterson. Mr. Gilkeson received a call to the Beverly Church, and presbytery appointed a commission to ordain and install him. Mr. Stover was dismissed to the Presbytery of West Hanover as a licentiate, and Mr. Patterson was ordained "as an evangelist for the foreign field."¹⁹

In the group with whom he sailed was a medical doctor, Miss Annie R. Houston. In his illness aboard ship she became the attending physician, while at home the young people who knew them both conjectured the possibility of romance. But when ashore in China, Mr. Patterson was assigned to Tsing Kiang Pu, a station in North Kiangsu Province, the northernmost station of our church where rioters had driven out our missionaries a few months before; and Dr. Houston was sent to Hangchow. After about a year spent in language study and finding it convenient to get away, Craig Patterson went to see "Miss Houston" at Sinchang. The following summer, August 4, 1893, they were married in Shanghai.²⁰

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 31; Walter W. Moore, and others, *General Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, Professors and Alumni of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1807-1924* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1924), p. 157.

¹⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 441-83.

²⁰Patterson Memoirs, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5.

These days of early missionary work in China were trying days for the Pattersons. It had not then been discovered that the mosquito carried malaria and both of them became victims of the disease, and they had to learn to fight it. Many were their rebuffs as "foreign devils," when ragamuffins hounded their trail to echo the race prejudice of their parents.²¹

The coming of new missionaries permitted the beginning of an additional station in the North Kiangsu Province with its ten million unchurched people. Dr. Patterson gives a glimpse of the difficulties as he writes of their first station responsibility in 1893:

Sutsien, 80 miles N. W. [northwest of Tsing Kiang Pu] in utterly new territory, was chosen. Our treaty rights to get property were posted. However, the whole populace was very much opposed to a foreigner coming among them. They degraded a degree man who had dared to sell us a house. They arrested him, beat him and made him sign a predated deed to his house which they wrote. They then collected \$600 from the people of the town to pay us back and made a local shrine of the house.

After tedious negotiations, with rough cart trips and cold boat trips, the Sutsien magistrate again posted our treaty rights to live in interior cities for mission work. In the providence of God, a new magistrate who had had close contact with a missionary in his home in South China came to Sutsien. He used his influence in our favor and advised us not to try to buy a house just then and irritate the ignorant people, but to live where we were—"anyone can live in an inn". We took his advice and lived in these poor quarters for three full years. Our quarters, unlike Rahab's which was on the wall, were under it in the dry moat and well located for bad boys who for a year would get to the top of the wall and throw brick bats at any person heard or seen in our little court. We were forced to flee but once, accused of being Jap spies in Winter of 1894. . . .

Immediately, Mrs. Patterson's work in the little clinic became known far and wide and was of the greatest value in establishing friendly contacts and showing what our purpose was. It is possible that because of this work no one was killed or beaten in opening this station as was the case in so many other stations opened at that period.²²

Street preaching, visiting in villages and cities far and near by barrow (and later by barrow and chair) soon became the order of the day for Mr. Patterson while Mrs. Patterson, graciously and fearlessly, maintained a heavy schedule of home duties, medical work, teaching and visiting in the homes of the common people; bringing relief to the sick,

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 26.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

rescuing many from cruel need and fear, "ever pointing the way of hope and life."²³

The first six years of this ardent labor of love for the Master brought in but ten converts to the Christian faith.²⁴ But there were certain "TROPHIES OF HIS GRACE" from this outreach into areas where Christ had been unknown, as the missionary conformed to Chinese customs of politeness. Dr. Patterson relates:

One noteworthy case was the conversion of Mr. Ye Hung En, and through him, his whole family and several other important men. I was returning from the Butsi market to which hundreds, yes, several thousand, had streamed in from the fertile plains around. I saw a large man . . . dressed as an old-style well-to-do man walking ahead of me. . . . so I jumped off and said, "You too have been to the market today", and walked on with him. . . . I gave him a gospel and probably the apologetic catechism that we used so much. In a few weeks, he was in Sutsien and bought a Bible . . . and asked me to visit him. . . . He became an earnest Christian and helped to form the Butsi Church; had family prayers daily with his 77 year old father, his wife, three sons and their wives, and often included his nephew and his large family across the court. It was a great joy to visit his home and such a privilege to baptize his aged father whom he had taught.²⁵

These endeavors in Sutsien from 1893 to 1920 resulted in twenty-five schools and preaching centers, in the area of the Sutsien station, offering light and life in Christ to hundreds of thousands that otherwise would not have heard His name in that generation.²⁶

In later years, Dr. Patterson was called on to help formulate policy for theological education in China to prepare men for the ministry. In the conflict of those days between liberals and conservatives, Dr. Patterson took his position staunchly on the side of those who defended the faith once delivered unto the saints. He became an instructor in the North China Theological Seminary at Tenghsien where he taught classes in the Life of Christ, the New Testament Epistles, Church History, Archaeology and Geology. Here he remained for eighteen years.²⁷

Their half century of missionary service was too often interrupted by forced flights for the safety of their lives: in 1894 when Japan began her "incident" in China, in 1900 in the Boxer uprising when fifty unprotected missionaries were killed, in 1911 in the China Revolution, in 1926

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 20, 75.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁶Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

²⁷Patterson Memoirs, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

when the communists moved north and in 1939 at the time of the Japanese aggression.²⁸ After evacuation from China in 1939, the Pattersons retired and returned to the Tinkling Spring community.

The end of the Brown Craig Pattersons' contribution to Kingdom advance is not yet for their children continue to serve. The Reverend Craig Houston Patterson was born in 1897, served as a missionary to China 1923-1936, with forced interval at home, and is a successful Presbyterian minister.²⁹ William Blackwood Patterson was born in 1898, graduated at Washington and Lee University and was forced by ill-health to withdraw from Union Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian ministry in 1924, but served with his parents for eleven years in China where he was regarded with deep affection.³⁰ Dr. Paul Morrison Patterson was born in 1902, is a professor at Hollins College, Virginia, and is a distinguished scientist. Norman Guthrie Patterson, M. D., born in 1903, served as a medical missionary to China 1929-1937 and is now a surgeon in Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee. Margaret Elizabeth Patterson was born in 1906; she is the wife of Dr. Henry W. Mack and is serving with him as a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., to Dumaguete, Philippine Islands.³¹ As the Patterson family left Tengkhsien, their friend, Dr. W. M. Hayes, paid tribute to them in this little rhyme:

As the years slowly lengthen
The ties of friendship also strengthen
And your presence here in Tengkhsien,
Like the heather on the mountain,
Sheds its fragrance all around you
And the love of all has crowned you.³²

Dr. Patterson concludes his Memoirs by relating the ties that bind his family to the Tinkling Spring Church. The love is mutual, and the church delights to cherish the ties that are described in these words:

As to Tinkling Spring, what shall I add to the words . . . "constant strength and joy." It is my home and for thirty-eight years my mother wrote by every foreign mail telling me all the church news. It was my home from childhood and I have seen three generations of greatly esteemed men and women gathering there. It sent me out to China in 1891 and paid my whole salary for the first

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

³⁰Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Patterson Memoirs, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 92.

³¹Patterson Memoirs, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 75.

few years. And in 1939 welcomed us back with gifts and gracious kindness all of which binds our hearts to them in gratitude and love.

In the first few years after our return, it was my privilege to teach and preach as occasion offered. And when Dr. Siler went to Shepherdstown I did much of the pastoral work. With the session I received members, baptized the precious little ones of friends and relatives as well as conducting, or assisting, in the last rites of fifteen or more persons, many of whom were friends from childhood. Mrs. Patterson likewise greatly enjoyed her work with the women—visiting and teaching for seven or eight years.

Our children claim Tinkling Spring as their home church. Today, grown, William still rejoices in it as his home church; the other four, scattered in the world's service. Paul is teaching; Houston, missionary to China and pastor at Bluefield and other churches; Norman, doing surgical work in China and Virginia; Margaret and her husband teaching Bible to Siamese, Roman Catholics and Philippinos at Dumaguete—all look back to the church in the grove as their home.

To further note my esteem and deep indebtedness to Tinkling Spring, its pastors, officers, teachers, and to physicians, friends and relatives would go beyond the limits of these notes.³³

SERVING IN THE MINISTRY

The spirit of service that characterized the people of the church in this period included, in addition to Home and Foreign Missionaries, several men in the regular Presbyterian ministry.

Lamartine Houchins Paul united with Tinkling Spring Church by profession of faith November 8, 1874, at the age of seventeen.³⁴ He attended Washington and Lee for his college work and, after becoming a candidate for the ministry, entered Union Theological Seminary in 1883, where he graduated in 1886.³⁵ It is said that Mr. Paul's mother was the one who spurred him on to finish his college work and her Christian life was the inspiration that helped sustain him in the decision to enter the ministry against his father's wishes.³⁶ He was licensed and ordained by Lexington Presbytery in 1886 and became pastor of the Pendleton Church in Franklin, West Virginia, where he served for two years.³⁷

At the fall meeting of presbytery in 1888, Mossy Creek Church presented a call to Mr. Paul who, though reluctant to leave Franklin,

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

³⁴Register, 1840-1882, *op. cit.*, p. 34. His given name is attributed to a sister who was intrigued with a French name found in her study book.

³⁵Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 561; Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVII, 315.

³⁶Related by Mrs. Sadie Paul, as a statement made by Rev. L. H. Paul.

³⁷Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 38-39.

expressed a feeling of duty to accept. The Pendleton Church was ready to oppose the move but under Rev. John A. Preston's guidance decided, in view of Mr. Paul's sense of call, to withdraw their opposition. Mr. Preston, Mr. Paul's pastor in earlier years at Tinkling Spring, was asked to preach the installation sermon at Mossy Creek.³⁸

Soon after taking up the Mossy Creek work, Mr. Paul married Miss Nettie Ellis, a niece of Mr. Ben Ellis, Tinkling Spring elder. The Mossy Creek pastorate continued for nineteen happy and useful years. Mrs. Paul died in 1915, and in 1918 he was married to Miss Sadie Davies of the pioneer Mossy Creek family by that name.³⁹

On March 13, 1907, Lexington Presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation of Mr. Paul with the Mossy Creek Church and dismissed him to Montgomery Presbytery to accept a call to Clifton Forge, Virginia.⁴⁰ Dr. Paul grew into a careful student of God's Word and a warm-hearted pastor and with the use of these talents in a twenty years pastorate doubled the size and strength of the Clifton Forge Presbyterian Church. He led that people in building a spacious, beautiful church edifice and in filling it with prayerful, Bible loving servants of Christ. A memorial tablet unveiled in 1929 bears evidence of loving devotion between pastor and people.⁴¹

In the fall of 1926, as he approached his seventieth year, Dr. Paul began to feel keenly the heavy demands of the enlarged work upon a man of his age and, consequently, presented his resignation to become effective April 1, 1927. However, after a brief illness, he was removed from his earthly labors February 9, 1927.⁴²

A brother of Carrie Lena Crawford, Alexander Warwick Crawford, appeared before the Tinkling Spring session on October 5, 1884,⁴³ with a certificate of transfer to join Tinkling Spring Church in order that he might have the church's recommendation to Union Theological Seminary where he was in preparation for the Presbyterian ministry. It may be assumed with a fair degree of assurance that Mr. Crawford was being

³⁸*Ibid.*, XVIII, 223-25.

³⁹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 561; L[izzie] G. R[obson], *A Sketch of Mossy Creek Church, Virginia, From 1769-1898* (Bridgewater, Virginia: G. Richard Berlin, Label and Commercial Printer, 1898), 32 pp.

⁴⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXII, 492-94.

⁴¹Lamartine H. Paul Papers, citing a tribute in *The Daily Review*, April 8, 1929, Clifton Forge, Virginia.

⁴²*Ibid.*, Letter of Resignation, Resolutions and Memorials.

⁴³Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, p. 286.

helped by his relatives the Guthries in securing his Seminary training. This move on Mr. Crawford's part makes him technically a son of the church who went into the ministry, but we find no other contact than this union with the church in order to secure recommendation and to be closer in touch with his relatives who were greatly interested in his career.⁴⁴

In Civil War days, July 20, 1863, to John Addison Gilkeson and Isabel Sterritt Humphreys, his wife, was born a son whom they named Charles David—the David for his grandfather who had been an active elder at Tinkling Spring nearly fifty years. His father became an elder at Tinkling Spring in 1875. His mother, also of a devoutly religious Presbyterian family, spoke often of him as her preacher son. However, he did not unite with the church as a youth. He graduated with a B. A. degree from Washington and Lee University in 1885 and went to teach in Chamberlayne-Hunt Academy in Mississippi.⁴⁵ During his teaching tour of two years he surrendered his heart fully to Christ and in 1886 entered Union Theological Seminary, but after a year transferred to Princeton where he graduated in 1891. That same year he married Miss Margaret White Leyburn of Lexington, Virginia.⁴⁶

Mr. Gilkeson was licensed, along with two other sons of Tinkling Spring, B. C. Patterson and E. H. Stover, by Lexington Presbytery meeting at Mossy Creek Church, May 9, 1891.⁴⁷ At that time Rev. L. H. Paul, another son of Tinkling Spring, was the Mossy Creek pastor. The ordination and installation of Mr. Gilkeson was set at Beverly, West Virginia, for July 2, 1891, and Rev. W. C. Hagan, former teacher at Tinkling Spring School, was appointed to preach the ordination sermon.⁴⁸ He continued at Beverly for seven years.

Following brief pastorates in Norfolk, Virginia, and Richlands and Clifton, West Virginia, he received a call to become pastor of the Moorefield Church in West Virginia, where Dr. G. W. White had just been made pastor emeritus after a thirty-seven year pastorate.⁴⁹

⁴⁴Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁴⁵Charles David Gilkeson Papers, Miscellaneous letters, sermons and articles relative to his work in the ministry. Letter of his son dated October 27, 1950.

⁴⁶Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁴⁷Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 478-79.

⁴⁸*Loc. cit.*

⁴⁹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

An introductory note on the sermon from Acts 8:35 which he preached for them when called says:

I went to Romney, the nearest Railroad station to Moorefield at the time . . . The next morning, February 19, 1904, with the thermometer hovering around zero, I started out for the 27 mile drive to Moorefield behind a livery team,—wearing a heavy overcoat, ear muffers, hot brick at my feet, two heavy lap robes, chest and back protected with newspapers. That night I preached my first sermon in the Moorefield church, from the text given below, to a large audience, many of whom, I suspect, came out that cold night from curiosity to see and hear the man the church had called, sight unseen, to be its pastor.⁵⁰

Dr. Robert B. Woodworth, historian of Winchester Presbytery, summarizes the work of Mr. Gilkeson in part as follows:

Thirteen years of apprentice work fitted him to be pastor at Moorefield, thirteen years at Moorefield fitted him to be superintendent of Home Missions for 20 years in the Presbytery of Winchester, secretary of Stewardship, Presbyterial treasurer of benevolences, and pattern maker of rules and procedure to the Presbytery, the Synod of Virginia and since May, to the General Assembly, a kind of handy man, good at any job in or near his line with malice toward none.

During his pastorate [at Moorefield], 192 persons were added to the roll (49 in his first year) which crept up to 216, while the Sunday school roll got up to a high level of 549 [through chapel work].⁵¹

This forceful preacher, at the call of God, as pointed out by Dr. Woodworth, turned to administrative work as "Superintendent of Home Missions and Sunday Schools" for Winchester Presbytery in 1917. He was honored with a Doctor of Divinity degree from Davis and Elkins College in 1921. After twenty-two years of aggressive leadership in church extension work, he was called upon in 1938 by the General Assembly to head an Ad Interim committee to study and recommend improvements in the Home Mission Committee organization of the denomination.⁵² His committee recommendations were accepted and became effective in handling the whole extension program of the church in 1939.⁵³ But before this great contribution to his beloved church became effective he was called to his heavenly reward, October

⁵⁰Gilkeson Papers, *op. cit.*, Sermon on Acts 8:35.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, citing Centennial Address from *Moorefield Examiner*, September 20, 1937, by Robert B. Woodworth.

⁵²*Presbyterian Church in the United States, Minutes of the General Assembly, 1937*, pp. 62, 74.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 1938, pp. 43, 140-43.

30, 1939. His burial was at his home church, Tinkling Spring, from which he had gone out to serve a half a century earlier.⁵⁴

PRESTON'S REMOVAL AND LAIRD'S PASTORATE

The Reverend John A. Preston's pastorate at Tinkling Spring was unusually successful. His good name, like Strickler's before him, had gone abroad; and in the spring of 1889, he had a call from the Presbyterian Church in Florence, Alabama. In line with the doctor's recommendation of a warmer climate for Mrs. Preston's health he decided to accept the call. Though beloved by the Tinkling Spring people, he persuaded them to concur with him in requesting presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relation. An effort was made to call a special meeting of Lexington Presbytery to act upon his request for removal but for some reason this special meeting could not be held.⁵⁵ The church paid Mr. Preston's salary to April 1st, and it appears that he removed from the field early in the month of March with their permission.⁵⁶ When presbytery met the middle of April, Mr. Preston had already been working in his new pastorate in Alabama for six weeks. It was Mr. Preston's brother, Rev. Thomas Lewis Preston, pastor of the Lexington Church, who called in question his procedure; but presbytery, taking knowledge of the failure of the special meeting, and in view of the concurrence of the congregation, cleared his dismissal without question. Dr. Preston, after four years in Alabama, was called to and accepted the pastorate of the influential First Presbyterian Church, Charlotte, North Carolina. His brilliant career was cut short when in the summer of 1896 he contracted typhoid fever and died September 13, 1896, at his home in Lexington, Virginia.⁵⁷

Upon Dr. Preston's removal, the church moved rapidly to secure a successor. The Reverend A. F. Laird, pastor of the Mount Horeb Church, no doubt had a hand in assisting the church in their securing a new pastor. The Reverend Messrs. A. F. and H. F. Laird were members of a family from Kerr's Creek, Virginia. Both had attended Washington and Lee University and Union Theological Seminary. Mr. Henry Ruffner Laird had been ordained an evangelist by Holston Presbytery.

⁵⁴Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁵⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 240-41, 259-60.

⁵⁶Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-62.

⁵⁷Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 584; Randolph Preston, *op. cit.*, Life and Work of John A. Preston, D. D.



TINKLING SPRING SESSION

Front row (left to right): R. K. Irvine; A. C. Gilkeson, Clerk; Rev. H. M. Wilson, Moderator; Rev. C. S. Harvey, Jr.; H. D. Hevener; *second row:* W. C. Irvine; L. I. Young; J. K. Livesay; B. H. Wade; T. O. Ramsey; E. S. Young; R. S. Moffett; C. H. Cline; *third row:* H. H. Moffett; A. E. Houff; R. R. Sayre; R. A. McChesney; W. F. Caldwell, and S. G. Stewart.



TINKLING SPRING DIACONATE

Front row (left to right): R. L. Shaver; S. H. Barrell; W. F. Caldwell, Jr.; J. M. McChesney, Jr., Chairman; A. W. Irvine; P. G. Hanger; J. G. Moffett; *second row:* W. S. Moffett, Jr.; J. S. Loving; R. E. Griffin; Z. A. McChesney; H. H. Hull; C. E. Brubeck; *third row:* P. R. Phillippe; A. B. Booker, Jr.; F. P. Brown; R. W. Moffett; W. G. Shaver.

Figure XXXVIII

Tinkling Spring Church Officers



TINKLING SPRING-FINLEY MEMORIAL YOUTH FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL
Seated (left to right): Rev. C. S. Harvey, Jr.; R. Virginia McCormick, Vice President; Billy H. Wade, Jr., Treasurer; Laurada Keister, President; Edwin Blacka, Secretary;
standing: Joyce Blacka; S. E. Zirk, Jr.; Betty A. Corell; William G. Shaver, Jr.; Miss M. Frances Cline, Adviser; Barry E. Blacka; Ellen McCormick; William C. Arey; M. Jane Ramsey.



TINKLING SPRING BOARD OF THE WOMEN OF THE CHURCH
Front row (left to right): Mrs. H. M. Wilson; Mrs. P. R. Phillippe, Vice President; Miss Lillian Pennell; Mrs. J. G. Moffett; Mrs. J. W. B. Baylor; *second row:* Mrs. E. S. Young; Mrs. H. H. Moffett; Mrs. John Moxie; Mrs. H. W. Cale; Mrs. S. E. Zirk; Mrs. J. E. Toman, Treasurer; Mrs. A. L. Braden; *third row:* Mrs. W. E. Null, Secretary; Mrs. J. S. Loving; Mrs. H. D. Hevener, President; Mrs. E. L. Ott, Historian; Mrs. C. H. Cline; Mrs. R. L. Shaver; absent: Mrs. O. P. Jones, Mrs. A. D. Thompson.

Figure XXXIX

Tinkling Spring Leadership for 1953

He had served a pastorate in Roanoke Presbytery and was, in 1889, a member of the Presbytery of Western Texas, pastor at Gonzales, in the nineteenth year of his ministry.⁵⁸ Presbytery approved the church's call to Mr. Laird on September 19, 1889, and granted them permission to prosecute the call before Mr. Laird's presbytery. At a called meeting of Lexington Presbytery in January, of the next year, Mr. Laird was present and accepted the call to Tinkling Spring; and presbytery ordered his installation at Tinkling Spring on February 1, 1890.⁵⁹

It was not long until it was evident that the pastoral relation was not a happy tie for either party. Mr. Laird, an experienced and capable minister, may have been over anxious to return to his native Virginia. The church, with its splendid work moving at a spirited pace, no doubt had been too quick to accept a man whom they had not seen for quite some years. Tradition lingers of the regret on the part of some who felt the church did not properly support Mr. Laird.

Mr. Laird's pastorate came to a sudden end when a called meeting of presbytery, June 9, 1891, dissolved his pastoral relation at Tinkling Spring and dismissed him to the Presbytery of Western Texas.⁶⁰ After continuing work in Texas for six years, Mr. Laird moved to Kentucky, where he was pastor at Millersburg for ten years and at Springdale for fourteen years. He died at Prospect, Kentucky, March 1, 1925.⁶¹

It seems tragic, but so often true, that in the midst of successful promotion of Christian work there should come a discordant note from mistaken judgment by pastor or people, or both. But to make the mistake is human, to correct it is Christian. This devout man and good people dissolved their relationship in one of the shortest minutes on record for Lexington Presbytery and each proceeded to serve God effectively having become wiser in this experience.

The spiritual vigor of Tinkling Spring not only produced ministers and missionaries—home and foreign—but also led to colonizing her own congregation. In neighboring communities where the church sponsored Christian activities, there was to blossom forth yet a greater fruitage.

⁵⁸Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁵⁹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 314, 327-28, 346-47.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, XVIII, 484.

⁶¹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Thriving Daughter Churches

IT appears to be the experience of the church that her effort to send the gospel to others is one of the surest ways to assure her own richest experience of God's grace at home. Tinkling Spring's effort to serve the church universal in home and foreign fields reacted in rich growth of spiritual strength within her own area of interest and responsibility.

In 1856 Lexington Presbytery heard a petition from forty-five people in the Mt. Meridian section, adjacent to the congregation in the Hermitage area, which they took under consideration. Elder David Gilkeson of Tinkling Spring was on the committee that recommended the petition be granted and a church by the name of "Mount Horeb" be organized.¹ Though organized out of the Augusta Stone constituency, the Mount Horeb Church filled a need immediately adjacent to the local organization.

GROWTH IN STAUNTON AND WAYNESBORO

The daughter churches were thriving and cultivating daughter churches of their own before 1900. The oldest daughter, First Presbyterian Church in Staunton, developed rapidly considering her small beginning in 1804.² In 1875 a group petitioned presbytery to organize the Second Presbyterian Church in Staunton. Dr. G. B. Strickler and Elder David S. Bell, both of Tinkling Spring, were on the committee who recommended against granting the petition; but presbytery reversed their decision and ordered the church organized, and Elder Bell served on the committee.³

In the case of the Olivet Church on the outskirts of the city of Staunton, the First Church session took the initiative in 1895 to request a study of the need⁴ and in 1897 both Sear's Hill and Olivet Chapels petitioned to be organized into churches with thirty-three names each. At the May meeting of presbytery in 1898 the Third Church Staunton and the

¹Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XIV, 19-21, 28-29, 49.

²*Supra.*

³Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVI, 238-39, 269-72, 279.

⁴*Ibid.*, XIX, 463, 520.

Olivet Church presented calls each for half of the pastor's time and commissions were appointed to install Rev. R. C. Gilmore.⁵ From the twenty members in the First Church, Staunton, in 1804, Presbyterianism had grown to 2691 reported members in 1952 with a total Sunday School enrollment of 1744.⁶

Waynesboro First Presbyterian Church began as a separate organization in 1846 with forty-nine charter members—all except two of them from Tinkling Spring.⁷ In 1889 the Smyrna Chapel was built near the Dooms Station where a Sunday School and preaching services were held.⁸ The Waynesboro pastor recommended and presbytery authorized a Presbyterian Church in Basic City, adjacent to Waynesboro.⁹ This church was organized with nineteen members December 19, 1890, and enrolled in presbytery, leaving the Waynesboro Church three hundred members.¹⁰ The Antioch Chapel was begun the same year but later discontinued.¹¹ In 1897 the Glen Kirk Chapel was organized to serve the neighborhood of Calf Mountain.¹² The Orchard Hill and North Avenue Chapels were organized in 1931 and 1934 respectively.¹³

From this vigorous chapel program have grown two organized churches. The Basic City Church became in time the Second Presbyterian Church of Waynesboro, after Basic City was absorbed by the city of Waynesboro.¹⁴ The Smyrna Chapel was relocated in 1938 at the center of the rapidly developing village of Dooms and a beautiful new chapel was built. This new work was jointly sponsored by the Lexington Presbytery Home Mission Committee and the Second Church of Waynesboro.¹⁵ The Smyrna work was formally organized into the Smyrna Presbyterian Church in 1948.¹⁶ This Waynesboro work has continued

⁵*Ibid.*, XX, 34 (November 16, 1897), 53 (May 11, 1898).

⁶*Presbyterian Church in the United States, Minutes of the General Assembly, 1952*, pp. 286-88.

⁷*Supra.*

⁸C. Newman Faulconer, *Commemorating the Centennial of the First Presbyterian Church, Waynesboro, Virginia, May 5-6, 1946* (Waynesboro, Virginia: Waynesboro Publishing Corporation, 1946), p. 21.

⁹*Lexington Minutes, op. cit.*, XVIII, 351, 433-34.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, XVIII, 461-62.

¹¹Faulconer, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁶*Lexington Minutes, op. cit.*, XXVIII, 1029.

to grow and has today a total Sunday School enrollment of 1467 and a Presbyterian membership of 1818.¹⁷

In these two cities other Christian bodies have experienced a parallel growth so that where Tinkling Spring served a few pioneers at the beginning, more than two dozen churches now serve the more than twenty-five thousand population.

THE FINLEY PASTORATE

Following pastorates of young ministers—Smith, Dabney, See, Strickler and Preston—the church seems to have determined on an older man to lead them. Four months after Mr. Laird's removal the church called Dr. George W. Finley.¹⁸

Dr. Finley's family history stemmed from early Augusta. His father, Augustus C. Finley, was a Presbyterian elder in Clarksville, Virginia, and he was born, December 1, 1838, at George Williamson's, the home of his mother, Ann Williamson Finley in Casswell County, North Carolina. His great grandfather and his grandfather were Michael and Michael Finley, Jr., elders in the New Providence Church. His grandmother was Ruth Irvine of Rockingham County, Virginia.¹⁹

He attended Hampden-Sydney and Washington Colleges, graduating from the latter in 1858. He returned home to clerk in the bank and run the farm. He was married to Miss Margaret Elizabeth Booker of Charlotte County, Virginia, on May 4, 1859. In May of 1861 he entered the Confederate service as Captain of the Clarksville Blues, a part of the 14th Virginia Infantry. Pressure of business caused him to resign and return home after eighteen months service.²⁰ However, he was at home but a short time until he was elected First Lieutenant of Co. K. of the 56th Virginia Infantry commanded by Colonel W. D. Stuart of Staunton. He was in command of his company at the Battle of Gettysburg. Dr. Frazer writes of him in part:

He won a reputation for gallantry at this battle unsurpassed in the annals of the war. . . .

Lieutenant Finley was captured at Gettysburg and held a prisoner till the close

¹⁷Assembly Minutes, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-88.

¹⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 518, 550.

¹⁹George Williamson Finley Papers, Family Bible record. Though this family is said to have been related to the Finleys who helped found Tinkling Spring, that relationship cannot now be traced.

²⁰*Ibid.*, facts cited in a tribute to Dr. Finley by Rev. A. M. Frazer, D.D.

of the war. He was taken first to Fort Delaware, then to Johnson's Island. He was one of the six hundred officers who were taken from prison and carried to Charleston Harbor and placed in front of the federal breastworks and so exposed to the fire of the Confederate guns.

On the night before Picket's charge at Gettysburg, he sat alone at the camp fire after his comrades had fallen asleep. He took out his Testament and read from the first chapter of Second Timothy. His attention was riveted on the 12th verse: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." The familiar text took possession of him. He offered his prayer in solitude, renewed the dedication of himself to God, by faith took fresh hold on the faithfulness of his divine Protector and went to sleep. Who can say how much of the remarkable heroism he displayed in the desperate fighting the next day grew out of that bit of personal fellowship with God the night before! In after years he would tell his close friends how as he crossed the stone wall the words of his text came back to him with sustaining power, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day."²¹

After being removed from the danger of Confederate guns their treatment became worse. Many of the prisoners died under the conditions: less than a subsistence quantity of putrified food dumped from a camp kettle carried down the company street by very bitter and insolent free negro guards, bent on provoking resistance as an excuse to shoot them down, scant clothing and very little covering as they slept on hard plank berths and scarcely any care for the multitudes who fell ill under these conditions. Dr. Finley's own words continue the story after all the ministers of the gospel were separated from them:

When the party was divided at Fort Pulaski all of the ministers among us were left there. Soon after going into the barracks at Hilton Head a number of officers, most of them non-professors of religion, waited on me and begged that I would hold some service for them as they did not want to live like heathen and not even know when Sunday came. They had known me to assist Dr. Handy in such service at Fort Delaware. I told them that I was not a minister, but would gladly do all I could. I found one noble man, Captain George W. Lewis, Company I, 1st Georgia Infantry of Bainbridge, who was willing to join me, and we began and kept up a prayer meeting every Sunday and Wednesday night while we remained at Hilton Head. The prisoners soon came to regard and treat me as a *quasi chaplain*, and the good old surgeon above mentioned would take me to the Hospital to read and pray with the sick, and secured permission for me to accompany the body of any who died to their burial. By the side of the grave I would read a selection from the Scriptures and utter a brief prayer and leave all that was mortal of those dear Comrades to rest under the Southern

²¹*Ibid.*, tribute by Dr. A. M. Frazer.

piners far away from home and loved ones. There and then I gained experience that has helped me much in my ministry ever since.²²

On May 4, 1865, through the special effort of friends in Baltimore, Mr. Finley was released, "very feeble and almost blind" and reached home seventeen days later "broken in health and fortune."²³ But in the fall of 1865 he entered Union Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sydney where he spent two years preparing for the ministry. He was ordained by Winchester Presbytery in 1868 and held two pastorates in that presbytery, two years at Gerrardstown and twenty-two at Romney, West Virginia.²⁴

When the Finleys arrived at the Tinkling Spring manse in February 1892, Dr. Finley was almost fifty-four years old and to him and his gracious, talented and pious wife, Margaret Elizabeth Booker, had been born fourteen children, seven sons and seven daughters, eleven of whom lived to be grown. Their background and rich spiritual experience fitted them well to be outstanding among the leaders who had shepherded this flock.²⁵

The high standard of preaching and pastoral work and the interest in education characteristic of former pastors were present almost to a degree of perfection in Dr. Finley's work. The qualities of his work are summarized by his personal friend, Dr. A. M. Frazer, in these words:

Dr. Finley became prominent and influential in the Church at large. He was a very strong, interesting and effective preacher. He was a most superior pastor, a winsome personality, an ingatherer of souls into the kingdom, a wise counsellor, an affectionate friend, a fearless antagonist of error and wrong doing, and an able administrator of church affairs. In the Courts of the Church he was always a leader, a rare parliamentarian, showing always a ready familiarity with church law and precedents, stating his view with convincing clearness and force, the very soul of courtesy in debate, of graceful action in speaking, remarkably considerate and helpful toward young ministers, and devoid of professional jealousy.

His ability and fine spirit were recognized on every hand. In 1889 his alma mater, Washington and Lee University, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. A number of times he served his Presbytery in the General Assembly. He was appointed on important committees. He was a trustee of different

²²*Ibid.*, Experiences as a Prisoner of War, by G. W. Finley, D. D., pp. 6-7.

²³*Loc. cit.*

²⁴E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), p. 219.

²⁵Finley Papers, *op. cit.*, Sketch.

institutions of learning, as Hampden Sydney College, Union Theological Seminary, Mary Baldwin Seminary and Davis and Elkins College. He served terms as President of the Boards of Trustees of the first three of these institutions and held that position in the Mary Baldwin board continuously for sixteen years, from the time of his becoming a member of it until his death.²⁶

The session with which Dr. Finley worked was as follows:

Henry H. Hamilton
Capt. B. M. Ellis
John W. Paul
Capt. C. B. Coiner
Frank H. Gilkeson
Frank M. Bell
Wm. F. Brand²⁷

While serving as pastor at Tinkling Spring, Dr. Finley's fifth daughter and tenth child, Martha Watkins Finley, was married to Dr. William C. White, pastor at Warm Springs, Virginia. Dr. White was her senior by twenty years, and it was his second marriage having been married first to her oldest sister, Nannie Edward Finley, in 1886.²⁸

The Lord removed Dr. and Mrs. Finley from a people who dearly loved them, and they were laid to rest in the local cemetery among the people whom they served. The four sides of the large shaft that marks their graves bear the following inscriptions:

GEORGE W. FINLEY
BORN
DEC. 1st, 1838
DIED
APRIL 23rd, 1909
"I KNOW WHOM I HAVE BELIEVED
AND AM PERSUADED THAT HE IS
ABLE TO KEEP THAT WHICH I
HAVE COMMITTED UNTO HIM
AGAINST THAT DAY"
GEORGE W. FINLEY, D. D.
PASTOR OF
TINKLING SPRING CHURCH
FROM
FEB. 1892 TO APRIL 1909
DEVOTED HUSBAND AND

²⁶*Ibid.*, cited in a tribute to Dr. Finley by Rev. A. M. Frazer, D. D.

²⁷Tinkling Spring Church Records, The Register, 1850-1908, p. 2.

²⁸Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 766-67.

FATHER, FAITHFUL MINISTER.
GALLANT CONFEDERATE SOLDIER
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
AS A TRIBUTE OF LOVE AND
ADMIRATION BY HIS FAMILY, CON-
GREGATION, FRIENDS AND COMRADES.

MARGARET ELIZABETH
WIFE OF
GEORGE W. FINLEY
BORN
APRIL 7th, 1840
DIED
MARCH 29th, 1905
"HER CHILDREN ARISE UP
AND CALL HER BLESSED"
"LOVELY AND PLEASANT
IN THEIR LIVES, AND IN THEIR
DEATH THEY WERE NOT DI-
VIDED"²⁹

The brethren of Lexington Presbytery paid their last respects to Dr. Finley in a beautiful memorial tribute on April 30, 1909, in session at Harrisonburg, Virginia, in which they said in part:

In every position in which he was placed he served with fidelity, earnestness and distinguished ability. . . .

Unwavering in his devotion to family, friends and comrades . . .

As a preacher he had few equals, being clear, forceful and logical, a model in his delivery, being very graceful . . .

As a member of Presbytery he was invaluable, being thoroughly versed in the laws of the church . . .

True to his early training, he was loyal to his Lord as he had been to his country.³⁰

FINLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH

The session on March 1, 1890, appointed a committee composed of W. B. Patterson, W. F. Gilkeson, J. T. Black and W. A. Hodge to explore possibilities of raising money to build a chapel at Stuarts Draft. In April instead of opening the Barterbrook Sabbath School they opened one at Stuarts Draft, appointing Elders J. W. Paul, superintendent, and W. B. Patterson, his assistant.³¹

²⁹Lot No. 2, Tinkling Spring Cemetery.

³⁰Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 234-38.

³¹Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, pp. 363, 376, 381.

During the fall and next year efforts were made both in Stuarts Draft and in the rest of the congregation to secure funds for the building, in which efforts the deacons joined throughout the congregation and Messrs. Ben Gaw and C. H. Cohran were added to the Stuarts Draft committee. By February of 1891, \$500 had been raised. In March the committee was ordered to proceed to construction.³² The report on further accomplishments is reported on the fly-leaf of the Church Register:

The Chapel at Stuart's Draft was erected during the Fall & Winter of 1891, but not completed, though used for Worship & Sabbath School, until the Spring of 1893.

On Sabbath Nov. 5th 1893 it was dedicated by the pastor, Rev G W Finley D D; the Sermon was preached from the 26th Psalm & 8th Verse.³³

During 1891-1892 in the vacancy between Mr. Laird, who accomplished the first steps of this extension, and Dr. Finley, who dedicated it, the church reported enrolled in this Sabbath School eight teachers and seventy-eight scholars, with an average attendance of sixty-two.³⁴

A month after Dr. Finley's death thirty-five Stuarts Draft citizens petitioned presbytery—the Tinkling Spring session agreeing—to organize them into a separate church. However, seven of these reserved the right to remain members of the old home church, but promised financial support and thereby delayed approval by the presbytery's commission. The church was formally organized on June 24, 1910, with thirty members, twenty-three of them from Tinkling Spring. They voted unanimously to call the church Finley Memorial Presbyterian Church.³⁵

The commission proceeded to supervise the election. Messrs. B. P. Gaw and J. B. Hunter were elected elders and Messrs. T. H. Hodge, S. H. Moore, Henderson McComb and F. A. Hyde were elected deacons. The commission went into conference with the session and decided to proceed to call a pastor. The Reverend R. W. Boyd of Concord Presbytery had been supplying Tinkling Spring and preaching at Stuarts Draft on Sunday evening appointments. He was elected, and the new officers authorized to sign a call for his services.³⁶

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 392-96, 398.

³³Register, 1850-1908, *op. cit.*, fly-leaf.

³⁴Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

³⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 342, 353-56.

³⁶*Loc. cit.*

THE MANN PASTORATE

The pendulum swings so helpfully from one extreme to another even in the church. Dr. Finley spent at Tinkling Spring the climaxing years of a useful ministry in the evening of his life's work. Mr. J. Oscar Mann, student of Union Theological Seminary, was employed as summer supply in 1909 following Dr. Finley's death. The following year he was called and became pastor before he had reached his twenty-fourth birthday. With his bride of June 29, 1910, Miss Mary Miller of Statesville, North Carolina, he began, July 1st, without experience in church administration, a splendid work that was to prove both successful at Tinkling Spring and useful to Mr. Mann in beginning an eminently successful career.⁸⁷

The church presented to presbytery a call for Mr. Mann July 14, 1910, as soon as his transfer as a licentiate was received, and he signified his acceptance. A commission was appointed to ordain and install him on the third Sabbath of August. This mission was carried out September 11th, because of a small-pox scare in the community on the original date, the church being closed by order of the physician. Dr. Strickler presided over the commission and preached the ordination sermon.⁸⁸

The rebuilding of the manse was done as Mr. Mann began his work. The old frame building was torn down and used to build the barn. T. J. Collins & Son, Architects of Staunton, planned and supervised construction of the present twelve-room brick manse for a total cost of \$4474.93. One should not be deceived by the cost. It has been described by an authority on the rural church, saying:

. . . We visited also the Tinkling Spring Church, likewise a great pillared temple beside a grove of immense trees . . . and the parsonage was a magnificent two-story white-pillared brick mansion wherein Dr. Siler, the pastor, had the largest library, except one, I have ever known a minister to possess.⁸⁹

The building committee was headed by Captain C. Benton Coiner, and Mr. Robert F. Thompson served as treasurer.⁴⁰

Another undertaking of the congregation under Mr. Mann's leader-

⁸⁷Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

⁸⁸Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 351, 359, 382.

⁸⁹Arthur Wentworth Hewitt, *God's Back Pasture, A Book of the Rural Parish* (New York: Willett, Clark & Company, 1941), p. 4.

⁴⁰Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, Report of the Manse Building Committee, 1912.

ship was the remodeling of the church sanctuary. The gallery at the rear of the building was taken out. The front doors on each side were abandoned for a new central entrance. These changes were coordinated with a complete new set of pews and pulpit furniture. The two large aisles with four sections of pews gave way to a central aisle with two sections of pews.

The church took pride in those going into church work. The Reverend Lyle Moore Moffett, son of Deacon R. W. Moffett and nephew of Dr. A. S. Moffett, went as a missionary to China in 1910. He was educated at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Washington and Lee University, where he earned his degree in 1904. After graduation at Union Theological Seminary he did supply work for a year at Beulah and Stony Run Churches in Lexington Presbytery. It was from that work he entered service in China. He returned in 1915 to a long pastorate in the McDowell field in his home presbytery, where he remained until ill-health forced his retirement. He was married to Miss Edna Elizabeth Campbell of Churchville, Virginia, on October 18, 1938.⁴¹

The wedding of Miss Mary Susan Caldwell, daughter of Joseph S. Caldwell, to Rev. Thomas Holden Daffin, of Jackson Springs, North Carolina, on May 13, 1912, was of interest to the church. Mr. Daffin became pastor of the Rocky Springs Church in Lexington Presbytery the following year. After successful pastorates elsewhere he returned to Lexington Presbytery in 1948 where he continues to serve.⁴²

In addition to normal results in this pastorate there was a third accomplishment under Mr. Mann's leadership that has proved to be outstanding, namely, the organization of the Hermitage Presbyterian Church.

⁴¹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 168.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Hermitage Presbyterian Church

THE Hermitage work was, from the beginning, that section of the Tinkling Spring congregation that was in the northeast end of the old Beverley Manor survey. It appears that the line of division between Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring congregations was the old survey line from the confluence of the Long Meadow Run, Christian's Creek and Middle River to the South River in the neighborhood of Crimora.

THE BEGINNINGS

This section developed a center, and when it secured a post office it was called Hermitage. The first reference to the reception of members that reminds us of Hermitage today was in 1871 when the session received Misses Virginia A. and Sallie F. Drumheller by certificate from Cove Church, Albemarle County, across the Blue Ridge.¹

During Dr. Strickler's pastorate, in 1877 the session conferred on "the establishment of a Sunday School at Hermitage chapel" and the following year reported on "Sabbath Schools," presumably including the new school at Hermitage.² In the following spring, "Mr. David Bell . . . was appointed Superintendent of the Sabbath School at Hermitage Chapel."³ The chapel referred to was the Union Chapel at Hermitage, located two hundred yards from the present Hermitage Church.

Under Mr. Preston's leadership, the Hermitage work grew rapidly. The Tinkling Spring congregation was divided into four districts, and the Long Meadow division was under Elders David S. Bell and A. S. Paxton.⁴ The first meeting of the Tinkling Spring session at Hermitage is recorded as follows:

Hermitage Sept. 28, 1884

Session met in the house of Dr. Davis in Hermitage, and opened with prayer. The Pastor and all the Elders present except, J. G. Guthrie, H H Hamilton and J. G. Stover.

¹Tinkling Spring Church Records, Sessional Records, 1840-1892, pp. 181-82.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 225, 232.

³*Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 281-82.

The following persons Viz.

B. Frank Wine
Mrs. Frances Ruddle
Clifford C. Kidd
Mrs. Laura L. Kidd
Miss Nellie C. Shiflett
Miss Maggie Bell Hemp
Miss Jennie A. Brown
Miss Bell Ross

Miss Catie Bell Cook
Miss Margaret Jane Shiflett
Mrs. Mary J. Brown
Mrs. Mary Lucy Shiflett
Miss Barbary A. Shuey
Miss Cornelia Ruddle
Miss Lewellen Morris
James Reese and

Charles H. Ramsey

were examined and admitted to membership on profession of faith.

Mr. Hamilton T. Drumheller was partially examined, but his wife, who is also desirous of uniting with the Church, was prevented from attending by sickness, on motion Mr. Preston was authorized to visit and receive them as members, if the way be clear.

Adjourned with prayer.

B. M. ELLIS clk⁵

The Reverend Mr. Preston reported to the session a month later the reception and baptism of the Drumheller family.⁶

As the work grew, the session met often at Hermitage to receive members. William H. Wright was received on Sunday evening, April 26, 1885.⁷ In the home of Mr. R. N. Page, November 7, 1886, the following united on profession of faith: William H. Wiseman, George W. Hall, Charles E. Homan, Miss Maggie S. Stone and Thomas J. Zimbrow.⁸ Again the following fall they received in like fashion: Misses Ida Wine, Hattie Brown, Mary Riddle and Sallie Hemp.⁹ Then in succeeding years the Sunday School superintendents were recorded. Messrs. Samuel Life and B. M. Ellis did this work for many years; when Mr. Life dropped out, Mr. Frank M. Bell took his place.¹⁰

Mr. Samuel Life donated, on January 13, 1880, a plot of two acres including the beautiful site on which the church was later to be constructed. This land was a part of the David M. Bell estate. There was added in 1901 the cemetery lot at the back of this property.¹¹ In the

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 335-36.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 345, 363, 381, 401, 419-20.

¹¹Augusta County Court Records, Deed Book XCV, 1-2; CXXVIII, 514-15.

pastorate of Rev. J. A. Preston, the church was constructed on this site. It is said to have been begun in 1885. Mr. John Brower took charge of hewing the log sills, and the skill of his hands is clearly evident. The faithful efforts of Messrs. Samuel Life, William Ross, Hamilton T. Drumheller, C. Benton Coiner and others went into the structure.¹²

It is assumed from the session meeting in the "new church" at Hermitage, September 25, 1887, that the church was completed prior to that date.¹³ In 1888 the session received at Hermitage: Misses Lena May Weade and Eliza C. Coiner and Messrs. Charles C. Livick and Osborne H. Jordan.¹⁴ It is assumed that the session may have from time to time taken in members from this area other than in their Hermitage meetings.

HERMITAGE ORGANIZED

The largest of Tinkling Spring's chapel Sunday Schools was at Hermitage. As far back as 1892, the beginning of Dr. Finley's pastorate, there were ninety scholars.¹⁵ Growth in number and training in leadership brought the Hermitage section to desire a separate church organization. Lexington Presbytery Minutes of October 15, 1915, read in part:

A request was received from certain members of the Tinkling Spring congregation, asking for the appointment of a committee to look into the question of the organization of a church at Hermitage. The request was granted and the following committee appointed:

Ministers—Holmes Rolston, Wm. C. White and D. K. Wathall. Elder, G. S. Walker.¹⁶

The following spring the presbytery minutes relate on this matter:

A Commission consisting of Ministers J. O. Mann, C. B. Ratchford and R. L. Walton, with Elder R. G. Vance, of Waynesboro Church, appointed to organize a church at Hermitage, if the way be clear.¹⁷

The Hermitage Presbyterian Church was organized May 14, 1916,

¹²Hermitage Church Records.

¹³Sessional Records, 1840-1892, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 352.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 417.

¹⁶Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XXIII, 729. The page numbering of Lexington Presbytery Minutes from this point will be from the continuous paging given in the bound volumes in the Stated Clerk's possession.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, XXIII, 751.

and was enrolled without an elder present at the fall meeting of presbytery.¹⁸ The Statistical Report, 1916-1917, shows Rev. J. O. Mann as part time pastor on a salary of \$250 annually, forty-seven charter members of the church and a Sunday School enrollment of 162.¹⁹

The Tinkling Spring Session joined the petitioners to Lexington Presbytery requesting a separate organization for the Hermitage people.²⁰ While presbytery records the commission action on May 14, the Tinkling Spring and Hermitage records show the organization completed on May 21st and 28th, 1916, when on the morning of the twenty-first the Tinkling Spring sessional records show thirty-eight dismissed to the new organization; at Hermitage session meetings on that day and the Sunday following, they received nine additional members from elsewhere. There were forty-seven charter members of the Hermitage Church at its organization.²¹

The first Hermitage Session met May 21, 1916, with the pastor, Rev. J. O. Mann, and one elder who had served at Tinkling Spring, Mr. Charles E. Homan. There appears to have been elected at Tinkling Spring a deacon from Hermitage, H. T. Drumheller, who died before Hermitage was organized.²² Within the following month the church officers were elected and installed as follows: Elvin W. Kerr, an elder who was made clerk of the session; and deacons Warren M. Shiflet and A. B. Whitmore, the latter being made church treasurer. Sixteen ladies constituted the Ladies Aid Society, whose first president was Mrs. W. J. Grove.²³ At the end of a year the church had received twenty-one new members on profession of faith.²⁴

In the fall of 1917, the church elected its own Sunday School superintendent, Warren M. Shiflet, when the Tinkling Spring appointee, Elder DeLacy H. Coiner resigned. Elder Elvin W. Kerr was appointed the next year and continued to serve for five years.²⁵ In 1924 the session

¹⁸*Ibid.*, XXIII, 791.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, XXIII, 817.

²⁰Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes of the Session and the Register, 1910-1933, p. 79.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 93; Hermitage Church Records, Sessional Records, 1916-1946, p. 5. See Appendix D, VII.

²²Tinkling Spring Minutes, 1910-1933, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-68; Hermitage Sessional Records, 1916-1946, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²³Hermitage Sessional Records, 1916-1946, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 8.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 9. See Appendix D, VII.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 11 *et passim*.

appointed Elder Warren M. Shiflet Sunday School superintendent, and he served with faithfulness for twenty-two years.²⁶ After a one year term by young Charles Key, the session selected in 1946, the present superintendent, John E. Wampler.²⁷

The Ladies Aid Society ceased to function after three years of work because of the removal of the president. In 1922 a Woman's Missionary Society was organized and the following year changed its name to Ladies Auxiliary. The organization continued under the presidency of Mrs. Warren M. Shiflet, with the exception of one year under Mrs. J. E. Wampler, into the pastorate of Dr. Siler. In 1931, this organization began its affiliation with the Presbyterial of Lexington Presbytery.²⁸

FORWARD STEPS

The first forward step in improvement of the one room church plant was in 1928. At the rear of the church sanctuary, six Sunday School rooms were constructed at a cost of \$1200.00. At the same time, at a cost of \$800.00, a beautiful concrete porch with four white columns was erected at the front of the church, adding much to the appearance and convenience of the house of worship. The women sponsored the financial program that accomplished these improvements while the men contributed, in addition, much time and labor. Dr. J. C. Siler, the pastor, supplied leadership and vision in these accomplishments.²⁹

It was in 1947 that the congregation acted favorably upon the recommendation of the church officers to adopt the Rotary System for deacons, electing two each year to follow two retired, carrying a total of six on the active Board of Deacons; this system extended representation to a much larger number, particularly younger men.³⁰

The officers who have served the church are as follows:

Elders	Ordained and Served	Ended Service
Charles E. Homan	May 21, 1916	Died April 1923
Elvin W. Kerr ³¹	June 11, 1916	Died June 5, 1953
Warren M. Shiflet	April 10, 1921	Active 1953
Russell H. Drumheller ³¹	July 28, 1929	Active 1953
E. Vance Homan	July 28, 1929	Ceased to act April 13, 1952

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 62, 210.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 210, 215.

²⁸Hermitage Church Records, Miscellaneous Papers.

²⁹*Loc. cit.*

³⁰Hermitage Church Records, Sessional Records, 1946-1952, p. 1.

³¹Served as Clerk of the Session.

Elders	Ordained and Served	Ended Service
Robert H. Gleason	July 14, 1946	Active 1953
John E. Wampler	July 14, 1946	Active 1953
Roy L. Corbin	March 23, 1952	Active 1953
William F. Brower	October 19, 1952	Active 1953
Deacons	Ordained and Served	Ended Service
Warren M. Shiftet	June 11, 1916	Ordained an elder
Andrew B. Whitmore ³²	June 25, 1916-46	Rotated 1946
J. Ernest Drumheller ³²	November 9, 1919-46	Rotated 1946
E. Vance Homan	July 17, 1921	Ordained an elder
Floyd P. Brower	July 17, 1921-46	Rotated 1946
William F. Brower ³³	July 28, 1929-47, 49-51	Ordained an elder
Benjamin E. Borden	July 28, 1929	Dismissed April 11, 1943
Fred Pleasants	July 28, 1929-47	Rotated 1947
Fay F. Coiner	July 14, 1946-48, 50-52	Rotated 1952
John T. Key	July 14, 1946-48, 50-52	Rotated 1952
Roy L. Corbin	May 25, 1947-49, 51-52	Elected an elder
J. Carl Coiner	May 25, 1947-49, 52-	Active 1953
Warren H. Drumheller ³²	March 14, 1948-50, 53-	Active 1953
Benjamin E. Borden	March 14, 1948-50, 52-	Active 1953
Franklin C. Key	February 20, 1949-51	Rotated 1951
Hugh L. Wade	March 18, 1951-53	Active 1953
Hubert L. Pleasants	March 23, 1952-	Active 1953
George Eutsler	March 8, 1953-	Active 1953

On January 29, 1950, the Hermitage congregation selected a committee to explore the possibilities of improving the facilities of the church upon recommendation of the church officers. The church sanctuary was much in need of improvements. There was no special place for the choir, the coal stoves needed replacing, redecoration of the walls was imperative, and there was need for more space for the Sunday School classes. The committee was as follows: Mr. Warren M. Shiftet, chairman; Mr. Russell H. Drumheller, vice-chairman; Mrs. W. M. Shiftet, Mrs. R. H. Drumheller, Messrs. Roy L. Corbin, Carl L. Borden and William F. Brower.³⁴

³²Served as Church Treasurer.

³³Served as Assistant Treasurer of Church.

³⁴Hermitage Sessional Records, 1946-1952, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

A few months later the committee was renamed a Building Committee, and the following recommendations were approved by the congregation:

First: That the congregation approve the plan set out in the letter and Blueprint from Rev. O. V. Caudill.

Second: To authorize the Committee to proceed with the work in the order suggested, namely: To purchase and Install Heating plant first, then to redecorate the Interior of the Sanctuary, and when the way is clear to proceed to construct the Fellowship Hall.

Third: That authority be given the officers of the following organizations of the church. The Men, the Women and the young people to work out a plan to finance these projects each in turn or as a whole according to their own discretion.³⁵

The work proceeded step by step according to the approved plan. The congregation had set aside a small saving fund for improvements, and the people set as their ideal the idea of contributing as the Lord prospered. When the heating plant had been installed and the sanctuary redecorated, the cost was reported as \$2970.81. There were funds on hand only to begin the new fellowship hall, but a campaign was initiated for funds which resulted in a sufficient amount to get the new addition under roof. The Building Committee began and as the work moved ahead the treasury was replenished by contributions. Much labor was contributed throughout the improvement project. By the end of 1952 the fellowship hall was completed at a cost of \$8173.01. The Building Fund treasurer, Mr. Edward S. Brower, reported at the conclusion of the work \$11,143.82 paid out for the whole project and a balance of more than \$400 left to apply on equipment.

In all of this work the church grew in numbers and spiritual vigor. The student associates served here as they did at Tinkling Spring along with chaplain's duties at the nearby Woodrow Wilson Rehabilitation Center.³⁶ In no place did their work receive a heartier response than at Hermitage, where many doors of hospitality and opportunity were thrown open to them.

The Hermitage Church began the 1953 church year with 128 members. All departments of the church are active.³⁷

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

³⁶Named *Supra*.

³⁷See Appendix D, IX; Pictures of the church officers, Board of Women of the Church, Youth Fellowship Council and choir are Figures XXXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX.

PART SEVEN
IN THE WORLD STRUGGLE

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Spiritual Readiness—Freedom for Others

IN the pastorate of the Reverend J. Oscar Mann the Tinkling Spring Church experienced steady growth and new attainments. In one year alone, following the remodeling of the church's plant, there were received into the church forty-nine new members, most of whom came on profession of faith; twenty-three adults were baptized that year. The Sunday Schools reached an enrollment of nearly five hundred.¹

At a peak of usefulness and opportunity in 1918, Mr. Mann was faced with a call from the Church of the Covenant, Wilmington, North Carolina. Lexington Presbytery was called into special session in the First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, August 19, 1918. Dr. A. S. Moffett from Florida and others were welcomed as visiting brethren, and a telegram from the session of the Church of the Covenant was read and their representatives, following Mr. Mann's resignation from Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Churches, began the support of their call, when suddenly:

Just as Mr. Davis began to speak the clock struck 12 and the Church Bell rang—calling to prayer for the Soldiers and Sailors of our country and the Presbytery receded from business for a few moments and the Moderator called upon the Rev. T. K. Young to lead in prayer—which he did.²

Tinkling Spring and Hermitage representatives spoke feelingly and in large numbers but after hearing Mr. Mann again, and Dr. "Sandy" Moffett leading in prayer, presbytery voted to dissolve the pastoral relation to take effect October 1, 1918.³

WORLD WAR I

President Woodrow Wilson had made every effort to keep the peace and on that basis was re-elected in 1916—all-the-while struggling to maintain American rights on the high seas. When the Germans, contrary to pledges, began unrestricted submarine warfare, the President broke diplomatic relations with Germany. After the fourth American

¹Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XXIII, 769.

²*Ibid.*, XXIII, 886-88.

³*Loc. cit.*

ship was sunk the United States Congress upon the request of the President, April 6, 1917, declared by vote that a state of war existed with Germany.⁴

The declaration of war having been made by a godly president against unwarranted aggression, the people responded with their lives, substance and prayers. Under the slogan "Make the World Safe for Democracy" men and boys flocked to the enlistment centers in support of the cause. Tinkling Spring, in line with her history, sent her sons freely.

THE GILMER PASTORATE

The Reverend Graham Gilmer had been in his first pastorate at Rural Retreat, Virginia, in Abingdon Presbytery for five years where his father, Rev. George Hudson Gilmer, was superintendent of Home Missions.⁵ At a called meeting of presbytery, July 7, 1919, Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Churches, following the approval of their calls, were authorized to prosecute them before Abingdon Presbytery for the services of Mr. Gilmer.⁶ He moved to the Tinkling Spring manse October 9, 1919 and was at the adjourned meeting of presbytery where his installation as pastor of the two churches was set for October 26, 1919.⁷ Mr. Gilmer's ministry was featured by evangelistic preaching that was effectively used of God to draw many new followers into His way. The report of the churches for the church year 1920-1921 reveals eighty-nine additions to the two churches—the number of these that were adults is indicated in the thirty-two adult baptisms that year.⁸ This young minister felt the short pastorate was the manner in which his talents could best be used, so having received a call from the Rivermont Presbyterian Church, Lynchburg, Virginia, he accepted. Presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation, both churches concurring, on August 9, 1923, and dismissed him to Montgomery Presbytery.⁹

The close of his pastorate saw two young men of the church go into Mission Service. Dr. B. C. Patterson's son, Craig Houston Patterson, felt the call of God to return to the land of his birth and join his parents

⁴Harry Hansen, editor, *The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1952* (New York: Published annually by New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1952), pp. 191, 391.

⁵E. C. Scott, compiler, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas: Press of Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1942), p. 251.

⁶Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 40.

⁷*Ibid.*, XXIV, 67, 71-72.

⁸*Ibid.*, XXIV, 180.

⁹*Ibid.*, XXIV, 289.

in helping win China to Christ. Following his college work at Washington and Lee he took his theological training at Union Seminary. After graduation he was married to Miss Frances Thomas Glasgow on July 17, 1923, and ordained by Roanoke Presbytery and sailed for China the same year where he served until 1941 except when war prevented.¹⁰

Mr. Joseph B. Livesay, son of John Granville Livesay, upon recommendation of the Tinkling Spring session, was received as a candidate for the ministry under the care of Lexington Presbytery, May 16, 1921.¹¹ In the spring of 1923 he graduated from Princeton Seminary in New Jersey and having been accepted for mission service by the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., requested transfer to New Brunswick Presbytery in the northern church which was granted April 18, 1923.¹² He sailed in 1923 to undertake evangelistic missionary work in Korea. He continued in that work with his wife, Muriel Smith of Perth, Ontario, Canada, until 1945, when they were miraculously delivered from the Japanese invaders.¹³

THE SILER PASTORATE

Again the church sought an experienced man to fill her pulpit. The Reverend John Calvin Siler, D. D., had earned his doctor's degree in 1922 through graduate work at his alma mater, Union Theological Seminary, and was in his seventeenth year in the ministry in Winchester Presbytery, having begun his supply work the year before his ordination.¹⁴

The two churches, Hermitage and Tinkling Spring, at the spring meeting of Lexington Presbytery, April 15, 1924, presented their calls and were given permission to prosecute them. They requested Dr. C. D. Gilkeson, son of Tinkling Spring, to represent them in presenting the call since he was a member of Winchester Presbytery.¹⁵ Dr. Siler accepted the calls and Lexington Presbytery met in adjourned meeting May 5th to receive him and authorize his installation.¹⁶

¹⁰Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

¹¹Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 188.

¹²*Ibid.*, XXIV, 257, 270.

¹³Joseph B. Livesay Papers, 1923-1945, Records of Missionary Service.

¹⁴Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 650; Walter W. Moore, and others, *General Catalogue of The Trustees, Officers, Professors and Alumni of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1807-1924* (Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1924), p. 210.

¹⁵Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXIV, 313.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, XXIV, 342.

This period in Lexington Presbytery, in line with the trend elsewhere, ". . . witnessed intensive action and development in the Sunday School and Young People's work of the Presbytery."¹⁷ The Youth work in particular under Dr. Siler's inspiration and leadership reached a high-water mark in the church's history. The local society won in keen competition a half dozen times the Lexington Presbytery's award for the best youth group. The manse was open to the young people of the church and community for their meetings. Trained leadership was developed and a program of service projects was carried out regularly.

From this group and the manse went Emma Ruth Siler, in 1941, as wife of Rev. Royce K. McDonald, to give herself to Church service as mistress of a Presbyterian manse.¹⁸

Another of the Pattersons sons, Norman Guthrie Patterson, M. D., went out from Tinkling Spring, in 1929, following in the footsteps of his sterling charactered Christian Mother, Annie Houston Patterson, M. D., (Mrs. B. C. Patterson), to serve as a medical missionary to China. His father's justified pride is recorded in this paragraph:

Norman reestablished the hospital at Sutsien after Dr. Bradley's death and war's destruction, and single-handed, except for partially trained Chinese, carried on a piece of work that won unstinted praise from other surgeons and physicians in China. He took on anything that came from cataracts to laparotomies and other difficult operations and with God's blessing, had great success.¹⁹

After World War I the boys in the congregation from the Brand family attending school at Davidson College brought home with them a schoolmate, William C. Worth, son of Dr. George Clarkson Worth, China Missionary,²⁰ for summer work on the farm. It was in this way that Martha Brand met and married William Worth. Miss Brand was a daughter of John Thomas Brand and Mary Hoover Hanger, his wife. Both her grandfathers, Brand and Hanger, were Tinkling Spring officers. Mr. and Mrs. William C. Worth entered Mission Service in Africa in 1926.²¹

The outstanding expression of Dr. Siler's humble Christian character

¹⁷*Ibid.*, XXIV, 346.

¹⁸Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

¹⁹Brown Craig Patterson, *Memoirs of*, 1951, p. 73.

²⁰Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 798.

²¹Facts supplied by the Brand family and the Board of World Missions, Presbyterian Church, U. S.

was found in his teaching of the word of God. From the year 1934 he was a Sunday School lesson writer for *The Earnest Worker*. His skill at presenting spiritual truth clearly was used effectively in both churches of his charge and continues to bear much fruit in the teaching work of those he trained.

At the end of World War II Dr. Siler restrained the church officers from forward moves they discussed saying that the Lord would call him away soon and these moves, particularly the electing of new officers, would profit the church most if done under the ministry of his successor. The return of men from the armed services of their country and severe limitations imposed by fading eye-sight brought the matter of a change more pointedly to Dr. Siler's mind. And during these days he frequently pled with God in public prayer to send the church one of the chaplains of our church who was returning from duty with the armed forces.

On June 18, 1945, Dr. Siler presented his resignation as Pastor of Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Churches, the churches regretfully concurring, and Lexington Presbytery dissolved the pastoral relation and dismissed him to Winchester Presbytery.²² He became pastor at Shepherdstown, West Virginia, where for seven years—with partially restored eye-sight—he served in a progressive program at Shepherdstown, Shenandoah Junction, Zion and Middleway Presbyterian Churches. On Saturday, May 17, 1952, after a brief illness, Dr. Siler was released from his earthly ties. The community and friends gathered in large numbers at the Shepherdstown Presbyterian Church on May 20th for a final tribute to one of triumphant faith and devoted life.

WORLD WAR II

Germany recovered rapidly from her defeat in World War I and in 1939, under the leadership of the ruthless Adolph Hitler, began the war that became World War II. The United States was brought into this conflict by the Japanese attack upon the Naval Station at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. While American sympathies were very definitely with Great Britain and the Allied cause, her entrance into the conflict came in defense against aggression.

As this conflict progressed, the aims of the war became more spe-

²²Lexington Minutes, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 661.

cifically centered upon freedom. In 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, formulated what has been called the Atlantic Charter. Stating formally our aims before the United States Congress, January 6, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said:

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward for a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy, peaceful life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.²³

The purposes of freedom for others in this war, as the one before it, brought response in the hearts of the American citizens everywhere. The Tinkling Spring Church in her traditional pattern supplied men and women in commendable numbers. The list is as follows:

Robert B. Black, Jr.	Harry Hunter Hanger	Zach A. McChesney
A. Brooks Booker, Jr.	A. Gordon Houff	Paul Saunders
F. Paul Brown	Charles E. Irvine, Jr.	Howard D. Shaver
Carl E. Brubeck	John H. Irvine	Paul Shaver
William F. Caldwell, Jr.	William C. Irvine	Rudolph L. Shaver
W. Delwyn Campbell	William M. Kelsey	Kenneth M. Simmons
Kermit R. Cline	Harvey Robinson Livesay	Henry A. Stone
Joseph D. Coyner	Martha Jane Livesay	Thomas L. Stone, Jr.
James A. Curd	Bobby K. Lockridge	Marvin Swatz
Joseph B. Curd	Robert W. Moffett	John W. Todd III
William B. Curd	William S. Moffett, Jr.	Albert W. Toman
Lewis C. Davis	Nancy W. Morehead	Douglas R. Toman
Arthur F. Fitzgerald	Dudley L. Peery	James E. Toman
Earl C. Fitzgerald	Howard A. Peery	Lawrence Tyree
George M. Gilkeson, Jr.	Paul R. Phillippe	Malcolm O. Varner
Howard W. Gilkeson	David H. McChesney	Billy H. Wade
James W. Gilkeson, Jr.	John M. McChesney, Jr.	Homer Weaver
David T. Gochenour	LaMonte B. McChesney	Robert Lee Wright
Ray Kite Goolsby	William T. McChesney	Preston L. Yancy ²⁴

²³Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

²⁴Names supplied by a committee selected for that purpose.

Of these fifty-seven two lost their lives, namely, Ray Kite Goolsby and Albert W. Toman.

GOD'S SPECTACULAR DELIVERANCE

During the days of the war in addition to the concern of the church for her service personnel was a very deep concern for those serving the church as missionaries in the Far East. Fortunately most of the number escaped the hands of the aggressive Japanese and were safely returned to work at home during the days of the war. The Reverend Joseph B. Livesay and his wife were also convinced that the wisest move was to return from Korea to America, but the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (northern) felt there was a great opportunity to serve the cause of Christ in the Philippine Islands. In 1941, Mr. and Mrs. Livesay were transferred to Tagbilaran, Bohol, Philippine Islands, an island some 430 miles south of Manila where Mr. Livesay was appointed director of a Christian Student Center serving about 2500 students. The sudden turning of the Japanese upon the United States allowed no time for evacuation of United States citizens. Though their lives were in dire peril, they were not without friends whom they rightfully considered God-sent. In the midst of their distress in the face of danger and the absence of income, their support was miraculously provided in an experience they describe in the following words:

We immediately began to gather up what food we could, but before long our money had been exhausted. One day when I was downtown a Chinese groceryman, whom I had dealt with occasionally, stopped me on the street and made one of the nicest gestures of those early days. . . .

He said he hadn't noticed me in his store for some days and told me that he hoped it wasn't because we lacked funds. However, if that was the case we could have anything we wanted without charge.

I was somewhat embarrassed by such a kind offer but decided I would offend him if I didn't take advantage of it. It didn't stop there, for after several visits to the store, his wife, who couldn't speak English, drew me aside one day and slipped 100 pesos into my hand. Her son, who was nearby, explained that his mother realized that perhaps there wasn't everything we needed in the store and the money was to be used for making purchases elsewhere. . . .²⁵

The Livesays were not alone. They were in a party of five including Dr. and Mrs. Harold Baugh and Miss Graham. They left every earthly possession except food, necessary clothing and a Bible and moved

²⁵Livesay Papers, *op. cit.*, II, 1.

toward the jungle. These were days of thought and prayer for guidance not alone for their own safety but for the safety of their Filipino friends who aided them. They reveal their decision in these words:

. . . my husband and I had vowed we wouldn't surrender because we knew what to expect after working many years among them—so we decided to move again.²⁶

Among those who offered help was Mr. Juan Pasa, an ambulance driver from the hospital at Tagbilaran, Benjamin, a nineteen year old boy who had worked around their house and Miss Miximena Gomez, a Filipino nurse secured by Mr. Pasa from the hospital. Planes, having discovered the possible location of the hiding Americans, bombed and strafed the little valley for one whole day, but after two days in the wilds the Filipinos appeared again to guide the Americans back to their supplies for a meal. The report of their sudden interruption is as follows:

We had just sat down when our former hospital attendant rushed in to say she had overheard two spies saying they were going to lead the Japs to us. In fact that a patrol was already on its way. . . .

The girl had run two miles to give us the warning. We jumped up, gathered what bedding and food was available and fled back to our cave in the rocks. That was when we lost our radio which up to that time had kept us informed of the progress of the war.

The next night our friends came to tell us the patrol had passed on the other side of the hill, missing us. They said they couldn't see any possible escape for us. They begged us to write letters to our parents and friends and said they would endeavor to have them delivered after the war.

We wrote the letters, but said we would not surrender as long as food was brought to us. We stayed in that cave until July 8, living on rice and canned cheese which Benjamin brought us.

The rainy season had started and when it rains in that part of the world it comes down in buckets. I remember saying during one downpour that not even the Japs would be out in it. That night they came and were within 200 yards of us.²⁷

It was under these circumstances that Miss Miximena Gomez pledged herself to care for the child, expected by Mrs. Livesay, if it should be born before the mother was captured. Mr. Livesay had injured a leg in

²⁶*Ibid.*, II, 2.

²⁷*Loc. cit.*

the jungle, and it was becoming infected. Mrs. Livesay was unable to move, but move they must! Guided by their friends, travelling by night, Mrs. Livesay carried by Filipinos in a stretcher made of fish net and making every effort to leave no trail to be picked up by Japanese patrols, they moved further into the jungle. Four days were spent by the five missionaries in a farmer's grain pit six by ten feet square and two feet deep, from which the farmer had removed his grain in order that the missionaries might use it as a hiding place. They were hidden from view of planes by covering the pit with a dead bamboo tree. Their next move was related in these words:

Even the hole in the ground became unsafe and our next abode was a cave in a rock formation. Its mouth was hidden by corn and it sloped at an angle of 45 degrees. . . .

The continual dripping of the stalactites and the sweating of the stalagmites combined to make a pool of water, ankle deep, on the floor. Bats flew in and out of the cave. Ants crawled all over the walls.

The natives contrived make-shift beds by placing bamboo slats across the top of the stalagmites. If you can visualize the slope in the floor you can imagine our difficulty to keep from rolling off.

The only light we had was a lantern. It was in this cave that our baby was born on July 15. Miss Gomez, who had been sleeping in the cornfield, and another nurse friend, Priscille Enerio, came to my help. I certainly owe my life to them. . . .²⁸

The Livesays and their friends were no doubt kept from despair by a constant reminder of God's providence in their narrow escapes and in particular this incident which they relate:

On July 26—the very day the Japanese commander had promised to chop off the Americans' heads—he and his men were sent to the bottom of the ocean, when their transport was sunk by an American submarine.

Other Japs took their place however, and the merciless hunt continued.²⁹

Miss Gomez, within a few hours after the child's birth, slipped out of the lantern lit cave with little Tomas Granville Livesay; and though she intended to stay within reach, when the Japanese picked up her trail and began searching she had to move. With berry stain she kept the baby's skin dyed and claimed it as her own and within a seven month period she and the baby moved to nine locations. Though Mr. and Mrs.

²⁸*Ibid.*, II, 3.

²⁹*Ibid.*, I, 2.

Livesay visited the baby at seven months of age, Miss Gomez kept him in hiding separate from them for a period of eighteen months.

During these days they lived on native foods slipped to them in the absence of Japanese patrols and continued by the help of friends and the providence of God to escape the scanty Japanese patrols. But by 1944 they were growing weaker and their clothes were threadbare and their minds were kept in balance only through the reading of the one piece of literature that they had with them—the Bible. In June of that year the Japanese had returned in greater forces and the months that followed were the most harrowing days of their experience.

Relief came suddenly. On September 12, 1944, planes were heard overhead. At first they assumed them to be the normal Japanese patrol but upon listening they recognized them as American. On October 22, they heard of General MacArthur's landing on Leyte Island. With great effort and increased risk Mr. Livesay made his way to the nearest landing strip and after anxious weeks of waiting, on March 24, 1945, in government issued clothes, they boarded a transport plane for home, arriving at San Francisco, April 21, 1945.

Strange are the ways of God's providence and stranger still sometimes the agencies which he uses. Concerning their ambulance driver friend who had risked his life literally hundreds of times to save theirs this is said:

Just as they were bidding their good friend, Mr. Pasa, a grateful farewell, Mrs. Livesay asked how he ever had devised so many methods of hiding the little party, where he conceived the plan of various types of cunningly-hidden huts and shelters that had protected them so well in the jungle.

Hesitantly, and perhaps a little shame-faced, their friend admitted that he was an admirer of the comic strip hero, Tarzan. Most of his inspiration for bringing the party safely through three years of life in the jungle, under the very noses of Jap searchers, had been from the legendary Tarzan's actions under similar circumstances!⁸⁰

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, I, 2.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

The Tinkling Spring Flows On

THOUGH the spring had long ago ceased its tinkling, the congregation's melodies had continued. The people's voices lifted to God in songs of praise gave evidence that the Spirit of God dwelt in the heart of this congregation. The music welling up within and flowing outward was a token of vital spiritual life.

Those with music in their souls who were among the leaders are of interest to us here. Miss Mary Margaret (Mamie) Timberlake, now Mrs. John M. McChesney, Sr., began in early youth a life dedicated to the enjoyment of good music. She was in charge of the organ from about 1895 to 1908. Mrs. Everett Coiner was assigned the responsibility, following Mrs. McChesney's resignation. After nearly half a century of faithful service Mrs. Coiner resigned, leaving this work in the willing hands of Miss Ruth Sheets, Paul W. McGeary and William T. McChesney on a temporary basis for two years. In 1952 Mrs. John M. McChesney, Jr., was chosen as church organist and Mrs. H. D. Hevener as pianist.

The leader of congregational singing at the beginning had been called a Precentor, then a Clerk and still later a Chorister and finally a Choir Director. Mr. Frank M. Bell served as Chorister for some years prior to 1902. He is the only one known of those who served under this title. The Choir Directors so far as known have been as follows: William T. McChesney, Miss Elizabeth Churchman, Mrs. D. T. Gochenour, Mrs. John M. McChesney, Jr., Mrs. Robert K. Irvine and Mrs. R. W. Moffett.

By the close of Dr. Siler's pastorate, the church had completed two centuries of service in the Kingdom of God. These years of service had help build both the spiritual forces of the church and the moral fiber of the country of which the church was a part.

There were those who felt this church had come to the evening of life when others should be charged with the task of service and her walls remain untouched to stand as a sacred shrine where pioneer ancestors worshipped and shared in building a Christian democracy. While there were forces that tended toward that conclusion, there were considera-

tions that pointed toward a new day of service in which, if properly prepared, the old church would continue to bear the torch of her heritage.

THE CRISIS

The center of population had developed in the village of Fishersville, a mile and a half from the old church, where a public highway accompanied by all modern conveniences drew people who held the possibility of nurturing the church in their midst. At the opposite end of the congregation there had developed a large Amish settlement where they were purchasing farms in such large numbers that it held the possibility of replacing a large segment of the Presbyterian population. The church was faced with a crisis. She must meet the opportunity before her with an enlarged program or stand aside and be replaced by other leadership. There was little disposition to give way in the face of great opportunities of service. Her first undertaking was that of finding a successor to Dr. Siler.

No time was lost, however, while a pastor was being found. Dr. B. C. Patterson, retired missionary living in the congregation, was available not only to supply the pulpit but to carry on, as his health permitted, the pastoral work among the people. Members were added to the church and organizations continued active. The church as a whole prayerfully sought the will of God in the finding of a new leader. Mrs. Patterson took her place in the women's work of the church and made a valuable contribution to the spiritual emphasis in the whole of the church program.

Through a friend, the committees appointed at Hermitage and Tinkling Spring had a recommendation of the Reverend Howard McK. Wilson, a returned Army Air Force Chaplain. On Easter Sunday, in April 1946, after the congregation and the proposed minister had worshipped together, he and the pulpit committee sat down in council; and there was a meeting of the minds. The following Sunday the congregation extended to Mr. Wilson a call to become their pastor. On May 1, 1946, he began his work as pastor of Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Churches. Presbytery received him at a called meeting June 14, 1946, placed the calls of the two churches in his hands and he accepted. The presbytery record is as follows:

The following commission was appointed to install Mr. Wilson as pastor of the Hermitage and Tinkling Spring Churches on Sunday, June 30th, 1946:

Rev. Lyle M. Moffett, Chairman, Rev. Locke White, Rev. B. C. Patterson, Rev. J. M. McBryde, and Elders Hugh McClure, E. D. McClure and A. C. Gilkeson.¹

Upon the arrival of the new pastor, the church moved forward to elect new elders and deacons. In the annual meeting of the officers of the church on February 7, 1947, Elder R. L. Saunders introduced the following resolution:

Since our last annual meeting our church has had great occasion to express its gratitude to God. Our period of vacancy has come to an end. By the acceptance of Mr. Wilson of the call extended to him, and in his coming to us Tinkling Spring Church has taken on new life and activity. . . . We recall when our calls were declined, but we have come to feel that God was waiting for the right man to become available, and was paving the way for his coming to us. . . .

1st. The first thing we want to do as officers of the Tinkling Spring Church is to give Mr. Wilson and family our most hearty welcome and promise of our most loyal support.

2nd. We are grateful to God for our enlarged congregation. This growth in church attendance speaks for itself of the welcome Mr. Wilson and family has received by the community and of his acceptability as pastor. Tinkling Spring has a large field and a great opportunity for growth. We can feel with confidence that God is opening the doors to our ministry. There is a great work here for our church to do, as we told Mr. Wilson when we talked with him at Marion, [Virginia].

3rd. We are grateful to God for the work of the organizations of our church. The Men's Bible Class—the very fine work they are doing in running the bus to bring children and adults to Sunday School and church service. We take this opportunity to thank Dr. Patterson for his willingness and help in our church. The Sunday School has grown and progressed under its Supt. Mr. C. H. Cline and Assist. Robert McChesney. The growth of the Sunday School calls for more room as it is quite congested, and new people will not crowd in to attend. The fine work of the circles, the auxiliary and the Ladies' Bible Class is noteworthy also. Our very fine group of young people are to be commended. . . .

We are now facing a problem of more Sunday School room, and also enlargement of the church to take care of our increased attendance. This means a building program.²

The response to Mr. Saunder's recommendation was as follows:

The Pastor, the Clerk of the Session, and Chairman of the Board of Deacons were appointed as a Committee for the purpose of selecting a representative Committee from the congregation, whose duty it would be to study the building needs of the Church and to submit recommendations as to needed construction,

¹Lexington Presbytery, Minutes, 1786-1952, XXVII, 796.

²Tinkling Spring Church Records, Minutes of the Session and Congregational Meetings and the Register, 1946-1953, insertion following page 18.

additions, along with changes and improvement of the Church program, including a proposed plan for the raising of the funds required to meet costs of the proposed construction and improvements.³

PREPARING FOR THE THIRD CENTURY OF SERVICE

The first major move toward the facing of the crisis was the appointment of an Improvement and Planning Committee consisting of the following:

W. S. Moffett, Jr., Chairman	Mrs. John G. Moffett
R. A. McChesney, Co-chairman	A. E. Houff
A. B. Booker	Paul Shaver
Miss Nelle Livesay	Paul Brown
Miss Frances Cline	E. S. Young ⁴

As the church began to move forward, she moved thoughtfully and only after careful preparation. She first was determined to know the field of her responsibility. Miss Margie Lee Phipps (Sunday School Extension Worker for the Synod of Virginia) was secured as an expert in survey and community analysis.

The survey, made in an area covered by a five mile radius, centered at the old Tinkling Spring Church. The findings were as follows: 1791 people in the 443 homes surveyed (twenty-five homes were missed). There were approximately half of the people in the area without any Sunday School connection. There were 125 families who did not attend church at any time. The resident members of the Tinkling Spring Church numbered 236 with 204 additional Presbyterians who were worshipping elsewhere.

Within the surveyed area, adjacent to the village of Fishersville, the Army hospital, Woodrow Wilson Memorial, closed following World War II, had been opened and was now operating as Woodrow Wilson Educational Center. This center housed the following institutions: The Naval Reserve Training Station, the Wilson Memorial High School of more than thirteen hundred pupils, the Woodrow Wilson Technical School offering fifteen courses and the Woodrow Wilson Rehabilitation Center for the State of Virginia. On the grounds of this

³*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴Tinkling Spring Church Records, Miscellaneous Records, Religious Survey, Conducted by Fishersville Methodist and Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Churches of the Tinkling Spring and Fishersville area, Directed by Miss Margie Lee Phipps, Completed 1 October 1947; Tinkling Spring Plans for its Third Century of Christian Service (mimeographed booklet), last page.

educational center lived more than fifty families. The Rehabilitation Center kept resident students and at the time had 200 pupils enrolled.

It was discovered, to the astonishment of all, that the Tinkling Spring Church was no longer strictly speaking exclusively rural. The village of Fishersville had been built up principally of young couples working in industry or in professions either in Staunton or in Waynesboro. The community surveyed had 107 farmer families, 172 industrial families and 163 professional and other families. This situation resulted in an unusually large Beginners Class in the Sunday School. It was felt that many of these young couples and their children could be attracted to a modern church offering attractive facilities that compared favorably to nearby cities.⁵

With these facts before them, the Improvement Committee made its recommendations after consulting with Dr. Cecil Thompson, expert on Rural Church, and Rev. O. V. Caudill, Church Building Consultant and approval of its plans by Lexington Presbytery's Planning Committee charged with the responsibility of church extension within her bounds.

At a congregational meeting, October 16, 1949, the people of the church accepted the plan proposed by the Improvement Committee and proceeded to appoint a Building Committee consisting of A. C. Gilkeson, Chairman, J. S. Loving, W. S. Moffett, Sr., R. A. McChesney and R. R. Sayre. For the raising of the money necessary for construction they appointed a Ways and Means Committee composed of C. H. Cline, Chairman, R. W. Moffett, John M. McChesney, Jr., S. G. Stewart, Mrs. H. D. Hevener and Paul Brown. These plans were carried forward and on January 13, 1952, the Sunday School building was used for the first time. The educational plant was attractively attached to the old church sanctuary and is estimated to be worth seventy-five thousand dollars. The actual outlay on this building was only fifty-five thousand dollars. The saving of \$20,000.00 had been accomplished by a large amount of contributed labor, savings in purchase of materials and careful management by the Building Committee Chairman and Mr. J. J. Hensley, who superintended the construction of the building.

In addition to the new educational plant that housed the entire Sunday School, the old Community Building was remodeled to constitute a well equipped kitchen, an attractive fellowship hall and adjacent lounges

⁵Tinkling Spring Plans, *op. cit.*; Survey, *op. cit.*

for men and women. The cost of this improvement was estimated to be \$5,000.00.

World Wars I and II were fought for the bringing about of democracy with freedom "Everywhere in the World." But these objectives were not accomplished. The forces of the Kremlin in Moscow, Russia, challenged the people of the world. Apparently under their direction, war broke out in Korea, and America, as a part of the United Nations, came to the defense of the South Koreans. To this conflict the Tinkling Spring Church is in the process of sending her sons. Those who are listed in the service of their country in this phase of the world struggle are to date as follows:

Charles M. Brown, Jr.

Ben E. Caldwell

Charles J. Churchman

Lopez A. Diehl

Ray B. Fitzgerald

Walter L. Glenn

David T. Gochenour⁶

Albert L. Griffin

William O. Griffin

Harry H. Hanger⁶

Joseph M. Harris

Samuel R. Harris

William M. Hayes, Jr.

Arthur G. Houff⁷

William R. Hudlow

George W. Lockridge

Henry H. Moffett, Jr.

William H. Pullin

Thomas O. Ramsey, Jr.

Paul E. Shaver⁷

Joseph D. Simmons⁸

Charles C. Smith⁷

John W. Todd III⁶

Lewis Tyree

Paul W. Warren⁹

WE ARE LABORERS TOGETHER WITH GOD

The churches of Hermitage and Tinkling Spring in the past half dozen years have entered into a vigorous program, the results of which are indicated in the following statistics: 264 new members received by the sessions, sixty wedding ceremonies performed and forty-five baptisms.¹⁰

In these accomplishments the student assistants played no small part. These young men, living at the Woodrow Wilson Rehabilitation Center where each served as part time chaplain, also shared in the full pro-

⁶Career serviceman.

⁷Second tour of service duty.

⁸He was a battle casualty in Korea.

⁹The Young Adult Classes of Tinkling Spring Sunday School, who keep in touch with our servicemen, supplied this list.

¹⁰Tinkling Spring Minutes, 1946-1953, *op. cit.*, p. 1 *et passim*; Hermitage Church Records, Sessional Records and Church Register, 1946-1953, p. 1 *et passim*.

grams at Tinkling Spring and Hermitage by part time preaching, pastoral visitation and leadership in the Youth Fellowship work. They were as follows:

Mr. R. Eugene Hager—1949

Mr. Robert R. Collins—1950

Mr. James F. VanDyke—1951

Mr. Albert E. Simmons—1952

Rev. Collier S. Harvey, Jr., employed for 1953

The Tinkling Spring Church, as she continues in 1953, faces her task ahead with an active program in all departments of the church.¹¹

A church's work is very incomplete without an extension program, even though the home church is completely organized in every phase of her activity. Tinkling Spring is represented in the ministry today by Rev. Howard Winchester Gilkeson, pastor of the Middleton Heights Presbyterian Church and associate pastor of the Laurinburg Presbyterian Church, Laurinburg, North Carolina, where he is serving in a notably successful extension project of a strong city church. The Reverend Mr. Gilkeson is a descendant of Elder David Gilkeson, one of the outstanding elders in Tinkling Spring's history.¹²

The women of the church represent us in a foreign mission service. Margaret Patterson Mack, wife of Dr. Henry W. Mack, is now a missionary, under the Northern Presbyterian Mission Board, in Dumaguete, Philippine Islands, where she is working among Chinese, Siamese and Filipinos.¹³ The church delights in its representatives in mission service in Africa. Mr. William C. Worth, Industrial Missionary, has made a large contribution in engineering work in the relocation of the Morrison Institute. Mrs. Worth, formerly Martha Brand of Tinkling Spring Church, continues a brilliant career in evangelism and education paralleling the work of her husband. The Worths are now working in the Kakinda Station where they are in a position to bring the knowledge of Christ to large numbers of those who know him not and to train in Christian living many of those who have already responded to the Christian gospel.

¹¹See Appendix D, X; Pictures of the church officers, Board of Women of the Church, Youth Fellowship Council and Choir are Figures XXXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX.

¹²*Supra.*

¹³Brown Craig Patterson, *Memoirs of*, 1951, p. 76.

The flow of life-giving refreshment, welling up to everlasting life through more than two centuries, has gone out from Tinkling Spring Church to strengthen the souls of men who battled at home for a free Christian democracy and sent their messengers to the ends of the earth. The lives nourished by the waters of this spring have borne fruit to the freedom of man and the glory of God—and the end is not yet!

O, Tinkling Spring of heritage
Long may your name inspire
And improve God's tool 'till He shall come
And call His children higher.¹⁴

¹⁴Written by Mary Evelyn McChesney.

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Location: Clerk's Office, Augusta County, Staunton, Virginia.

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Davies, New York, New York; J. R. Hildebrand, Roanoke, Virginia; Mrs. W. Preston Moore, Blacksburg, Virginia; Randolph Preston, Washington, D. C.; Kelly W. Trimble, Staunton, Virginia; and Goodridge A. Wilson, Nashville, Tennessee.

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H. MAPS

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A. DOCUMENTS

I. AUGUSTA COUNTY AUTHORIZED

At a General Assembly, summoned to be held at The Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, on the first day of August, in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the second by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, &c. And from thence continued, by several prorogations, to the first day of November, in the twelfth year of his said Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1738.

An Act, for erecting two new Counties, and Parishes; and granting certain encouragements to the inhabitants thereof.

I. Whereas great numbers of people have settled themselves of late, upon the rivers of Sherrando, Cohongoruton, and Opeckon, and the branches thereof, on the north-west side of the Blue ridge of mountains, whereby the strength of this colony, and its security upon the frontiers, and his Majesty's revenue of quit-rents, are like to be much increased and augmented: For giving encouragement to such as shall think fit to settle there,

II. *Be it enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same,* That all that territory and tract of land, at present deemed to be part of the County of Orange, lying on the north west side of the top of the said mountains, extending from thence northerly, westerly, and southerly, beyond the said mountains, to the utmost limits of Virginia, be separated from the rest of the said county, and erected into two distinct counties and parishes; to be divided by a line to be run from the head spring of Hedgman river, to the head spring of the river Potowmack: And that all that part of the said territory, lying to the north-east of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue ridge, shall be one distinct county, and parish; to be called by the name of the county of Frederick, and parish of Frederick: And that the rest of the said territory, lying on the other side of the said line, beyond the top of the said Blue ridge, shall be one other distinct county, and parish; to be called by the name of the county of Augusta, and parish of Augusta.

III. *Provided always,* That the said new counties and parishes shall remain part of the county of Orange, and parish of Saint Mark, until it shall be made appear to the governor and council, for the time being, that there is a sufficient number of inhabitants for appointing justices of the peace, and other officers, and erecting courts therein, for the due administration of justice; so as the inhabitants of the said new counties and parishes be henceforth exempted from the payment of all public, county, and parish levies, in the county of Orange, and parish of Saint Mark; yet that such exemption be not construed to extend to any of the said levies laid and assessed, at or before the passing of this act.

IV. *And be it further enacted,* That after a court shall be constituted in the said new counties respectively, the court for the said county of Frederick be held monthly, upon the second Friday; and the court for the said county of Augusta, be held upon the second Monday, in every month: And that the said

counties and parishes respectively, shall have an enjoy all rights, privileges, and advantages whatsoever, belonging to the other counties and parishes of this colony. And for the better encouragement of aliens; and the more easy naturalization of such who shall come to inhabit there,

V. *Be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful, for the governor, or commander in chief, of this colony, for the time being, to grant letters of naturalization to any such alien, upon a certificate from the clerk of any county court, of his or their having taken the oath appointed by act of parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and taken and subscribed the oath of abjuration, and subscribed the test, in like manner as he may do, upon taking and subscribing the same before himself.

VI. And for the more easy payment of all levies, secretary's, clerk's, sherifs, and other officers fees, by the inhabitants of the said new counties, *Be it further enacted*, That the said levies and fees shall and may be paid in money, for tobacco, at three farthings per pound, without any deduction. And that the said counties be and are hereby exempted from public levies, for ten years.

VII. *Provided nevertheless*, That from and after the passing of this act, no allowance whatsoever shall be made to any person, for killing wolves, within the limits of the said new counties. Any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary hereof, notwithstanding.

VIII. And, for the better ordering of all parochial affairs in the said new parishes, *Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid*, That the freeholders and housekeepers of the same, respectively, shall meet at such time and place, as the governor, or commander in chief, of this dominion, for the time being, with the advice of the council, shall appoint, by precept under his hand, and the seal of the colony; to be directed to the sherifs of the said new counties, respectively, and by the said sherifs publickly advertised; and then and there elect twelve of the most able and discreet persons of their said parishes respectively, Which persons so elected, having taken the oaths appointed by law, and subscribed to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, shall, to all intents and purposes, be deemed and taken to be the vestries of the said new parishes, respectively.

Copies from William W. Hening, editor. *Statutes at Large* (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by and for Samuel Pleasants, Junior, printer to the Commonwealth; and others, 1809-1823) V, 9, 78-79.

II. BEVERLEY MANOR PATENT

The Land Grant

George the second by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith &c. To all to whom these presents shall come Greetings: Know ye that for divers good causes and considerations but more Especially for the consideration Expressed in an order of our Lieutenant Governor in Council bearing date the twelfth day of August one thousand seven hundred and thirty six, We have given Granted and Confirmed and by these presents for us our heirs and successors do Give Grant and Confirm unto William Beverly of the County of Essex Gent, Sir John Randolph of the City of Williamsburgh Knight, Richard Randolph of the County of Henrice Gent, and John Robinson of the

County of King and Queen Gent, One certain tract or parcel of land called the Mannor of Beverly, Containing one hundred and Eighteen thousand four hundred and ninety one acres, lying and being in the County of Orange beyond the Great Mountains on the River Sherando and Bounded as followeth (Towit), Beginning at five white oaks on a narrow point between a large Run called Christy Creek and a small Run called Beaver run about twenty poles on the East side the Middle River Sherando and running thence north seventy degrees west three hundred and sixty four poles by four pines nigh the said River, thence north fifteen degrees, west one hundred and twenty five poles crossing the said River, the whole Course being four hundred forty three poles by a large white oak & two small ones thence north seventy five degrees East two hundred and ninety seven poles to four pines and a red oak on a ridge, thence north fifteen degrees East forty four poles to a double walnut and Elm on the Edge of the said Middle River, thence down the same one hundred and two poles to a red oak and hickory by the River side, thence from the first mentioned five white oaks south three hundred and sixty four [or five] poles crossing Beaver run twice just below three corner spanish oaks under a steep hill, thence south Eighty three degrees East two hundred and seventy poles by five pines, thence south south East three hundred and thirty poles to three white oaks by the Edge of a meadow thence East by south seven hundred thirty Eight poles across Sherando River to a forked white walnut, a black one a hickory and an ash by the River side thence down the same seventy four poles to two water oaks, two hickories, a hagberry tree and a walnut, thence East by south sixty poles to four pines on the foot of the Blue Ridge in stoney ground thence south by East Eighty Eight poles between a white and red oak, thence south East one hundred and three poles by four pines and a white oak, thence south south west four hundred ninety two poles to three pines thence south four hundred fifty poles by a red oak white oak and two pines thence south west two hundred and fifty six poles to five pines thence south five degrees west Eighty Eight poles to a white oak and gum saplins on the River bank thence south south East thirty Eight poles by four pines thence south west and by west two hundred Eighty six poles to two pines nigh the River, thence south twenty six degrees East ninety poles to three white oaks, thence south and by west one hundred and thirty four poles nigh two red oaks by a boiling spring almost as big as the River in flat grounds thence south sixty degrees west one hundred seventy six poles to three pines nigh the River, thence west two hundred and thirty two poles by two red and two white oaks on the River side, thence up the several Courses of the same one thousand three hundred poles by two spanish oaks, two red oaks and a white oak just below three springs called the Great Springs, thence south thirty poles by two pines and a hickory thence south west and by west one hundred seventy Eight poles to three pines, thence south thirty three degrees west two hundred thirty eight poles by four pines thence west by south one hundred and seventy four poles by two pines and a red oak bush thence west north west one hundred and fourteen poles by three pines, thence north Eighty five degrees west five hundred forty six poles by four pines thence west five hundred and six poles by a chestnut oak a scrub oak and a pine on the brow of a hill, thence north fifty degrees west two hundred forty four poles to three pines thence west three hundred ninety six poles to three hickories and a pine by a red oak, thence south seventy degrees west six hundred thirty poles by four hickories near a valley thence

south twenty degrees west five hundred forty four poles three red oaks on the west side of Hancock's branch, thence south west by west ninety four poles by two white oaks and a red oak thence south west by south six hundred fifty two poles by four red oaks and three hickories just above the head of some of Sherando waters thence north west by west two hundred and thirty two poles to a red oak and white oak and hickory by the head of a draft that runs into James River, thence south west by west three hundred poles crossings the springs of James River thence north west by west six hundred poles crossing the head Spring of Sherando to two hickories two chestnuts and white oak nigh a spring of James River, thence north two thousand and sixteen poles crossing four springs of James River to a white oak by a path thence north seventy five degrees west one hundred and sixteen poles on the side of a very high hill from the foot of which issues a spring about fifty feet broad called the black spring to a white oak and hickory, thence south sixty oo degrees west one hundred and twenty poles by a spanish oak hickory and walnut, thence south forty degrees west one hundred poles by a hickory and white oak, thence north fifty degrees west ninety two poles crossing the Middle River of Sherando on which we first began to survey the whole Course being one hundred and sixty poles between two white oaks and a hickory at the foot of a ridge of Mountains that lies between this and the north branch of the same River, thence north forty degrees East one hundred poles by a white oak and hickory thence north twenty degrees East thirty four poles between two white oak saplins thence north forty degrees East one hundred and Eighty three poles to a white oak, thence north by East forty seven poles to two spanish oaks by a deep valley, thence north thirty six degrees East three hundred fifty poles along the fleet of the mountains, thence north north East two hundred seventy poles thence north thirty one degrees East four hundred eighty poles thence north nineteen degrees East four hundred sixty poles thence north sixty degrees East three hundred and seventy four poles thence south thirty four degrees East two hundred thirty four poles to the mouth of a Dry oo meadow and lastly north seventy degrees East four thousand one hundred and ninety poles to the red oak and hickory mentioned at the end of the sixth Course by the River side, With All Woods underwoods, swamps marshes Lowgrounds meadows feedings and their due share of all veins, mines and Quarries as well discovered as not discovered within the bounds aforesaid and being part of the said Quantity of one hundred and Eighteen thousand four hundred and ninety one acres of land and the River waters and water Courses therein Contained together with the privilege of hunting, hawking and fishing fouling and all other rights, Commodities and herditaments whatsoever to the same (or any part thereof) belonging or in anywise appertaining, To Have Hold possess and Enjoy the said tract or parcel of land and all other the before granted premises and Every part thereof with their and Every of their appurtenances unto to the said William Beverly, Sir John Randolph, Richard Randolph and John Robinson and to their heirs and assigns forever, to the only use and behoof of them the said William Beverly Sir John Randolph, Richard Randolph and John Robinson their heirs and assigns forever To be sold of us our heirs and successors as of our Manner of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in fee and Common srecage and not in Cassite or by Knight's service, Yielding and paying unto us our heirs and successors for Every fifty acres of land and so proportionably for a lesser or greater quantity than fifty acres the

fee rent of one shilling Yearly to be paid upon the feast of Sait Michael the Arch Angel and also cultivating and improving three acres, part of Every fifty of the tract above mentioned within three Years after the date of these presents, provided always that if three Years of the said fee rent shall at any time be in arrears and unpaid or if the said William Beverly, Sir John Randolph and John Robinson their heirs or assigns do not within the space of three Years next coming after the date of these presents cultivate and improve three acres part of Every fifty of the tract abovementioned then the Estate hereby granted shall Cease and be utterly determined and thereafter it shall and may be lawful to and for us our heirs and successors to grant the same Lands & premises with the appurtenances unto such other person or persons as we our heirs and successors shall think fit. In Witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made, Witness our Trusty and well beloved William Gooch Esq^r our Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of our said Colony and Dominion of Virginia at Williamsburg under the seal of our said Colony the sixth day of September one thousand seven hundred and thirty sixth in the tenth Year of our Reign.

WILLIAM GOOCH

I William P. M. Kellam Register of the Virginia Land office do certify that the within [above] is a true copy from the records. Given under my hand seal of office at Richmond this the 8th day of November 1870.

WILLIAM P. M. KELLAM
Reg. Va. L. Office.

Copied from the original which had been examined and filed in the Clerk's Office of Circuit Court of Augusta County in Chancery, Suit of Beverley vs Kinney dated 1798, File box 18; recorded in Deed Book LXXXVI, 542.

The Manor Land Purchasers, 1738-1744

(The information on these purchases is found in Orange County Court Records, Deed Books III-IX. The information on the church affiliations is gathered from the Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, by Rev. John Craig, the Tinkling Spring Church Records, and court documents that give an indication of church relationship. All the baptisms in Tinkling Spring and Augusta Stone communities were listed without indicating which place. Mr. Craig frequently spoke of the two places as "the congregation." At the beginning of the Record of Baptisms is the note "if the childe belong to the congregation no place is named." So it is assumed, in the absence of early Augusta Stone Minutes, that those of the congregation not identified as belonging to Tinkling Spring did belong to the group later called "Stone Meeting House in Augusta." In listing these land owners, there are, of course, those who belonged to no church.)

Name	Acreage	Cost of Land	Date of "Release"	Meeting House
George Anderson	411	£13	27 Feb 1740	Augusta Stone
John Anderson	747	£10	5 June 1739	Augusta Stone
Francis Beaty	388	£12	25 Sept 1741	N. Mountain
Robert Black	200	£6	25 Sept 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Thomas Black	569	£15.1.5	5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.

Name	Acreage	Cost of Land	Date of "Release"	Meeting House
Alexander Breckenridge	357		24 Mar 1742	Tinkling Spg.
Geo. & Robt. Breckenridge	761	£24	26 Nov 1742	Tinkling Spg.
Robert Brooke	500	£15	26 Nov 1741	?
Devis Bryne	567	£19.8.4	24 July 1740	?
John Buchanin	784	£24	24 Sept 1741	?
George Caldwell	405	£11.1	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
James Caldwell	600	£18	20 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
Alexander Campbell	559	£16.16	22 Nov 1744	?
David Campbell	466	£15	28 May 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Patrick Campbell	1546	£44.7.7	21 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
Robert Campbell	350	£10.10	23 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
James Carr	473	£14.3.9½	29 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
William Cathey	466	£11.13	7 Sept 1738	Augusta Stone
John, Robert and William Christyes	1614	£42.8.5	29 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Patrick Cook	590		23 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
John Craig	335		18 Feb 1742	Minister
Robert Crockett	322		27 Feb 1740	?
Robert Cunningham	482	£14.10	5 Feb 1742	Tinkling Spg.
James Davis	570	£17.2	20 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
John Davison	785	£23.11	5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Samuel Davison	353		5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Samuel Doeg	647	£20	24 Sept 1741	N. Mountain
David Edmiston	350	£10.10	23 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
James Fulton	637½	£19	25 Mar 1742	S. Mountain
Samuel Gay	323	£9.10.13	5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
James Gillaspey	208		24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
Samuel Givens	311	£7.10.6	7 Sept 1738	Augusta Stone
Arthur Hambleton	515	£16	25 Sept 1741	N. Mountain
John Hart	400	£12	23 July 1740	?
Patrick Hays	600	£18	25 Sept 1741	S. Mountain
Thomas Henderson	391	£9.15.6	21 Sept 1738	Tinkling Spg.
George Home	375	£12	29 Feb 1739	?
Samuel Hughes	440	£13	25 Mar 1742	?
George Hutchison	667	£18	21 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
George Hutchison	530	£16	21 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
George Hutchison	380	£11.8	22 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
John Hutchison	292	£18.15.2	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
William Hutchison	572		28 May 1741	Tinkling Spg.
William Johnstone	100	£2	24 Mar 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Robert King	750	£23	25 Mar 1742	?
Thomas Kirkpatrick	390	£11.14	25 Mar 1742	Tinkling Spg.
James Leaper	526	£15.15	29 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
William Legerwood	387	£11.12.2	29 Feb 1739	?
James Lessley	226	£11	27 Feb 1740	Augusta Stone

Name	Acreage	Cost of Land	Date of "Release"	Meeting House
John Lewis	2071	£14	20 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
Jacob Lockhart	436		6 Oct 1742	N. Mountain
Patrick Martin	321	£9.12.7	20 July 1740	N. Mountain
Robert McClanahan	331		28 May 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Andrew McClure	370	£11.2	21 Feb 1738	Tinkling Spg.
Finley McClure	444	£13.6.4.3	29 Feb 1739	?
James McClure	408	£12.4.10	6 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Francis McCune	196	£5.17.11	6 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
John McCutcheon	920		27 May 1741	?
Rendles McDonnald	141	£4.4.7	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
Samuel McKune	230	£6	25 Mar 1742	Tinkling Spg.
Isaac McUlluck	230	£6.15	25 Sept 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Joseph Mills	660	£20	29 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Martha Mitchell	279	£18.7.5	2 Oct 1739	?
John Moffett	396	£9.18	29 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Daniel Monohan	900	£27	21 Feb 1738	Church of Eng.
James Moody	510	£15.6	24 July 1740	?
Robert Page	202	£6.1.6	23 July 1740	Augusta Stone
William Palmer	388	£11	25 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
Nathaniel Patterson	201	£6	24 July 1740	N. Mountain
Robert Patterson	331	£10	27 Feb 1740	S. Mountain
James Patton	474	£15.17.6	28 May 1741	Tinkling Spg.
John Pickens	764	£24	27 Feb 1740	?
Sarah Ramsey	309	£9	25 Mar 1742	?
Joseph Reed	454	£13.10	24 July 1740	?
Joseph Ried	100	£3	25 Sept 1741	?
John Risk	300	£9	24 July 1740	N. Mountain
James Robertson	395	£12	24 July 1740	Rockfish
George Robinson	892	£14.15.2	20 Feb 1738	?
William Robinson	403	£12	24 Sept 1741	Tinkling Spg.
Andrew Russell	496	£13	24 Sept 1741	Tinkling Spg.
John Seawright	413	£12.10	24 July 1740	?
William Skillern	635	£20	25 Sept 1741	Tinkling Spg.
William Smith	130	£4.1	5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Joseph Tees	465	£13.19	5 June 1739	Tinkling Spg.
Moses Thompson	410	£11.6	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
Moses Thompson	1041	£25	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
William Thompson	947	£28.10	22 Nov 1744	Tinkling Spg.
John Trimble	449	£11.10	6 June 1739	N. Mountain
Robert Turk	1313	£40	28 Feb 1739	Tinkling Spg.
William Vance	400	£12	24 July 1740	?
John Wilson	348	£10.8.10	6 June 1739	Timber Grove
John Wilson	260	£7.1.7	6 June 1739	Timber Grove
William Wright	413	£12.10	24 July 1740	Tinkling Spg.
Robert Young	373	£11.3.9½	29 May 1741	N. Mountain

III. VIRGINIA STATUTE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

An ACT for establishing RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Section I. Whereas Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meannes, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of Legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labours for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil Magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them:

Sect. II. BE *it* enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or Ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief;

but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

Sect. III. AND though we well know that this Assembly elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the Acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this Act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any Act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such Act will be an infringement of natural right.

Acts passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1785 (Richmond, Virginia: Printed by John Dunlap and James Hayes, Printer to the Commonwealth, [1786]), pp. 26-27; *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Julian P. Boyd, editor; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950), II, 547-53.

IV. THE AUGUSTA BOYS

Colonel Andrew Lewis to Governor Francis Fauquier

Augusta County, May the 9th 1765.

Hon'ble Sir,

Yesterday a very unhappy affair was transacted near Staunton, which may, if not timely guarded against, prove very fatal to this Colony. On the fifth of this instant a party of Cherokees came from our frontiers to Staunton, some of them I was perfectly acquainted with; they gave me to understand that they were designed for Winchester and would be glad of a pass, as they were from thence to go to war against the Ohio Indians, and was to meet some other warriors beyond Fort Cumberland. The want of an Interpreter prevented my making them sensible that their travelling thro' our country, even with a pass, where they might not be known, would be attended with danger on their part. However on finding them determined to go, after they had refreshed themselves two nights, they were provided with proper colours and a pass. There was ten in number their two principal men's names was Nocoknowa and Choconantee. They marched about five miles and lodged in an outhouse on the plantation of one John Andersons.

Yesterday morning as soon as it was light a party of villianous bloody minded rascals, notwithstanding they knew they were Cherokees and had a pass, attacked them in the most treacherous manner, killed their Chief and four more on the spot, and wounded two more. The five poor creatures that made their escape has taken the woods and will undoubtedly reach their Nations as quick as possible they can, or at least some of them will get home. In order to quiet the Chiefs of the Cherokees and if possible to restrain the whole Nation from taking satisfaction at their own hands I have wrote to the Chiefs of the Over Hill Towns, from whence this party came, and has sent it to the hand of Col. Chiswell, desiring him to find means of sending it as quickly as possible. In my letter to their Chiefs, I have endeavoured to persuade them that your Honour will undoubtedly take every just means to give them satisfaction by ordering the murderers to be apprehended and put to death, and desire them to

take no rash steps as they may be assured your Honour will loose no time in writing to them by express.

From what I can learn the number of the villains that committed this murder is between 20 and 30; the names of the two ringleaders is William Cunningham and John King; one of the party was wounded by an arrow, to wit James Clendening; he was taken & afterwards rescued by the others before he reached the gaol. No doubt but it will be your Honour's pleasure that those fellows may be brought to justice, and will send me instructions what steps to take, with warrants signed by your Honour.

Inclosed you have a copy of the letter I sent to the Chiefs of the Over Hill Towns.

I am,

Your Honours most obed't
& very hum. Serv't

AND'W LEWIS

.

Augusta County, June ye 3rd 1765.

Sir,

In my last letters to your Honor I mentioned the taking of James Clendening and Patrick Duffy, two of the murderers of the Cherokees. Clendening was resqued before he reached the prison. Duffy was in prison three nights; on the 4th a number (as is believed by the Gaoler and some others) not less than one hundred armed men posted themselves round the prison, some of them entered the house of the gaoler and demanded the key of the prison; it being refused them, they, after using some violence and many threats, with axes broke the Prison door and carried off the said Duffy, declaring at the same time that they had most of the County to back them, and that they would never suffer a man to be confined or brought to justice for killing of Savages.

.

Near the place where the murder was committed is found dead another of the Cherokees; from what I can learn it is the young fellow called Choconante, son of the Standing Turke, who was for some time Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Every thinking person especially those that are most exposed to the depredations of the Cherokees, dread the the consequences of this unhappy affair, as it is too likely the injured Cherokees will look for satisfaction in their own way; and with what face can we plead with the Government for assistance when an Act of our own (and I am sorry I have it to say so generally approved of us amongst us) should be the cause of all the distresses that may befall us. However in justice to the people that live on our frontiers I must say they had no hand in it. When they first discovered the Indians they collected some armed men, whoe went to the Indians, and on their finding them to be by all likelihood Cherokees, they not only suffered them to pass to Staunton, but sent from place to place a white man with them.

Some days after the murder was committed, a poor unhappy blind man and his wife was killed by two of the Indians that made their escape. This indeed is no more than what I expected, that they would leave behind them a mark of resentment.

I am

Your Honors most obed't.
& very humble Serv't.

AND'W LEWIS

Proclamation of the Augusta Boys, June 4, 1765.

Augustas'

A PROCLAMATION.

We *Augusta Boys* in heart are and do profess ourselves His present Majesty's (King George the Third) true and leige subjects, and unhappy we being on this very verge of His Majesty's Dominion, have, by the unparaled deceit of an insidious and cruel heathen enemy been repeatedly distressed, and find it impracticable to maintain the legal rights granted us by His Majesty, and think it expedient to act in the offensive when any of those our known enemies presemes under the pretence of friends (without a warrantable pass) to pass among us. And as there was a party of Indians to the number of ten, which lately travelled into our territories, some of which was known and proved to be of the *Shawnee* and *Dellaware* Nations, and a few of them endeavored (as we suppose) to shade their specious designs under the appellation of their being our friends viz't. the *Cherokees*, and as the said *Indians* obtained a pass from Col. *Lewis* for reasons we suppose only known to himself, it appears and is apparent to us that he the said Colonel Lewis is not attached in heart to his present Majesty or his liege subjects:

We therefore, out of our sincere love to our Sovereign and his interest, and our candid love to justice, do promise a reward of one thousand pounds for the taking of the said Col. *Lewis*, that he may be brought to justice, and for Doct'r. *William Fleming* and Captain *William Crow* of Staunton five hundred pounds each, as deemed by us Dupes and Parasites in said case. An we do further offer a pardon to Lieu't *Michael Thomas* and *Luke Bowyer* if they, each for himself provide a string of beads &c. that they may live as formerly without depending alone on the smiles of Col. *Lewis*, otherwise let them instantly repair out of our Sovereign's Dominions to that of their desired *French King*.

Our hearts are true unto our Kings.
And means all rebels down to bring.

Copied from John Pendleton Kennedy, editor, *Journals of the House of Burgeses of Virginia, 1761-1765* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Library, 1907), pp. xx-xxv.

APPENDIX B. IMPORTATIONS

A list of persons who imported themselves, or were imported by others, and the date they proved their importation in Orange County, Virginia, from 1734 through 1745 in order to obtain legal right to hold title to land in the colony. They came principally from Great Britain through Pennsylvania into the Valley of Virginia. In some families relationships of the individuals are specified but in others they are not. The spelling is that deciphered from the handwritten Orange County Order Books.

Joseph Abel, 25 Nov. 1736; Order Book I, 128.

Conrade Amberger, 18 May 1736; O. Bk I, 72.

George Anderson, Elizabeth, his wife, William Anderson, Margret, John and Frances Anderson; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.

John Anderson, Jane, his wife, Esther, Mary, and Margret Anderson; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.

Robert Appleby; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.

Ann Bambridge; 24 Aug. 1740; O. Bk II, 310.

William Banks; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 325.

William Baskins (imported by John Pickens); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 218.

James Bell, John, Margaret, and Elizabeth Bell; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.

Robert Bickers; 16 Mar. 1735; O. Bk I, 63.

Thomas Black, and Margret, his wife; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.

Alexander Blair, Jane, James, Mary and John Blair; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.

Alexander Brackenridge, Jane, John, George, Robert, James, Smith, Jane and Letitia Brackenridge; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 155.

Francis Bradstreet; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 325.

William Brady, Judy Brady, his mother, and Daniel Brady, his brother; 24 May 1741; O. Bk II, 366.

Samuel Brawford (imported by William Johnston); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 214.

Thomas Brown; 23 July 1741; O. Bk II, 433.

William Brown, Mary, Robert, Hugh and Margret Brown; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.

David Bruce; 27 Nov. 1742; O. Bk III, 302.

John Bruce; 27 Nov. 1742; O. Bk III, 302.

Thomas Burk; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.

John Buttler; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.

George Byrd; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.

Henry Byrne; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 325.

George Caldwell, Mary, his wife, William, Mary, John, Jane, David and Agness Caldwell; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 210.

James Caldwell, Mary, Jean, Agnes, John, Mary, Sarah, and Samuel Caldwell; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.

Hugh Campble, Esther, and Sarah Campble; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 205.

John Camble, Elizabeth, Esther, Mary, Rachel and Jane Camble; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.

Patrick Campbell, Elizabeth, Charles, William, Patrick, Jr., John, Mary, Elizabeth and Gennet Campbell; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.

- John Carehant, Mary, Elizabeth, Daniel, and Catherine Carehant; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 160.
- Jacob Carr (imported by George Hutchison); 25 July 1740; O. Bk II, 225.
- John Carr, Lucy, his wife, Margaret Gilaspy and Mathew Gilaspy, his wife's children, and William, Barbara, Lucy and Martha Carr, his children; 27 Mar. 1740; O. Bk II, 138.
- James Cathey, Ann, his wife, William, Elizabeth, Andrew, George, Margret and Ann Cathey; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 109.
- Philemon Cavanaugh; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.
- Elizabeth Chambers; 23 May 1745; O. Bk IV, 330.
- Nicholas Christopher; 23 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- William Cole and Rachel, his wife; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
- George Coleman; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
- William Cooper; 28 May 1743; O. Bk III, 464.
- Joseph Cotton; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- John Crawford; 23 July 1741; O. Bk II, 433.
- Patrick Crawford, Ann, James, George, Margret, and Mary Crawford; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 211.
- William Crawford; 23 May 1745; O. Bk IV, 330.
- Robert Crocket, Margret, John, Arshall, Jane, Samuel and Robert, Jr.; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- Ellionor Cross; 26 May 1743; O. Bk III, 428.
- Richard Cross; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
- James Daley (imported by David Edmiston); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 208.
- John Daniels; 20 July 1736; O. Bk I, 93.
- James Davis, Mary, Henry, William and Samuel Davis; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 210.
- John Davison, Jane, George, Thomas, William, Samuel Davison; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
- Samuel Drake; 16 Mar. 1735; O. Bk I, 63.
- Margaret Dungan; 26 July 1745; O. Bk IV, 398.
- Elizabeth Dunning (imported by Thomas Black); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- William Edgear; 23 May 1745; O. Bk IV, 330.
- David Edmiston, Isabella, Jesse, John, William, Rachel, David, Moses Edmiston; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 208.
- John Ervins(?); 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
- John Farroll, Margret, Mary and Edward Farroll; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.
- Mark Fink; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.
- John Finlasson; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- John Floyd; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- James Fox (imported by Moses Thompson); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 210.
- Elexander Frazier; 26 July 1745; O. Bk IV, 398.
- Robert Frazer (imported by Robert Scott); 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.
- James Gaines; 26 July 1745; O. Bk IV, 398.
- Samuel Gay, Margret, his wife, John and Thomas Gay, his sons; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 211.
- Margaret Gibson; 28 May 1742; O. Bk III, 159.

- James Gilasby, Jennet, Agnes, John, James and William Gilasby; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 208.
- Jesse Gilasby (imported by David Edmiston); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 208.
- Margaret and Mathew Gilaspy (see John Carr).
- Samuel Givins, Sarah, his wife, John, Samuel, James, Martha, Elizabeth, William, Margret, Sarah and Jane Givins, his children; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 109.
- Mary Grady; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
- John Grant; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.
- William Gray; 17 Aug. 1736; O. Bk I, 106.
- Edward Green; 26 May 1743; O. Bk III, 428.
- Robert Green; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- Edward Hall (imported by James Gilasby); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 208.
- Joseph Harris; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.
- Henry Phillip Hart; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.
- William Hawkins; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
- John Hays, Rebecka, Charles, Andrew, Barbara, Jean and Robert Hays; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- Patrick Hays, Frances, Jean, William, Margret, Catharine and Ruth Hays; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.
- Thomas Henderson, and Dorcas, his wife; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 216.
- George Home; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- John Honey; 14 April 1741; O. Bk II, 325.
- Robert Hook, Jane, his wife, and William Hook, his son; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.
- Elizabeth Hopkins; 24 Aug. 1740; O. Bk II, 310.
- James Hopkins; 26 May 1743; O. Bk III, 429.
- George Hutchison, Eleanor, his wife, Jennet, Francis, John, William and Jennet Hutchison; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 225.
- William Hutchison, John Hutchison, Sen'r, Margaret Hutchison, John Hutchison, Jun'r, and Mary Hutchison; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 210.
- Archibald Johnson; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 332.
- William Johnston (imported by Thomas Black); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 312.
- William Johnston, Ann, Elizabeth and John Johnston; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 214.
- Thomas Jones; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.
- Catherine Kelly; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 325.
- Richard Kemp; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
- Henry Kendall; 23 Mar. 1737; O. Bk I, 276.
- Mathias Kerchler; 18 May 1736; O. Bk I, 72.
- Thomas Kindle (imported by William Smith); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- John Kines; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.
- Robert King, Cathren, John, Sarah and Elizabeth King; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- William King, Margret, Jane, Elizabeth and Margret King; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.
- Edward Lambeth; 17 Aug. 1736; O. Bk I, 106.
- Edward Lampart; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.

- William Ledgerwood, Agnes, Martha, Jane, Elenor, William and James Ledgerwood; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 108.
- Patrick Leonard; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- James Lepper, Margret, Nicholas, Sarah, Jane, Andrew, James, Guine, Isbell and Mary Lepper; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 109.
- David Logan, Jane, his wife, Mary and William Logan; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.
- William Long, Elizabeth, Alexander, John, William Long, Jun'r; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
- James McAlegant (imported by James Bell); 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- Patrick McCaddan (imported by Samuel Givens); 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 109.
- William and Elizabeth McCandlees (imported by James Bell); 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- William and Margret McClean (imported by Thomas Henderson); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 216.
- James McClure, Agnes, John, Andrew, Eleanor, Jeane and James McClure, Jun'r; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
- Francis McCowin, Mary, his wife, Markham and Elizabeth McCowin; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 207.
- John McCoy; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- James McCulley; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- William McDaniel; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 325.
- Ephraim McDowell, James and Margret McDowell; 29 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 119.
- John McDowell, Magdalene, his wife, and Samuel McDowell, his son; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- Robert McDowell, Martha, Jane, Margret and William McDowell; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- Robert McDowell (imported by John Smith); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 205.
- Agnes, William and James McKay (imported by David Stevenson); 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- John McKensey; 26 July 1745; O. Bk IV, 398.
- Margaret McMurrin; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
- Patrick McNiel; 23 May 1745; O. Bk IV, 330.
- Andrew McOnnal, Jane, John, Agnes McOnnall; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.
- Robert, Margret, Alexander and Susanna McPherson; 29 May 1741; O. Bk II, 368.
- John Marphet, Mary, Margret, Mary, George, Catherine Marphet; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- John Maxwell, Margret, John, Jun'r, Thomas, Mary and Alexander Maxwell; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 210.
- James Mills; 23 July 1741; O. Bk II, 433.
- David Mitchell, Martha, Sarah, James and Eliza Mitchell; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- William Moore; 20 July 1736; O. Bk I, 93.
- John Mullahan (imported by James Bell); 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- John Newport; 23 July 1741; O. Bk II, 433.
- Morris O'Frail and Catherine, his wife; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- John Parks; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.

- Thomas Parks; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 332.
Richard Parsons; 16 Mar. 1735; O. Bk I, 63.
Robert Patterson, Frances, his wife, Thomas, Mary and Elizabeth Patterson;
22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.
Edmunds Phillips; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 332.
John Pickins, Margret, Eleanor, Margret, Ye Younger, and Gabriel Picken;
24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 218.
Robert Poage, Elizabeth, his wife, Margret, John, Martha, Sarah, George,
Mary, Elizabeth, William and Robert Poage; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.
Robert Ralson, Martha, his wife; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.
Robert Ramsey; 22 Feb. 1738-39; O. Bk I, 425.
Joseph Ray (imported by William Long); 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
Agnes Reed (imported by James Bell); 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
James Reed; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.
Joseph Read, Elizabeth and Ann Read; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 211.
James Roberson; 17 Aug. 1736; O. Bk I, 106.
Charles Robinson; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
James Robinson; Jean, William and George Robinson; 24 July 1740; O. Bk
II, 216.
John Rutter (imported by John McDowell); 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
Soloman Ryan; 23 Mar. 1737; O. Bk I, 276.
Mical Rylly; 25 Nov. 1736; O. Bk I, 128.
Robert Scott, Ann, his wife, Mary, George and Esther Scott; 22 May 1740;
O. Bk II, 159.
Samuel Scott, Ann, Jane and John Scott; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 158.
Joseph Sears; 28 May 1743; O. Bk III, 464.
Valantine Sevier; 28 May 1742; O. Bk III, 159.
William Skillirn, Elizabeth, George, William, Josebell and Sareh Skillirn;
24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 209.
John Smith; 20 July 1736; O. Bk I, 93.
John Smith, Margret, his wife, Abraham, Henry, Daniel, John and Joseph
Smith; 23 May 1740; O. Bk II, 205.
William Smith and Elizabeth, his wife; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
William Smith, Jean, his wife, Mary, Margret and John Smith; 24 July 1740;
O. Bk II, 212.
Elizabeth Stanton; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
Matthew Stanton; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
James Steavens; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
David Steavenson, James, Jane, Thomas and William Steavenson; 28 Feb.
1739; O. Bk II, 110.
John Steavenson, Sarah and Mary Steavenson; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.
Thomas Steavenson and Rachel Steavenson; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 157.
William Sutherland; 14 Apr. 1741; O. Bk II, 332.
Alex Thompson, Mary, Thomas, Omy, Isaac and George Thompson; 24 July
1746; O. Bk II, 210.
Moses Thompson, Jane, William, Robert and John Thompson; 24 July 1740;
O. Bk II, 210.
John Thomson; 28 Sept. 1738; O. Bk I, 391.
Robert Thomson; 26 May 1743; O. Bk III, 428.

- William Thomson, Isabella and William Thomson; 23 May 1740; O. Bk II, 185.
- Sarah Thurston; 26 May 1743; O. Bk III, 428.
- John Trimble, Ann, Margret and Mary Trimble; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 156.
- Robert Turk, Margret, Jane, John, Ann, Thomas, James and William Turk; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 110.
- John Vineyard; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- John Walker; 16 Mar. 1735; O. Bk I, 64.
- John Walker; 24 Aug. 1740; O. Bk II, 310.
- Thomas Walker; 23 Feb. 1737; O. Bk I, 259.
- Joseph Walsh; 26 July 1745; O. Bk III, 398.
- Patrick Walsh; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- Peter Weaver; 18 May 1736; O. Bk I, 72.
- John White; 28 Sept. 1738; O. Bk I, 391.
- Michael, Tobias and John Wilhite; 18 May 1736; O. Bk I, 72.
- Thomas Williams; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 212.
- Davis Wilson (or Nilson), Charity, his wife, and James Wilson; 22 May 1740; O. Bk II, 159.
- John Wilson, Martha, Mathew, William, John, Sarah and Elizabeth Wilson; 24 July 1740; O. Bk II, 215.
- Richard Wilson; 28 Feb. 1739; O. Bk II, 114.
- James Wood; 17 June 1735; O. Bk I, 20.
- Robert Young, Agnes, John, Samuel and James Young; 23 May 1740; O. Bk II, 205.

APPENDIX C. LEADERS AT TINKLING SPRING

I. PASTORS

- Rev. John Craig, pastor, 1740-1764.
Rev. James Waddel, D. D., supply pastor, 1776-1784.
Rev. John McCue, supply pastor, 1791-1818.
Rev. James C. Willson, D. D., supply pastor, 1818-1840.
Rev. Benjamin M. Smith, D. D., LL. D., pastor, 1840-1845.
Rev. Robert L. Dabney, D. D., LL. D., pastor, 1847-1853.
Rev. Charles S. M. See, D. D., pastor, 1856-1870.
Rev. Givens B. Strickler, D. D., LL. D., pastor, 1871-1882.
Rev. John A. Preston, D. D., pastor, 1883-1889.
Rev. Henry R. Laird, pastor, 1890-1891.
Rev. George W. Finley, D. D., pastor, 1892-1909.
Rev. J. Oscar Mann, D. D., pastor, 1910-1918.
Rev. Graham Gilmer, D. D., pastor, 1919-1923.
Rev. John C. Siler, D. D., pastor, 1923-1945.
Rev. Howard M. Wilson, Th. M., pastor 1946-(active 1953).

II. STUDENT, ASSISTANT AND TEMPORARY SUPPLY PASTORS

- Rev. James Anderson, Itinerant. On 12(?) November 1738 he founded, in the home of John Lewis, the Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation in the South Side of which was built the Tinkling Spring Meeting House.
Rev. Alexander Miller, part-time for about one year, 1765-1766.
Rev. Samuel Black, part-time for about one year, 1767-1768.
Rev. James Anderson, part-time for about one year, 1769. (Not the same as the founder.)
Rev. William Calhoun, supply, more than a year, 1846-1847.
Mr. Elisha B. Cleghorn, student worker from February through June 1855.
Mr. William W. Houston, student worker from 15 November 1864 to 25 June 1865.
Mr. J. Oscar Mann, student worker, summer 1909.
Rev. Robert W. Boyd, supply from September 1909 to June 1910.
Rev. Frank F. Baker, summer supply pastor, 1919.
Mr. Louis A. McMurray, student worker, 1923.
Mr. Edgar A. Woods, student worker, 1923.
Mr. J. P. G. Moffett, student worker, summer 1940.
Mr. D. McCall Brown, student worker, summer 1941.
Mr. Robert R. Collins, student worker, summer 1949.
Mr. R. Eugene Hager, student worker, summer 1950.
Mr. Robert R. Collins, student worker for one year, 1 September 1950 to 31 August 1951, as assistant pastor.
Mr. James F. Van Dyke, student worker for one year, 1 September 1951 to 31 August 1952, as assistant pastor.
Mr. Albert E. Simmons, student worker for eight months 1 October 1952 to 31 May, 1953, as assistant pastor.
Rev. Collier S. Harvey, Jr., assistant pastor employed for fifteen months beginning 1 June 1953.

III. ELDERS

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
George Hutchison	Before 1748	Died 1767.
James Kerr	Before 1748	After 1748.
James Gilaspey	Before 1748	Before 1770.
William Johnston	Before 1748	Died 20 March 1769.
John Finley	Before 1748	About 1763.
Edward Hall	Before 1758 (?)	After 1793.
John Ramsey	Before 1758 (?)	After 1777.
William Wright	Before 1765	Died 1776.
James Bell	Before 1765	Died 1792.
William Christian	Before 1765	Died 1779.
Walter Davis	Before 1765	Died 20 March 1803.
Charles Patrick	Before 1765	Removed before 1767.
Samuel Black	Before 1765	Resigned 10 Sept. 1776.
John Christian ¹	Before 1766	Died 1779.
William Teas	Before 1772	Died 1777 or 1778.
Samuel Wright	Before 1778	?
Abraham Larew	Before 1783	Died 1801.
Samuel Pilson	Before 1791	Died after 1807.
Andrew Fulton	Before 1795	?
James Steel	Before 1796	Died 6 June 1802.
James Frazer, Sen.	Before 1800	?
Alexander Hall	Before 1805	?
Andrew Ramsey	Before 1806	?
Joseph Bell (?)	Before 1806	?
David Gilkeson	May 1815	Died Dec. 1866.
Charles Patrick	May 1815	Dismissed 24 April 1846.
John Guthrie	May 1815	Died 27 Jan. 1845.
Thomas Calbreath	Before 1823	Died Dec. 1855.
Richard H. Henry (M. D.)	Before 1830	Died 13 Dec. 1844.
Joseph Peck	Before 1834	Died 5 June 1839.
Jacob Van Lear ²	Before 1835	Died 13 Nov. 1876.
John P. Willson	Before 1837	Died 22 March 1862.
Wm. W. King	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 April 1846.
Wm. S. Ramsey	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed May 1845.
Dan'l Fishburn	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 April 1846.
William Withrow ³	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 April 1846.
Hugh G. Guthrie	19 Aug. 1855	Died 16 April 1881.
David S. Bell ⁴	19 Aug. 1855	Died 5 June 1890.
John G. Guthrie	22 Mar. 1857	Died 2 Dec. 1891.
Joseph S. Raymond	17 May 1868	Dismissed about 1872.
David V. Gilkeson ⁵	17 May 1868	Died 23 March 1871.
James W. Gilkeson	17 Apr. 1871	Dismissed 20 March 1875.
John G. Stover	15 Apr. 1873	Dismissed 11 Jan. 1885.
Henry H. Hamilton	27 June 1875	Resigned 8 Feb. 1896.
John A. Gilkeson	27 June 1875	Died 30 Dec. 1891.
Wm. B. Patterson	27 June 1875	Died 21 Aug. 1890.

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
Alexander S. Paxton	11 May 1884	Dismissed 4 Oct. 1885.
Benjamin M. Ellis ⁶	11 May 1884	Died 23 Nov. 1901.
William F. Gilkeson ⁷	11 May 1884	Died 9 Aug. 1912.
Franklin McCue Bell	12 Jan. 1890	Died 12 Dec. 1912.
John W. Paul	12 Dec. 1890	Died 9 Dec. 1914.
C. Benton Coiner	22 Mar. 1896	Died April 1919.
Frank H. Gilkeson	22 Mar. 1896	Died 11 May 1905.
William F. Brand	22 Mar. 1896	Died 28 May 1932.
John M. Irvine	23 Oct. 1910	Died 31 Aug. 1934.
Robert F. Thompson ⁸	23 Oct. 1910	Died 14 Oct. 1936.
John Blackwood Patterson	15 Dec. 1912	Died 20 April 1932.
Charles E. Homan	20 Feb. 1916 (?)	Dismissed 21 May 1916.
William C. Miller	12 Mar. 1916	Dismissed 18 Feb. 1917.
DeLacy H. Coiner	12 Mar. 1916	Dropped 20 Nov. 1921.
Samuel M. Donald	9 Nov. 1919	Died 6 July 1925.
Wallace W. Shields ⁹	9 Nov. 1919	Dismissed 30 Oct. 1937.
A. Crawford Gilkeson ¹⁰	9 Jan. 1927	Active 1953.
Richard N. Dudley	9 Jan. 1927	Died 1 Feb. 1943.
Walter N. Danner	9 Jan. 1927	Died 17 Nov. 1940.
Clyde Moorehead	9 Jan. 1927	Dismissed 4 Nov. 1945.
Cyrus H. Cline, Jr.	20 Dec. 1936	Active 1953.
Charles A. Wenger	3 Jan. 1937	Died 26 March 1947.
Robert L. Saunders	3 Jan. 1937	Died 15 Jan. 1948.
Harry H. Moffett	3 Jan. 1937	Active 1953.
R. Strickler Moffett	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
Oscar S. Fitzhugh	21 July 1946	Died 3 Sept. 1950.
Thomas O. Ramsey	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
Earl S. Young	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
Robert A. McChesney	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
John K. Livesay	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
William F. Caldwell	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
Arthur E. Houff	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
Ray R. Sayre, Sr.	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
Robert K. Irvine	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
Billy H. Wade	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
S. Gordon Stewart	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
Harry D. Hevener	24 May 1953	Active 1953.
William C. Irvine	24 May 1953	Active 1953.
Lacy I. Young	24 May 1953	Active 1953.

¹Served as Clerk of the Session 1766(?) - 1779(?).

²Served as Clerk of the Session 1847-1856.

³Served as Clerk of the Session 1840-1846.

⁴Served as Clerk of the Session 1856-1869, 1871-1883.

⁵Served as Clerk of the Session 1869-1870.

⁶Served as Clerk of the Session 1883-1901.

⁷Served as Clerk of the Session 1901-1912.

⁸Served as Clerk of the Session 1912-1936.

⁹Served as Clerk of the Session 1936-1937.

¹⁰Served as Clerk of the Session 1937-

IV. COMMISSIONERS OR TRUSTEES¹

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
James Patton	14 Aug. 1741	Died 30 July 1755.
John Finley	14 Aug. 1741	Made an elder.
George Hutchison	14 Aug. 1741	Made an elder.
John Christian	14 Aug. 1741	Made an elder.
Alex'r Breckenridge	14 Aug. 1741	Died 1743.
Daniel Denniston ²		
James Alexander	Before 1 Mar. 1744	Died 1778.
William Wright	Before 1 Mar. 1744	Made an elder.
Joseph Teas(?)	Before 1748	?
Walter Davis	6 Dec. 1792	Made an elder.
James Steel	6 Dec. 1792	Made an elder.
Andrew Fulton	6 Dec. 1792	Made an elder.
Benjamin Stuart	6 Dec. 1792	Died 1808.
James Frazer	6 Dec. 1792	Made an elder.
Joseph Bell	6 Dec. 1792	Made an elder.
Robert Stuart	6 Dec. 1792	?
George Pilson	Before 1811	Died 1833.
Zech. J. McChesney	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Resigned 26 May 1866.
John Wayt	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 Apr. 1846.
James M. Brooks	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 Apr. 1846.
William Brooks	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 24 Apr. 1846.
William Gilkeson	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Resigned 2 Mar. 1851.
Lewis Wayland	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Dismissed 2 Mar. 1851.
Franklin McCue	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Resigned 23 July 1842.
Archibald Stuart ³	Before 21 Nov. 1840	Resigned 23 July 1842.
John McCue	31 July 1841	Died 18 May 1862.
Hugh McClure	31 July 1841	Dismissed 9 Jan. 1876.
Robert M. White	31 July 1841	Died 3 Sept. 1868.
Hugh G. Guthrie	2 Mar. 1851	Died 16 Apr. 1881.
David S. Bell	Before 1859	Died 5 June 1890.
John Brooks	Before 1859	Died 15 Oct. 1863.
Solomon D. Coiner	Before 1859	Died 3 Apr. 1867.
J. Sidney Moffett	26 May 1866	Died 24 Mar. 1887.
David V. Gilkeson	26 May 1866	Died 23 Mar. 1871.
William H. Shirey	14 Sept. 1867	Died 7 Jan. 1887.
David W. Hanger	14 Sept. 1867	Died 5 Feb. 1899.
John A. Gilkeson	14 Sept. 1867	Died 30 Dec. 1891.
John S. Churchman	12 Apr. 1872	Died 11 May 1884.
Henry H. Hamilton	12 Apr. 1872	Dismissed 20 Jan. 1897.
Jacob P. Hamilton	12 Apr. 1875	Dismissed 7 Aug. 1897.
Wm. Brown Patterson	19 Apr. 1884	Died 21 Aug. 1891.
John W. Paul	18 Apr. 1885	Died 9 Dec. 1914.
John B. Patterson	20 Apr. 1892	Died 20 Apr. 1932.
Frank H. Gilkeson	20 Apr. 1892	Died 11 May 1905.
John F. Leonard	3 May 1896	Died May 1909.
John H. McClure	4 Nov. 1900	Died Nov. 1925.

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
H. T. Drumheller	4 Nov. 1900	Died Nov. 1915.
Percy G. Hanger	4 Nov. 1900 ⁴	Active 1953.

¹This office was referred to as "Commissioner" from 1740-1791, then "Trustee" after 1792. They performed the duties of the present day deacons until 1841 when deacons were elected, to whom eventually went all duties except being custodians of titles to lands and trust funds.

²Served as Church Treasurer but was not an officer.

³Served as Church Treasurer.

⁴After 1900 the church seems to have followed the custom of making the deacons trustees.

V. DEACONS

William Gilkeson	31 July 1841	Resigned 2 Mar. 1851.
John Wayt	31 July 1841	Dismissed 24 Apr. 1846.
John McCue ¹	31 July 1841	Died 18 May 1862.
Hugh McCleure	31 July 1841	Dismissed 9 Jan. 1876.
James M. Brooks	31 July 1841	Dismissed 24 Apr. 1846.
Robert M. White	31 July 1841	Died 3 Sept. 1868.
John Hamilton	31 July 1841	Dismissed Oct. 1849.
Zech. J. McChesney	14 Sept. 1844	Died 28 Aug. 1879.
(Not listed after 1851)		
Hugh G. Guthrie	2 Mar. 1851	Made an elder.
George Hansberger	26 Sept. 1869	Died 28 Aug. 1895.
Franklin McCue Bell	26 Sept. 1869	Made an elder.
John A. Gilkeson	26 Sept. 1869	Made an elder.
Wm. Brown Patterson	26 Sept. 1869	Made an elder.
Robert W. Moffett	26 Sept. 1869	Died 3 Dec. 1924.
C. Benton Coiner ¹	26 Sept. 1869	Made an elder.
James Thomas Black	26 Sept. 1869	Died 26 Aug. 1920.
John S. Churchman	27 Aug. 1876	Died 11 Dec. 1884.
William F. Gilkeson ¹	27 Aug. 1876	Made an elder.
Wm. H. Shirey	27 Aug. 1876	Died 7 Jan. 1887.
Samuel H. Kerr	14 Sept. 1884	Died 14 Feb. 1917.
John W. Paul	14 Sept. 1884	Made an elder.
John W. Churchman ¹	16 May 1886	Died 27 Feb. 1909.
Alexander H. McCue	16 May 1886	Died 22 Oct. 1912.
Frank H. Gilkeson	12 Jan. 1890	Died 11 May 1905.
John F. Leonard	12 Jan. 1890	Died 10 May 1909.
Charles E. Homan	28 Feb. 1897	Made an elder.
John B. Patterson	8 May 1897	Made an elder.
Samuel M. Donald	8 May 1897	Made an elder.
Benjamin P. Gaw	4 Sept. 1904	Dismissed 5 June 1910.
John T. Brand	4 Sept. 1904	Died 12 Sept. 1942.

Hamilton T. Drumheller was elected 19 June 1904 but declined to serve. However, his name appears on the deacons' list after 1914 until his death 21 Nov. 1915.

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
Charles M. Paul	30 Oct. 1910	Suspended 15 Apr. 1919.
Charles W. Shirey	30 Oct. 1910	Dismissed 28 Mar. 1915.
William A. Hodge	30 Oct. 1910	Dismissed 30 May 1918.
John H. McClure	15 Dec 1912	Died Nov. 1925.
A. Wayt Irvine	15 Dec 1912	Active 1953.
Joseph S. Caldwell	12 Mar. 1916	Died 1 Jan. 1932.
A. Crawford Gilkeson	12 Mar. 1916	Made an elder.
Z. S. Cecil	12 Mar. 1916	Died 12 Nov. 1930.
James C. Calhoun	12 Mar. 1916	Resigned 28 Sept. 1918.
J. W. B. Baylor	12 Mar. 1916	Dismissed 10 Nov. 1931.
J. H. Hannon	12 Mar. 1916	?
R. Strickler Moffett	9 Nov. 1919	Made an elder.
Hugh H. Kerr	9 Nov. 1919	Died 14 Dec. 1932.
Charles A. Wenger	9 Nov. 1919	Made an elder.
Walter N. Danner ¹	9 Nov. 1919	Made an elder.
Earl S. Young	9 Nov. 1919	Made an elder.
Richard N. Dudley	9 Nov. 1919	Made an elder.
Percy G. Hanger	9 Jan. 1927	Active 1953.
Harry H. Moffett	9 Jan. 1927	Made an elder.
Robert L. Saunders	9 Jan. 1927	Made an elder.
William F. Caldwell	11 June 1933	Made an elder.
John K. Livesay ¹	11 June 1933	Made an elder.
Oscar S. Fitzhugh	7 Feb. 1937	Made an elder.
Thomas O. Ramsey	7 Feb. 1937	Made an elder.
Robert A. McChesney	7 Feb. 1937	Made an elder.
Ray R. Sayre, Sr.	7 Feb. 1937	Made an elder.
Arthur E. Houff	7 Feb. 1937	Made an elder.
William S. Moffett	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
Robert K. Irvine	21 July 1946	Made an elder.
A. Brooks Booker, Jr.	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
John G. Moffett	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
Billy H. Wade ¹	21 July 1946	Made an elder.
Zack A. McChesney	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
William G. Shaver	21 July 1946	Active 1953.
William M. Kelsey ¹	21 July 1946	Dismissed 6 May 1951.
John M. McChesney, Jr.	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
Harry D. Hevener	22 Feb. 1948	Made an elder.
Carl E. Brubeck	22 Feb. 1948	Active 1953.
Lacy I. Young	22 Feb. 1948	Made an elder.
William C. Irvine ¹	30 Mar. 1952	Made an elder.
Robert W. Moffett	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
John S. Loving	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
Paul R. Phillippe	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
F. Paul Brown	30 Mar. 1952	Active 1953.
Stuart H. Barrell	24 May 1953	Active 1953.

¹Served as Church Treasurer.

Name	Service Began	Service Ended
William F. Caldwell, Jr.	24 May 1953	Active 1953.
Ralph E. Griffin	24 May 1953	Active 1953.
Homer H. Hull	24 May 1953	Active 1953.
Rudolph L. Shaver	24 May 1953	Active 1953.

VI. SUNDAY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

Sabbath Schools were organized by Rev. James C. Willson in several sections of the congregation in 1835, but no leadership is recorded. Before 1900 outpost or chapel Sabbath Schools were maintained at Hermitage, Christians Creek School House and Stuarts Draft. The fragmentary records give us the following leaders in these schools while under the control of the Tinkling Spring Session: John G. Guthrie, Daniel Bell, H. H. Hamilton, B. M. Ellis, Samuel Life, W. F. Gilkeson, J. W. Paul, W. F. Brand, F. M. Bell, F. H. Gilkeson, C. E. Homan and H. H. McCue. These, as well as the main Sunday School at Tinkling Spring, closed during the winter months until about 1910. The record available of Superintendents at Tinkling Spring Sunday School is as follows:

Colonel David S. Bell	?-1890.
Mr. Franklin M. Bell	1891-1895.
Mr. John W. Paul	1896-1905.
Mr. William F. Gilkeson	1906-1912.
Rev. J. Oscar Mann	1913-1915, 1917.
Mr. Robert F. Thompson	1916.
Mr. Wallace W. Shields	1918-1936.
Mr. A. Crawford Gilkeson	1937.
Mr. John K. Livesay	1938-1939.
Mr. Cyrus H. Cline, Jr.	1940-1949.
Mr. S. Gordon Stewart	1950-(active 1953).

VII. SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Miss Flora Christian Brand, daughter of Elder Wm. F. Brand, married Rev. Kenneth McCaskill, 19 June 1912, now retired pastor of Lexington Presbytery.

Miss Martha Hanger Brand, daughter of Deacon John T. Brand, married Mr. William C. Worth; they sailed as missionaries to Africa on 16 June 1926.

Miss Mary Susan Caldwell, daughter of Deacon Joseph S. Caldwell, married Rev. Thomas H. Daffin, 13 May 1912, pastor in Lexington Presbytery.

The Reverend John Newton Craig, D. D., 1831-1900, son of George Evans and Matilda Guthrie Craig; he became a pastor in 1860 and served as Executive Secretary of Assembly's Home Missions, 1883-1900.

The Reverend Alexander Warwick Crawford, 1857-1924, a pastor 1887-1924.

Miss Martha Watkins Finley, daughter of Rev. G. W. Finley, D. D., born 26 September 1878, married Rev. Wm. C. White, D. D.

The Reverend Charles David Gilkeson, D. D., 1863-1939, son of Elder John A. Gilkeson; he was a West Virginia pastor and Home Mission executive.

Miss Elizabeth Gilkeson, 1810-1884, daughter of Elder David Gilkeson, married Rev. W. W. Trimble.

The Reverend Howard W. Gilkeson now pastor at Laurinburg, North Carolina.

- The Reverend Joseph P. Livesay, missionary to Korea 1923-1945, pastor Long Island, New York, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
- The Reverend Andrew McClure, 1755-1793, grandson of immigrant James McClure; pioneered in Presbyterian work in Kentucky.
- The Reverend Alexander Stuart Moffett, D. D., 1847-1921, son of Robert Stuart Moffett and his wife, Hadassah McClellan Guthrie; he was father of six missionaries to China and another son became a minister.
- The Reverend Lyle Moore Moffett, son of Deacon Robert Wilson Moffett, missionary to China 1910-1915, pastor at McDowell, Virginia, and now retired.
- The Reverend Lamartine Houchins Paul, 1857-1927, son of John M. Paul and his wife, Susan Keiger; a Presbyterian pastor.
- The Reverend Brown Craig Patterson, D. D., son of Elder Wm. B. and Tirzah Willson Patterson; he and his wife, Annie Rowland Houston, M. D., were missionaries to China 1891-1940.
- The Reverend Craig Houston Patterson, D. D., son of Dr. B. C. Patterson, missionary to China, 1923-1936, pastor Bluefield, West Virginia.
- Miss Margaret Patterson, daughter of Dr. B. C. Patterson, married Rev. Henry W. Mack, Ph. D., 8 September 1930; they are missionaries to the Philippine Islands.
- Dr. Norman Guthrie Patterson, M. D., son of Dr. B. C. Patterson, missionary to China, 1930-1938, now surgeon at Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee.
- Miss Margaret Preston, 1730-1803, daughter of the immigrant, John Preston, married Rev. John Brown, who was probably also a son of Tinkling Spring since he was a brother to Mrs. Archibald Stuart and lived with the Stuarts.
- Miss Marian Virginia Ruff, married Rev. Wm. B. Clemmons, 23 September 1936.¹
- Miss Mildred Sayre, daughter of Elder R. R. Sayre, married Rev. L. E. Bouknight, Lutheran pastor, 23 June 1927.
- Miss Emma Ruth Siler, daughter of Rev. John C. Siler, D. D., married Rev. R. K. McDonald, 1 July 1941, pastor Norfolk, Virginia.
- The Reverend Edwin H. Stover, 1859-1904, son of Elder John G. Stover, pastor in Orange County, Virginia.
- Miss Elizabeth Waddell, 1777-1851, daughter of Rev. James Waddell, D. D., married Rev. William Calhoon, pastor Staunton, Virginia and stated supply at Tinkling Spring.¹
- Miss Janetta Waddell, 1782-1853, daughter of Rev. James Waddell, D. D., married Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D.¹

¹She was not married while a member of Tinkling Spring Church.

APPENDIX D. MEMBERSHIP ROLLS AND SUBSCRIPTION LISTS

I. A COPY OF THE NOTICE POSTED ON THE TINKLING SPRING DOOR
 CALLING FOR THE FIRST PAYMENT ON THE LOG BUILDING
 Adverisement

November ye 12th 1744

All persons Belonging to ye tinkling Spring Congertion are Desired to pay thire respectif Qotos to thire Comisioners and there assistance as folows Viz—John Cristian and William Robison & James Alexander for one part—And William Wright and Georg Hutchison for another part—John Finley and Arsbald Stuart for another part—which Colectors resepts Shall be Seuficient Discharges for ye first payment of ye one half of ye Charges of ye bilding of ye Meting house & purchasing a plot Belonging to same from William Thomson paying ye mason & underpinning ye house & halling ye timber for ye house which amounts to 12 s[hillings] per family—

John Cristian quarter

Anthony Black
 John Cowin
 Rob't Wilson
 William Long
 Thomas Bell
 James Bell
 Gabril Alexander
 James Alexander
 John Black
 Thomas Stewart
 James Patton
 Edward Hall
 Willm Robison
 Rob't Cristian
 John Cristian
 Willm Cristian
 John Davison
 Jeane McCollock
 James Caldwell
 James Armstrong

John Rutledg
 Thomas Black
 Willm Henderson
 Geo Caldwell
 Rob't Conegham
 Samuel Davison
 Adam Thomson
 Andrew Scott
 John Gamel
 John Ramsey
 John Preston
 John Maxwell
 Widow McDonal
 Andrew Russel
 John Lewis
 John Hutchison
 Rob't McClanahan
 Rob't Brackenridge
 Widow Brackenridge
 Thomas McCollock

the above to be colected by ye asistance of William Robison and James Alexander consisting of forty familys.

William Wright's Quarter

William Smith
 Georg Hutchison
 Willm Hutchison
 Robert Palmer

William Thomson
 Robert Moday
 John Frazer
 John Thomson

Willm Jonston
 William Logan
 Alex'dr Henderson
 Sam'l Henderson
 Willm Scileran

Rob't Black
 James Cear
 Samuel McCune
 Samuel Fergeson
 William Wright

the above to be collected by the asistance of Georg Hutchison consisting of 18 family

John Finley's Quarter

Andrew McClure
 Robert Turk
 Samuel Gay
 Robert Finley
 John Finley
 William Finley
 John McCollock
 James Gelaspey
 David Edmiston
 James McClure

Andrew McClure
 James Campbell
 Arsbold Stuart
 William Peterson
 William Cear
 Joseph Tays
 Samuel Steel
 Isaac White
 John McClure

Sined By order of ye Comisenors pr John Cristian Clerk to Acct pay'ts must be made in one month after Date hereof.

II. TINKLING SPRING SUBSCRIBERS, 1765-1770

Location indicated in footnotes when given; question mark after the casual contributor.

Andrew Alexander
 Francis Alexander¹
 Gabriel Alexander
 James Alexander²
 James Alexander¹
 Robert Allen³
 Robert Allen, Jr.³
 James Anderson¹
 James Armstrong
 Robert Armstrong²
 William Armstrong²
 John Attkings²
 James Bell²
 James Bell, Jr.³
 John Black²
 John Black, Jr.²
 Samuel Black²
 Will Black
 Samuel Blackwood²
 William Blackwood²
 James Bratton³
 William Brush?
 John Buchanan²

David Caldwell⁴
 James Caldwell²
 John Caldwell
 George Caldwell⁴
 Samuel Caldwell²
 William Caldwell⁴
 Alexander Campbell?
 Andrew Campbell³
 James Campbell³
 John Campbell, Sr.³
 Pady [Patrick] Campbell
 William Cave²
 Will Chris?
 Gilbert Christian
 John Christian²
 Pady [Patrick] Christian
 Robert Christian²
 William Christian²
 James Cilbreath
 Thomas Cilbreath
 John Cloyd⁴
 Ninen Cloyd⁴
 John Coulter³

William Crow
 Wid Cunin?
 John Davidson
 James Davis
 Walter Davis⁴
 Benjamin Estill?
 Jos. Eton
 Samuel Ferguson?
 Jacob Finley²
 (Capt) John Finley³
 John Finley?
 Will Finley³
 Robert Finley, Sr.³
 William Fleming
 James Frame?⁴
 James Frazer, Jr.¹
 John Frazer
 Samuel Frazer, Sr.¹
 Samuel Frazer, Jr.
 Widow Frazer¹
 Alexander Gibson
 George Gibson
 James Gibson
 Widow Gibson⁴
 James Gillespy, Sr.³
 James Gillespy, Jr.³
 John Gillespy³
 John Gray¹
 Thomas Grifey, Sr.?
 John Grooms¹
 Edward Hall³
 John Hamilton
 Matthew Harper⁴
 David Henderson³
 James Henderson
 John Henderson
 William Henderson⁴
 George Hutchison
 George Huttson
 John Huttson, Sr.¹
 John Huttson¹
 Thomas Huttson
 William Huttson¹
 Robert Jamison⁴
 William Johnston, Sr.¹
 Zachariah Johnston
 William Kerr?
 David Kinkaid²
 Joseph Kinkaid

Robert Kinkaid²
 James Lockhart
 William Lewis
 Abraham Lerew
 Scott Logan
 William Logan¹
 William Long²
 John Long?
 Jos. Love²
 Robert Love?
 Samuel Love⁴
 Lij McClanahan
 Andrew McClure¹
 Hugh McClure¹
 John McClure³
 Thomas McCollough?
 John McCune
 Samuel McCune¹
 Alexander McDonell¹
 George Marshall
 William Marshall²
 William Mills?⁴
 John Mitchell
 Robert Moody¹
 John Palmer?
 William Palmer¹
 Charlish Patrick³
 John Patrick
 William Patrick³
 Samuel Pilson¹
 John Ramsey³
 William Robertson
 Andrew Russel, Sr.¹
 Joshua Russell
 Robert Russell
 William Russell
 George Rutledge
 James Rutledge?
 Thomas Rutledge²
 William Rutledge²
 George Skelerton
 William Skelerton
 James Slote?
 William Slote⁴
 Asrey Smith¹
 John Smith?
 Matthew Smith
 James Steel³
 Samuel Steel³

Alexander Stuart³
 Benjamin Stuart³
 James Stuart
 Thomas Stuart²
 Thomas Stoder?
 William Teas³
 Charlish Teas³
 Alexander Thompson¹
 Robert Thompson¹

Widow Thompson¹
 William Thompson¹
 Robert Turk, Jr.?
 Jacob Van Lear
 John Van Lear?
 Isaac White³
 John Williamson¹
 Richard Willson
 William Wright²

¹Lower Quarter Christian's Creek.

²Upper Quarter South River.

³Lower Quarter South River.

⁴Upper Quarter Christian's Creek.

III. PETITIONERS 1792

Augusta County Legislative Petition, October 15, 1792, to the Virginia General Assembly from the Tinkling Spring congregation concerning new trustees; signed by the following:

Cornelius Ruddell
 Walter Davis
 John Griffin
 Wm. Davis
 Alex Hall
 Benj'n Hall
 James Bell
 Patrick Christian
 Samuel Frazer
 James Frazer
 Phillip Dolt
 John McCue
 Jacob Larew
 David Henderson
 Gilbt Christian
 Wm. Hamilton
 Edw'd Hall
 Joseph Bell, jun.
 William Black
 Alexander Thompson
 Hugh Gilkeson
 William Armstrong
 Thomas Marshel
 Andrew Wilson
 John Emmitt
 John Guthrie
 Abraham Larew
 J. L. Steel
 Jno. Finley
 Robert Stuart

James Bell, Sen.
 John Wilson
 Robert Scott
 Wm. Guthrie
 Jno. Guthrie
 Philmon Richard
 Jacub Fin lear (Vinlear)
 Bengin Stewart
 Andy Fulton
 Wm. Caldwell
 Jno. Caldwell
 Jams Best
 David Credes
 William Henderson
 William Brown
 John Caldwell, Senor
 Alexander Boyd
 Daniel Rea
 Joseph Colter
 David Colter
 John Hunter
 Andrew Hunter
 John Ramsey
 Andrew Ramsey
 Gabrill Alexander
 John Alexander
 Joseph Long
 David Long
 Samuell Long
 John Bell

Jac'b Vanlear
 Samuel Pilon
 Charlish Basking
 James Mofet
 William Berry
 Robert Staret
 William Anderson

John King
 William Chesnot
 James Coulter
 Robert Craig
 James White
 Gordon White

IV. SUBSCRIBERS ABOUT 1803

David Bell
 Joseph Bell
 James Best
 John Best
 James Black
 Sm. Brooks
 Jo Brow
 Thomas Caldbreath
 John Caldwell
 David Coruthers
 James Christian
 John Coalter
 Frank Davis
 J. Davis
 Wm. Davis
 Wm. Diddell
 Jess Dolt
 Saml Findley
 James Frazer, Sen.
 Hugh Gilkeson
 David Gilkison
 Philip Gregory
 John Guthry
 Alex. Hall
 Daniel Henderson
 James Henderson
 Richard Holt
 Patrick Humphrey
 A. Hunter
 John Hunter
 Matthew Hunter
 Robert Hunter
 Sm. Hunter
 A. Hutton
 Wm. Junkens

Benj. Larew
 James Linch
 Robert Linch
 A. McClure
 Josiah McClure
 Wm. McClure
 James McComb
 James McCord
 James A. McCue
 Geo. Marshall, Sen.
 George Marshall, Jun.
 James Marshall
 Jos. Parkes, Sen.
 Jos. Parks, J.
 Ch. Patrick
 Geo. Pilon
 Sam. Pilon
 A. Ramsey
 James Robison
 Sta. Ruddell
 Thomas Rutledge
 Robert Scott
 John Steel
 Mary Steel
 Robert Sterret
 Ben. Stuart
 Robert Stuart
 John Swisher
 Alexander Thompson
 Jacob Vanlear
 J. Willson
 James Willson
 Sam'l Willson
 Thomas Yorkshire

V. TINKLING SPRING SUBSCRIBERS ABOUT 1826

We the Subscribers bind ourselves to pay to the Reverend James Wilson the sums annexed to our respective Names annually in consideration of his preaching to us every other Sunday in the Tinkling Spring Meeting House, reserving to ourselves

nevertheless the Right of Withdrawing our several subscriptions should we be disposed So to do on giving 12 months notice.

	Dol. Ct.		Dol. Ct.
A. Hunter	10	David [Caldwell, Jr.	2]
Reuben Holt	1 50	John S. ?	
John Brooks	1 50	Edward ?	
John Yorkshire	1 50	Jas. Christian	1
Wm. Brooks	3	John Christian	1
Franklin Best	2	Jacob Van Lear	3
D. Orr	2	Daniel Crist	1
Jas Henderson	2	James Holinswort	1
D Caldwell	2	George Zimbro	1
David Henderson	2	Sam'l Willson	1
Henry Hicken	1 50	Jacob Clingenpeel	3
Robert Orr	1	John C. Lynch	1
Abn Boyd	2	James Black	2
Thomas Patent	1	John Vines	1
Benjamin Gregory	1	Gabriel Alexander	2
? Lohr	2	Joell Campbell	1
Stephen Denten	1	Joseph Bell	2
John Hellmaker	1	Wm Brown	1
Wm Swords	1	Joseph Long	?
Isham Johnson	2	Alex. Thomptson	1
Jacob Gregory	1	Wm. Black	2
James McComb	1 50	Thos. S. Coalter	10
James Boyd	1	John Coalter	7
Joshua Hiden	1	Benjamin Imboden	9
Joseph Lerue	3	John Swisher	1
John Spotts	2	George Marshall, Jr.	1
Robert Stuart	5	John Caldwell [Jr]	1
Abner Moore	2	George Coiner	2
John McGil	2	Daniel Swisher	1[50]
James McClenachan	1	Jacob F. Hutton	1
David Long	2	Geo Turner	2
David Kennedy	2 0	Sam'l Diddle	1
Samuel Black	2	William B. Cauth[ers]	3
Jas. C. Johnson	2	William Fritwell	?
Barley Shumate	2	Lewis Wayland	?
Wm. Adair	2 50	O C Morris	?
Abraham Whtesal	1	Allen Ewe	3
James Paul Jun	2	Thos. Harris	1
George Harrison	2	John Imboten	2
Frederick Imboden	2	Jacob Lerew	1
Thomas Holt	1 50	Hugh Paul	1
Rich'd Holt	2 50	James Fitzpatrick	1
Cornelius Ruddell	3 00	Sam'l Hunter	3
David Gilkeson	3	Robert Hunter	2
William Gilkeson	2	Matthias Swink	1[50]

	Dol.	Ct.		Dol.	Ct.
Robert Guy	2		Arch'd Stuart	?	
William Glendy	2		Wm. Abney	[2]	
Joseph Harisson	1		Jesse Dold	2	
Hazard Casterson	1		John Garner	1	
Wm Diddle	2		James Cauthers	1	00
John Sterrett	2		John Lohr	1	50
			James Blare	1	00
			Adam Zimbro	1	00
			Sam'l Moor	1	00

VI. TINKLING SPRING MEMBERSHIP IN 1840, WITH ADDITIONS THROUGH 1845

Austin, Alexander M.	Baskin, Mrs. Margaret
Austin, Mrs. Mary	Brady, Mrs. Cynthia
Alexander, Mrs. Nancy	Brady, John Jr.
Alexander, And'w A.	Brady, Miss Catherine
Alexander, Mrs. Susan	Brady, Miss Cleminza
Alexander, Gabriel	Brooks, John
Abney, Mrs. Elizabeth	Brooks, Mrs. Susan
Abney, Miss Nancy	Branaman, Cynthia
Alexander, Miss Catherine	Brady, James
Arnold, John P.	Brooks, Mrs. Cynthia
Arnold, Mrs. Eliz'th	Black, Mrs. Jane
Alexander, Arch'd S. ¹	Black, John S.
Alexander, James ¹	Black Samuel
Bell, John J. ²	Black, Mrs. Virginia A.
Bell, Mrs. Nancy ²	Bell, Mrs. Mary ¹ and ²
Bell, Miss Jane ²	Bush, Mrs. Rachael
Bell, Sam'l Holms ²	Brooks, Miss Esteline ¹ and ²
Bell, Hannah H. ²	Burns, Frederick ¹ and ²
Brooks, James M. ²	Burns, Mrs. Fred. ¹ and ²
Brooks, Mrs. Ellen ²	Craig, Mrs. Susannah ²
Brooks, William ²	Coursey, Harvey G.
Brooks, Mrs. Elvira ²	Coursey, Mrs. Rachael
Browning, Mrs. Jane	Calbreath, Thomas Sr.
Bush, James S.	Calbreath, Mrs. Jane
Bush, Mrs. Rebecca	Calbreath, Thomas Jr.
Baskins, Mrs. Rachael	Calbreath, Miss Ann
Best, Mrs. Mary A.	(Calbreath, Miss Lizzy)
Bazdell, Peter	Clingenpeel, Jacob
Bazdell, Mrs. Ann	Cingenpeel, Mrs. Isab'l
Bazdell, John	Caruthers, James
Bazdell, Mrs. Hannah	Caldwell, Mrs. Elenor
Baskin, Thomas S.	Coalter, Mrs. Lucinda
Branaman, John	Caldwell, Mrs. Anice
Branaman, Mrs. Betsy	Caldwell, Miss Eliz'th ¹
Baskin, William W.	Clarke, James ¹

Clarke, Mrs. Jemima¹
 Coalter, Miss Gillie¹
 Calbraith, Sally¹
 Calbraith, Zech'a¹
 Dalhouse, Samuel²
 Dalhouse, Mrs. Sophia²
 Diddle, John²
 Diddle, Mrs. Chatty²
 Douglass, Miss Elenor
 Douglass, Mrs. Eleanor
 Davis, William
 Davis, Walter¹
 Davis, Mrs. Rebecca¹
 Davis, Braxton¹ and²
 Davis, Mrs. Eliz'a¹ and²
 Davis, Mary¹ and²
 Davis, June¹ and²
 Dold, Angelina M.¹
 Eldridge, Miss Margaret
 Fulton, Mrs. Elizabeth²
 Fishburne, Daniel²
 Finley, Miss Mary Jane
 Freeman, Richard
 Freeman, Mrs. Letty
 (Finley, Miss Lucy)
 Firebaugh, Peter
 Frazier, Miss Jane
 Frazier, Miss Anne
 Firebaugh, Miss Delilah E.
 Frances, Miss Nancy
 Freeman, Miss Margt¹
 Finley, Mrs. Elizth¹
 Guthrie, Jno. Sn
 Guthrie, Miss Ann C.
 Guthrie, Miss Marg't L.²
 Guthrie, John G.²
 Gardner, John
 Gardner, Mrs. Susan
 Gardner, Miss Sarah
 Guthrie, Mrs. Betsy
 Guthrie, William
 Guthrie, Hugh G.
 Gilkerson, William
 Gilkerson, Mrs. Sarah¹
 Gilkerson, John
 Gilkerson, Hugh W.
 Gilkerson, David
 Gilkerson, Mrs. Mary
 Gilkerson, Miss Eliz'th A.

Gibbs, Mrs. Mary Jane¹ and²
 Henry, Rich'd H.
 Henry, Mrs. Susan²
 Holms, John
 Holms, Mrs. Patsy
 Hunter, Samuel
 Hunter, Mrs. Sarah
 Hunter, Sam'l Alexand'r
 Hutchinson, Miss Patsy
 Hambleton, Mrs. Bellana
 Hambleton, William
 Hambleton, Mrs. Nancy
 Hambleton, Miss Nancy
 Hambleton, John²
 Harris, Samuel
 Harriss, Mrs. Margaret
 Hizer, Hezekiah
 Hizer, Mrs. Eliza
 Henderson, Mrs. Patsy
 Hunter, Mrs. Elizabeth
 Henry, Miss Mary Fran's¹ and²
 Johnson, Thomas
 Johnson, Mrs. Cynthia
 King, Mrs. Patsy²
 King, William W.²
 Koiner, Mrs. Selestine
 Koiner, Mrs. Elizabeth²
 Larew, Mrs. Elizabethe
 Lambert, Reuben
 Lambert, Mrs. Susan
 Lawrance, Mrs. Catherine
 Larew, Miss Polly
 Larew, Miss Margarite¹
 McCleur, Mrs. Jane
 McCleur, Hugh²
 McCleur, Miss Eleanor
 Mooney, Miss Marg't
 McCune, Mrs. Sally
 McCue, Franklin
 McCue, Mrs. Nancy A.
 McCue, John
 McCue, Mrs. Hannah W.
 McCue, Mrs. Sarah Sen
 McCue, Mrs. Sarah Jr.
 Moffat, Rob't S.
 Moffat, Mrs. Haddassa
 McClanahan, Mrs. Eliz'th
 Marshall, George
 Marshall, Mrs. Margaret

McComb, Mrs. Susanna	Smith, Isaac
McChesney, Zech'a J.	Shirey, Peter ²
McChisney, Mrs. Nancy	Stuart, And'w ¹
McChesney, Adam ¹	Smith, Mrs. Mary M. ¹
McChesney, Mrs. Rach'l ¹	Sheets, Mrs. Mary ¹
McCue, Moses Sen. ¹	Stansberry, Erskine ¹
Morrison, Miss Mary ¹ and ²	Stansberry, Mrs. Abby ¹
McCune, Margaret ¹	Swisher, Mrs. Eliz ¹
McCune, Julia ¹	Swisher, Jacob ¹
McChesney, William ¹	Smith, Mrs. Letitia ¹
Mills, Miss Angelina ¹	Trotter, Archibald ¹
Morrison, Mrs. Harriet ¹ and ²	Trotter, Mrs. June ¹
Massie, Mrs. Edythe ¹ and ²	VanLear, Jacob
McCue, Miss Nancy ¹	VanLear, Mrs. Jane B.
McComb, Mrs. Sally ¹	VanLear, Mrs. Jane Sen.
Pearce, James ²	Wayt, John ²
Pearce, Mrs. Margar't ²	Wayt, Miss Sarah ²
Patrick, Charles ²	Willson, Mrs. Hetty S. ²
Patrick, Miss Caroline ²	Willson, Miss Elizth ²
Patrick, Miss Rebecca ²	Willson, Miss Rachael
Peck, Mrs. Eleanor	Waddel, Livingston ²
Porterfield, Gen'l. Ro.	Waddel, Mrs. Hannah ²
Perry, Mary M. ¹	Waddel, Miss Sarah ²
Porterfield, Mrs. Sarah A. ²	Withrow, William ²
Ramsey, William S.	Withrow, Mrs. Mary Ann ²
Ramsey, Mrs. Martha A.	Wallace, Mrs. Sally ²
Stuart, Maj'r Archib'd	White, Robt. M.
Stuart, Benjamin	White, Mrs. Eleanor
Steel, Mrs. Frances	Willson, John P.
Sittington, Mrs. Sarah	Willson, Mrs. Sarah
Shields, Mrs. Nancy	Wayland, Lewis
Shields, Miss Polly	Wayland, Mrs. Polly
Shields, Miss Peggy	Willson, Miss Nancy
Scott, Joseph B.	Young, William
Scott, Miss Polly	Yates, Mrs. Julia ¹
Scott, Miss Martha	Young, Mrs. Elizth ¹ and ²

Colour'd Communicants

Cato at D. Gilkersons	Esau, at Doct. Waddells ¹ and ²
Cato at Maj'r Stuarts	Marilla Jane at Wm. Hamilton's
Milly at Dan'l Fishburns	

¹United with the church during Rev. Benjamin M. Smith's pastorate.

²Was later dismissed to the Waynesboro Church.

VII. HERMITAGE MEMBERSHIP IN 1917

Arnie, Mrs. Virgie Homan ¹	Brower, Mrs. Barbara ¹
Bazzel, James M. ¹	Brower, Edward S. ¹
Borden, Mrs. Esther E. ¹	Brower, Floyd P. ¹

Burns, Annie Lee	Homan, Una Bell ¹
Burns, Hazel Irene	Kerr, Elvin W. ¹
Burns, William K.	Kerr, Mrs. Elvin W. ¹
Coiner, W. P. ¹	Kerr, Mildred Hannah
Corbin, Roy Lee	Kerr, Thelma ¹
Corbin, Mrs. Roy Lee	Kidd, Clifford C. ¹
Drumheller, H. H. ¹	Kidd, Mrs. Clifford C. ¹
Drumheller, Mrs. Hamilton T. ¹	McDorman, J. A. ¹
Drumheller, J. Ernest ¹	Meeks, Callis Richardson
Drumheller, Russell H. ¹	Meeks, Frances Lelia
Drumheller, Sallie Virginia ¹	Meeks, H. E. ¹
Drumheller, Samuel P. ¹	Meeks, M. Richardson
Drumheller, Virginia A. ¹	Meeks, Mary Sue
Eavy, Lena Virginia	Merritt, Ira W. ¹
Farrar, Mrs. John ¹	Morris, Sadie Frances ¹
Farrar, Margaret ¹	Pleasants, Fred ¹
Fitzgerald, W. Raleigh	Pleasants, Mrs. Fred ¹
Fitzgerald, Mrs. W. Raleigh	Pleasants, Kate Irene
Glenn, Carrie Elsie	Pleasants, Mary Zula
Glenn, Charles H. ¹	Shiflet, Warren M. ¹
Glenn, Leander ¹	Shiflet, Mrs. Warren M. ¹
Glenn, Mary Jane	Shiflett, Charles H. ¹
Gouchenour, Everet G. ¹	Shiflett, Mrs. Charles H. ¹
Grove, Mrs. William ¹	Stone, Casper R. ¹
Hildebrand, Mary Glenn	Stone, G. Raymond ¹
Homan, Mrs. Annie Bell	Teter, Cecil ¹
Homan, Charles E. ¹	Whitmore, Andrew B. ¹
Homan, Mrs. Charles E. ¹	Whitmore, Mrs. Andrew B. ¹
Homan, E. Vance ¹	Wine, Ida ¹
Homan, Paul R.	Wine, Ruby ¹
Homan, William A.	

¹A charter member.

VIII. TINKLING SPRING MEMBERSHIP IN 1920

Alvis, S. M.	Black, Miss Lena
Alvis, Mrs. S. M.	Bocock, Mrs. Frank
Alvis, Miss Anna Belle	Bocock, Mrs. Nora C.
Alvis, Macon	Brand, W. F.
Alvis, Miss Virginia	Brand, J. T.
Austin, Mrs. P. A.	Brand, Mrs. J. T.
Booker, Mrs. Leona C.	Brand, J. Thos.
Baylor, J. W. B.	Brand, Miss Martha H.
Baylor, Mrs. J. W. B.	Brand, Miss Mary Edna
Baylor, Miss J. Eloise	Buskins, Mrs. Mary
Baylor, S. M.	Burkholder, Miss Minnie
Baylor, Mrs. S. M.	Brooks, Miss Emily H.
Baylor, Miss Isabelle G.	Brown, Floyd E.
Black, J. T.	Brown, Mrs. Floyd E.

Cox, Chas. T.
Curd, Mrs. Margaret Martha
Curd, Miss Mary Frances
Calhoun, Geo. A.
Calhoun, Miss Hannah E.
Calhoun, J. C.
Calhoun, Mrs. J. C.
Calhoun, Miss Ruth M.
Calhoun, Miss Miriam C.
Calhoun, J. Crawford
Caldwell, J. S.
Coiner, Huston H.
Coiner, Everett E.
Coiner, Mrs. Everett E.
Coiner, John Hamilton
Coiner, Jacob F.
Coiner, Mrs. Jacob F.
Coiner, Mrs. Elmer
Cecil, Z. S.
Cecil, Mrs. Z. S.
Cecil, Miss Fannie C.
Cecil, Robt. E.
Caldwell, Miss Laura J.
Caldwell, Wm. F.
Caldwell, Jos. S. Jr.
Carr, Mrs. Maggie
Carter, H. M.
Carter, Mrs. H. M.
Coiner, E. L.
Coiner, Mrs. E. L.
Coiner, Miss Lucy
Coiner, Jos. C.
Coiner, M. Frank
Coiner, D. H.
Coiner, Miller D.
Coiner, Kyle W.
Coiner, Braxton H.
Churchman, Mrs. Annie J.
Churchman, Charlie J.
Coiner, Blair C.
Carroll, B. M.
Carroll, Mrs. B. M.
Carroll, Miss Little V.
Carroll, Miss Lula May
Carroll, Archie F.
Carroll, Irene F.
Cary, Allen Brooks
Campbell, Boyd L.
Campbell, Mrs. Boyd L.

Cary, Peter M.
Chewning, L. L.
Chewning, Mrs. L. L.
Danner, W. N.
Danner, Mrs. W. N.
Danner, Miss Rebecca E.
Danner, Walter N.
Dickerson, T. C.
Dickerson, T. C., Jr.
Dickerson, Miss Virginia M.
Dickerson, Miss May A.
Donald, S. M.
Donald, Mrs. S. M.
Dudley, R. N.
Dudley, Mrs. R. N.
Fitzhugh, Oscar
Fitzhugh, Mrs. Oscar
Fitzhugh, Berryman
Fitzgerald, Frank
Fitzgerald, Mrs. Frank
Fitzgerald, A. T.
Fitzgerald, Miss Lulu B.
Fitzgerald, Miss Bessie E.
Fitzgerald, Miss May L.
Fitzgerald, Miss Mattie
Fitzgerald, Miss Annie H.
Fitzgerald, Miss Ethel May
Fitzgerald, Ray
Garber, Mrs. N. C.
Gilkeson, Mrs. W. F.
Gilkeson, Mrs. Mattie
Gilkeson, A. C.
Gilkeson, Mrs. A. C.
Gilkeson, Miss Fannie S.
Gilkeson, Jas. W.
Gilkeson, Mrs. Jas. W.
Gilkeson, Mrs. Helen P.
Goodwin, Miss Winifred
Gilmer, Mrs. Graham
Gilbert, Miss Maude
Grove, Mrs. Frances R.
Grove, Miss Pearl L.
Gulley, G. A.
Hanger, P. G.
Hanger, Mrs. P. G.
Hildebrand, Guy E.
Hall, Mrs. R. A.
Hall, Miss Mamie W.
Hall, Miss Kathleen F.

Hall, Miss Ruth A.
Hall, Kenneth T.
Hamilton, Edward Lee
Hall, Mrs. J. L.
Houff, A. E.
Houff, Mrs. A. E.
Hannan, J. H.
Hamilton, Mrs. Julia
Hamilton, Jas. Cecil
Hamilton, Miss Helen
Hamilton, Miss Aline V.
Hamilton, J. S.
Hildebrand, Mrs. Estelle V.
Houston, Mrs. Edna Coiner
Irvine, John M.
Irvine, Mrs. John M.
Irvine, A. W.
Irvine, Wm. K.
Irvine, Mrs. Wm. K.
Irvine, Wm. McK.
Irvine, John H.
Irvine, Miss Pattie
Irvine, Huggard
Irvine, Miss Hannah McK.
Irvine, Chas. E.
Irvine, Mrs. Chas. E.
Irvine, Wm. Caldwell
Irvine, G. F.
Irvine, Mrs. G. F.
Irvine, Miss Frances L.
Irvine, Harry W.
Irvine, Robt. K.
Johnson, Miss Cynthia Ann
Koiner, L. S. H.
Koiner, Mrs. L. S. H.
Koiner, Miss Mary Dulaney
Koiner, Kent K.
Keesel, Mrs. J. R.
Kemper, J. R.
Kemper, Mrs. J. R.
Kerr, H. H.
Kerr, Mrs. S. H.
Kerr, Miss Elizabeth
Kerr, E. B.
Kerr, Mrs. E. B.
Kite, W. A.
Kite, Mrs. W. A.
Livesay, J. G.
Livesay, Mrs. J. G.

Livesay, Miss Nellie
Livesay, J. B.
Livesay, John K.
Lines, T. M.
Lines, Mrs. T. M.
Landes, D. N.
Lee, Robert E.
Moffett, R. W.
Moffett, Mrs. R. W.
Moffett, W. Stuart
Moffett, Mrs. W. Stuart
Moffett, R. S.
Moffett, Mrs. R. S.
Moffett, Miss Elsie W.
Moffett, Miss Louise
Moffett, Harry H.
Moffett, John G.
Madison, A. J.
Madison, W. A.
Myers, Mrs. Harry
Moore, J. Wm.
Miller, Mrs. Mary Snyder
Miller, Mrs. Sarah Hawes
Morehead, Clyde
Morehead, Mrs. Clyde
Monroe, Lloyd
Monroe, Miss Maude D.
McClure, J. H.
McClure, Mrs. J. H.
McClure, Miss Reba
McCue, Mrs. A. H.
McCune, Mrs. H. M.
McChesney, J. McB.
McChesney, Mrs. J. McB.
McChesney, J. McB., Jr.
McComb, Mrs. Maude E.
McComb, Mrs. S. A.
McCray, Miss Mary
McCutcheon, Mrs. Lydia E.
McCutcheon, Miss Charlotte
Ott, Mrs. J. E.
Ott, Miss E. Lelia
Ott, J. Elmer
Ott, Mrs. J. Elmer
Ott, Edwin L.
Patterson, J. B.
Patterson, Mrs. J. B.
Patterson, Wm. Brown
Patterson, Mrs. Tirzah

Patterson, Wm. Blackwood	Stickley, J. C.
Paul, Mrs. John W.	Stickley, Mrs. J. C.
Paul, C. M.	Thompson, R. F.
Paul, Mrs. C. M.	Thompson, Mrs. R. F.
Paul, Miss Katherine E.	Thompson, R. Finley
Paul, Miss Virginia W.	Timberlake, Mrs. D. W.
Paul, Miss Margaret	Todd, Mrs. John
Pollack, Mrs. Kate	Tisdale, Mrs. Susan J.
Reed, Miss Lena	Thompson, Allen D.
Rawlings, Mrs. J. S.	Timberlake, Mrs. Evelyn
Reed, Lucy Alice (colored)	Timberlake, D. W.
Scott, John	Tankesley, Miss Nellie C.
Scott, Mrs. John	Tankesley, Miss Grace Alma
Shipley, Mrs. M. P.	Varner, Mrs. Sarah E.
Stone, Mrs. Henry	Venable, Lena (colored)
Stone, T. L.	Wenger, C. A.
Stone, Mrs. T. L.	Wenger, Mrs. C. A.
Snead, Miss Lelia K.	Wenger, Ralph A.
Shaver, Gaylor G.	Wenger, Miss Mary E.
Shaver, Mrs. Gaylor G.	Weaver, Mrs. Mary
Shaver, Wm. G.	Weaver, Miss Edna
Shaver, Mrs. L. E.	Watson, Elizabeth (colored)
Sayer, R. R.	Young, Mrs. J. B.
Sayer, Mrs. R. R.	Young, R. H.
Sterrett, Thornton W.	Young, Miss Anna D.
Shields, W. W.	Young, Lacy I.
Shields, Mrs. W. W.	Young, Earl S.
Serrett, A. J.	Young, Miss Alma D.
Snyder, Mrs. Susan R.	Young, Landon C.
Strickler, Almer V.	Young, Mrs. Landon C.
Shiflett, J. A.	Zimmerman, Miss Susan C.
Shiflett, Mrs. J. A.	

IX. HERMITAGE MEMBERSHIP IN 1953

Baker, Charles H.	Claytor, Helen Delores
Baker, Mrs. Charles H.	Clements, Calvin Lee
Borden, Benjamin Eli	Clements, Harry Lee
Borden, Mrs. B. E.	Clements, Mrs. H. L.
Borden, Carl L.	Clements, Ronald Eugene
Borden, Miriam L.	Coiner, Carl
Borden, Mrs. T. L.	Coiner, Fay F.
Borden, Thurston L., Jr.	Coiner, Mrs. Fay F.
Brooks, Mrs. George	Coiner, James W.
Brower, Edward S.	Coiner, Marshall F.
Brower, Floyd P.	Corbin, A. C.
Brower, William F.	Corbin, Mrs. A. C.
Brower, Mrs. W. F.	Corbin, Doris Evelyn
Claytor, Mrs. Raymond	Corbin, James Archer

Corbin, Mrs. Noah H.
Corbin, Raymond R.
Corbin, Roy Lee
Corbin, Mrs. Roy L.
Corbin, Roy Lee, Jr.
Craun, Mrs. Jean Whitmore
Dickerson, Mrs. Rebecca C.
Dodd, Egbert Elmer
Doyle, Lillie Madeline
Doyle, Mildred Inez
Drumheller, Carl Franklin
Drumheller, Carl L.
Drumheller, Mrs. Carl L.
Drumheller, Glenn Edwin
Drumheller, Harold Kerr
Drumheller, J. Ernest
Drumheller, Mildred Russell
Drumheller, Ray Carthon
Drumheller, Russell Henry
Drumheller, Mrs. Russell H.
Drumheller, Virgie
Drumheller, Warren Hamilton
Eubank, Mrs. Edna Pearl
Eubank, Fondalee C.
Eutsler, Garland T.
Eutsler, George T.
Eutsler, Mrs. George T.
Eutsler, Kenneth D.
Eye, Mrs. Marcella E.
Fairchild, Mrs. J. V.
Gentry, Mrs. Howard
Gleason, Mary Judith
Gleason, Robert H.
Gleason, Mrs. Robert H.
Gochenour, Everet
Gochenour, Mrs. Everet
Homan, Charles E.
Homan, E. Vance
Homan, Paul
Homan, William A.
Homan, Mrs. William A.
Hull, Martha Lelia
James, Mrs. Alfred
Kerr, Edith
Kerr, Mrs. Elvin W.
Kerr, Emmitt Holmes
Kerr, Hester
Key, Franklin Calvin
Key, Mrs. Franklin C.

Key, John Thomas
Key, Mrs. John T.
Key, Joyce Marie
Key, Tucker C.
Key, Mrs. Tucker C.
Lawhorn, Mrs. William
Layne, Homer Lee, Jr.
Lilly, Mrs. Ashby
Mahler, Emil Alfred
Mahler, Mrs. Emil A.
Meeks, Mack Richardson
Merritt, Ira
Miller, Mrs. Fred W.
Miller, June Yvonne
Miller, Patricia Gay
Moran, Mrs. Thomas K.
Morris, Margaret E.
Painter, Mrs. Raymond
Pleasants, Ernest F.
Pleasants, Fred
Pleasants, Mrs. Fred
Pleasants, Harper B.
Pleasants, Harry P.
Pleasants, Mrs. Harry P.
Pleasants, Hubert Lee
Pleasants, Mrs. Hubert L.
Pleasants, Lertie G.
Pleasants, Malinda Ann
Pleasants, Pete B.
Shickle, Robert Finley
Shiflet, Warren M.
Shiflet, Mrs. Warren M.
Shiflet, William Reeves
Shull, Mrs. Raymond
Simmons, John Robert
Simmons, Mrs. John R.
Simmons, Mary Alice
Sipe, Mrs. Albert L.
Snyder, Mrs. H. A.
Sutton, Mrs. Ethel Borden
Swortzel, Howard E.
Swortzel, Mrs. Howard E.
Wade, Hugh L.
Wade, Mrs. Hugh L.
Wade, Hugh L., Jr.
Wampler, David Wayland
Wampler, Gladys Elizabeth
Wampler, John Earl
Wampler, Mrs. John E.

Wampler, John Earl, Jr.
 Wampler, Richard Clarence
 Whitmore, Andrew B.
 Whitmore, Mrs. Andrew B.
 Whitmore, Virginia Anne

Whitmore, Winford M.
 Wine, Ruby
 Wood, Elizabeth Ann
 Wood, Mrs. J. E.

The officers of two of the organizations not in pictures, are as follows:

SUNDAY SCHOOL

Superintendent
 Assistant Superintendent
 Secretary-Treasurer
 Beginners
 Primary
 Junior
 Intermediate
 Senior
 Young People
 Young Adult
 Bible Class

John E. Wampler
 Fay F. Coiner
 Edward S. Brower
 Mrs. Thomas K. Moran
 Hester H. Kerr
 Edith K. Kerr
 Mrs. Fay F. Coiner
 Mrs. Robert H. Gleason
 Mrs. John E. Wampler
 Mrs. Russell H. Drumheller
 Mrs. Warren M. Shiftlet

MEN OF THE CHURCH

President, Benjamin E. Borden; Vice Pres., Richard C. Wampler;
 Secretary-Treasurer, Carl L. Borden

X. TINKLING SPRING MEMBERSHIP IN 1953

Alexander, Mrs. Charles H.
 Ashby, Evelyn Marie
 Baker, Mrs. D. G.
 Barker, Earl W.
 Barker, Mrs. Earl W.
 Barker, Henry W.
 Barker, Paul E.
 Barrell, Stuart H.
 Barrell, Mrs. Stuart H.
 Baylor, J. W. B.
 Baylor, Mrs. J. W. B.
 Black, Lena
 Blackwell, Charles
 Booker, Mrs. A. B.
 Booker, A. Brooks
 Booker, Mrs. A. Brooks
 Boxley, Mrs. Taylor M., Sr.
 Boxley, Taylor M., Jr.
 Braden, Mrs. Arthur L.
 Brown, Charles M.
 Brown, Mrs. David S.
 Brown, Dorothy I.

Brown, F. Paul
 Brown, Mrs. F. Paul
 Brown, Mrs. Floyd E.
 Brown, Hubert L.
 Brown, Joyce M.
 Brown, Theodore E.
 Brown, Thomas M.
 Brown, Vera B.
 Brownlee, Edith Glenn
 Brubeck, Carl E.
 Brubeck, Mrs. Carl E.
 Bruebeck, Ronald E.
 Burns, William H.
 Cale, Harry W.
 Cale, Mrs. Harry W.
 Cale, Sara Scott
 Caldwell, Ben E.
 Caldwell, Charles M.
 Caldwell, William F.
 Caldwell, Mrs. William F.
 Caldwell, William F., Jr.
 Caldwell, Mrs. William F., Jr.

Carroll, B. Moses
Carroll, Mrs. B. Moses
Carroll, William B.
Carroll, Mrs. William B.
Carter, Helen M.
Carter, Herbert M.
Carter, Mrs. Herbert M.
Carter, Willard T.
Chrisman, W. George
Chrisman, Mrs. W. George
Churchman, Mrs. Charles J., Sr.
Churchman, Charles J.
Churchman, Mrs. J. William
Cline, Cyrus H.
Cline, Mrs. Cyrus H.
Cline, M. Frances
Cline, Kermit R.
Coiner, Elmer W.
Coiner, Mrs. Elmer W.
Coiner, Frances
Coiner, Mrs. Everett E.
Coiner, John H.
Coiner, Peggy Ann
Coiner, Ray W.
Coiner, Mrs. Ray W.
Coiner, Richard R.
Coiner, Shirley L.
Conner, Mrs. Arnold
Corbin, Betty Lou
Corbin, Jo Ann
Coursey, Charles F.
Coursey, Mrs. Charles F.
Coursey, L. Charlene
Courson, Mrs. Arch B.
Coyner, Mrs. D. Joseph
Craig, Mrs. John A.
Cryer, Mrs. William H.
Curd, M. Frances
Curd, James A.
Curd, Mrs. James A.
Curd, James A., Jr.
Curd, Mrs. James A., Jr.
Curd, Joseph B.
Curd, William B.
Danner, Mary Artis
Danner, Mrs. Walter N.
Davis, Lewis C.
Davis, Mrs. William A.
Decamilis, John

Decamilis, Mrs. John
Dickerson, James M.
Diehl, B. Eugene
Diehl, L. Amos
Diehl, Mrs. L. Amos
Diehl, Silas H.
Diehl, Mrs. Silas H.
Dudley, Mrs. R. N., Sr.
Dudley, Richard N.
Dull, Mrs. Richard L.
Elliott, Barbara
Elliott, Thomas R.
Elliott, Mrs. Thomas R.
Ettisen, Peter
Ettisen, Mrs. Peter
Fitzgerald, Mrs. Arthur C.
Fitzgerald, Bonnie F.
Fitzgerald, Mrs. C. F.
Fitzgerald, Connie M.
Fitzgerald, R. Frank
Fitzgerald, Mrs. R. Frank
Fitzgerald, Ray Burton
Fitzgerald, Shirley Ann
Floyd, Barbara
Floyd, Mrs. Charlie M.
Floyd, Russel H.
Fox, Mrs. J. P.
Garland, Mrs. William C.
Gayhart, Mrs. Tracy S.
Gilkeson, A. C.
Gilkeson, Mrs. A. C.
Gilkeson, G. Maslin
Gilkeson, Mrs. G. Maslin
Gilkeson, G. M., Jr.
Gilkeson, James W.
Gilkeson, Mrs. James W.
Gilkeson, James W. Jr.
Glendye, Mrs. John W.
Glenn, C. Lee
Glenn, Mrs. C. Lee
Glenn, Walter L.
Goodwin, Winifred
Gochenour, David T.
Grabe, Jeanne
Griffin, Albert L.
Griffin, Ralph E.
Griffin, Mrs. Ralph E.
Griffin, William O.
Grove, Emory K.

- Grove, Pearl L.
Guthrie, Edgar P.
Guynn, N. Carroll
Guynn, Mrs. N. Carroll
Hailey, J. Thurman
Hailey, Mrs. J. Thurman
Hailey, Shirley Anne
Hall, Glenwood
Hall, Kenneth T.
Hamilton, Mrs. J. S.
Hamilton, James C.
Hamilton, John C.
Hanger, Gilmer K.
Hanger, Glenn C.
Hanger, Harry H.
Hanger, Mrs. Harry H.
Hanger, Joseph A.
Hanger, M. Leona
Hanger, Percy G.
Hanger, Mrs. Percy G.
Hanger, Raymond E.
Hanger, Mrs. Raymond E.
Hanger, Raymond E., Jr.
Harris, Mrs. Conrad B.
Harris, Ida Sue
Harris, James H.
Harris, J. Hampton
Harris, Mrs. J. Hampton
Harris, Jesse L.
Harris, Mrs. Jesse L.
Harris, Joseph M.
Harris, Samuel R.
Hayes, W. M., Jr.
Hayes, Mrs. W. M., Jr.
Henderson, Mrs. Charles P.
Hevener, Betty Ann
Hevener, Harry D.
Hevener, Mrs. Harry D.
Hevener, H. Henderson
Hevener, Mrs. H. Henderson
Hevener, William R.
Hildebrand, Mrs. D. A.
Holt, W. Dean
Houff, Arthur E.
Houff, A. Gordon
Houff, Mrs. A. Gordon
Houff, Raymond L.
Houff, Mrs. Raymond L.
Howell, Mrs. M. C.
Hudlow, Luther W.
Hudlow, Mrs. Luther W.
Hudlow, William R.
Hughes, Frances M.
Hull, Homer H.
Hull, Mrs. Homer H.
Irvine, A. Wayt
Irvine, Mrs. Charles E., Sr.
Irvine, Charles E.
Irvine, Clement M.
Irvine, Mrs. Clement M.
Irvine, Robert K.
Irvine, Mrs. Robert K.
Irvine, William C.
Irvine, Mrs. William C.
Irvine, W. Mack
Jones, Charlotte
Jones, Frances
Jones, James H.
Jones, Margaret A.
Jones, Omer P.
Jones, Mrs. Omer P.
Jones, Peggy L.
Jones, Roy H.
Jones, Mrs. Roy H.
Kelsey, William M., Jr.
Koiner, Kenton K.
Killian, Jennings
Killian, Mrs. Jennings
Layman, Mrs. Leslie F.
Leslie, Mrs. Herman
Livesay, Cornelia E.
Livesay, John K.
Livesay, Mrs. John K.
Livesay, Martha J.
Livesay, Nellie C.
Lockridge, Bobby K.
Lockridge, Mrs. Bobby K.
Lockridge, G. William
Lockridge, Howard L.
Lockridge, Mrs. Howard L.
Lockridge, Nancy J.
Loving, John S.
Loving, Mrs. J. S.
Lucas, Cecil
Lucas, Thelma
Lucas, W. E.
Lucas, Mrs. W. E.
Lucas, W. E., Jr.

- Lucas, Mrs. W. E., Jr.
McChesney, David H.
McChesney, Mrs. David H.
McChesney, Florence E.
McChesney, John McB.
McChesney, Mrs. John McB.
McChesney, John M., Jr.
McChesney, Mrs. John M., Jr.
McChesney, LaMonte B.
McChesney, Mary Evelyn
McChesney, Robert A.
McChesney, Mrs. W. B.
McChesney, Zack A.
McClintic, Robert S.
McClintic, Mrs. Robert S.
McClintic, Tobias
McCormick, Ellen M.
McCormick, Mary Sue
McCormick, Mrs. R. M.
McCormick, R. Virginia
McCrary, Jack A.
McCrary, Mrs. Jack A.
McCune, Mrs. Josephine
McCune, H. M.
McCutchen, Charlotte
McGeary, Paul W.
McGeary, Mrs. Paul W.
McQuain, L. F.
McQuain, Mrs. L. F.
McQuain, Richard L.
McQuain, Mrs. Richard L.
Mackey, Mrs. Cary S.
Mantiplay, E. M.
Mantiplay, Mrs. E. M.
Mantiplay, Nancy Lee
Mathias, Mrs. Ted
Moffett, Florence G.
Moffett, Frances C.
Moffett, Harry H.
Moffett, Mrs. Harry H.
Moffett, Henry H.
Moffett, John G.
Moffett, Mrs. John G.
Moffett, Louise
Moffett, Rev. Lyle M. (Honorary)
Moffett, Mrs. L. M.
Moffett, Nancy L.
Moffett, Phyllis M.
Moffett, R. W.
Moffett, Mrs. R. W.
Moffett, R. Strickler
Moffett, W. Stuart
Moffett, Mrs. W. Stuart
Moffett, W. S., Jr.
Morehead, Clyde, Jr.
Morehead, Nancy Wysor
Morris, Mrs. John H., Jr.
Moxie, John
Moxie, Mrs. John
Nichols, Baylor E.
Nichols, Mrs. Baylor E.
Norman, Cecil
Norman, Mrs. Cecil
Norman, Roger
Null, Betty R.
Null, Helen L.
Null, William E.
Null, Mrs. William E.
Ott, Edwin L.
Ott, Mrs. Edwin L.
Ott, James Martin
Painter, David R.
Painter, Herman C.
Painter, Hester R.
Painter, Perry E.
Painter, Mrs. Perry E.
Palmer, Molly
Patterson, Rev. B. Craig (Honorary)
Patterson, Mrs. B. Craig
Patterson, John B.
Patterson, Mrs. John B.
Patterson, Sandra Shelton
Patterson, William B.
Paynter, Mrs. W. H.
Pennell, Lillian
Phillippe, Paul R.
Phillippe, Mrs. Paul R.
Philpott, Patricia M.
Pleasants, Mrs. Philip L.
Pullin, William H.
Pundt, Mrs. William
Quick, L. E.
Quick, Mrs. L. E.
Ramsey, John D.
Ramsey, M. Jane
Ramsey, Thomas O.
Ramsey, Mrs. Thomas O.
Ramsey, Thomas O., Jr.

Reed, Mrs. Lottie C.
Reynolds, Mrs. Doris H.
Reynolds, Allen H.
Rice, P. Conway
Rice, Mattie F.
Robertson, Harry
Robertson, Marion
Robertson, Walter L.
Ruckman, Evangeline
Saunders, Paul M.
Saunders, Mrs. R. L.
Sayre, R. R.
Sayre, Mrs. R. R.
Sayre, R. R., Jr.
Sayre, Mrs. R. R., Jr.
Schade, John M.
Schade, Mrs. John M.
Shaver, Betty D.
Shaver, G. G.
Shaver, Mrs. G. G.
Shaver, Howard D.
Shaver, Mrs. Howard D.
Shaver, Paul E.
Shaver, Mrs. Paul E.
Shaver, R. Eugene
Shaver, Rudolph L.
Shaver, Mrs. R. L.
Shaver, William G.
Shaver, Mrs. William G.
Shaver, William G., Jr.
Shiflett, Donald G.
Shiflett, John A.
Shiflett, Mrs. John A.
Shorts, Eleanor
Showers, Luther B.
Simmons, Allen B.
Simmons, Elwood L.
Simmons, Ira M.
Simmons, John E.
Simmons, Kenneth M.
Simmons, Mrs. Kenneth M.
Simmons, Paul
Simpkins, Mrs. C. F.
Sinclair, Charles A.
Sinclair, William T.
Sinclair, Mrs. William T.
Skillman, Mrs. Allen L.
Smith, Charles C.
Smith, Mrs. Charles C.

Smith, Mrs. Howard E.
Spracher, Mrs. James T.
Stewart, S. Gordon
Stewart, Mrs. S. Gordon
Stone, Henry A.
Stone, Mrs. Henry A.
Swats, T. Marvin
Teter, Mrs. D. A.
Teter, Mary Alice
Teter, William D.
Todd, John W., III
Todd, Houston I.
Todd, Mrs. Houston I.
Thompson, Allen D.
Thompson, Mrs. Allen D.
Thompson, Mrs. G. R.
Toman, Douglas R.
Toman, Mrs. Douglas R.
Toman, J. Elmer
Toman, Mrs. J. Elmer
Toman, R. W.
Toman, Mrs. R. W.
Tomlin, Mrs. Gordon
Tyree, Lawrence
Tyree, Lewis
Tyree, Mrs. Lewis
Tyree, Lewis, Jr.
Varner, Kenneth L.
Varner, Mrs. William H.
Venable, Lena
Wade, Billy H.
Wade, Mrs. Billy H.
Wade, Billy H., Jr.
Warren, Betty J.
Warren, Bobbie L.
Warren, Hunter A.
Warren, Paul W.
Warren, W. Edward
Warren, William W.
Warren, Mrs. William W.
Weaver, A. P.
Weaver, Mrs. A. P.
Weaver, H. Edward
Weaver, Mrs. H. Edward
Weaver, Homer
Weaver, Mrs. Homer
Wenger, Mrs. Charles A.
West, Mrs. John W., III
Williams, Virginia A.

Willis, Mrs. Conrad L.
 Wilson, D. Mary
 Wilson, Mrs. Howard McK., Sr.
 Wilson, Howard McK., Jr.
 Wilson, Virginia A.
 Wilson, William P.
 Worth, Mrs. William C.
 Wright, Nancy D.
 Wright, Robert L.
 Yancey, Preston L.

Yancey, Mrs. Preston L.
 Young, Annie D.
 Young, Earl S.
 Young, Mrs. Earl S.
 Young, Lacy I.
 Zirk, S. E.
 Zirk, Mrs. S. E.
 Zirk, S. E., Jr.
 Zimbrow, Deloris Virginia
 Zimbrow, Xcelia Yoelia

The officers of four of the organizations, not in pictures, are as follows:

SUNDAY SCHOOL

Superintendent
 Assistant Superintendent
 Secretary and Treasurer
 Cradle Roll
 Nursery
 Kindergarten
 Primary
 Junior
 Intermediate
 Senior Girls
 Senior Boys
 Young Adult Singles
 Young Adult Couples
 Men's Class
 Women's Class

S. G. Stewart
 T. O. Ramsey
 C. E. Brubeck
 Mrs. J. A. Curd
 Mrs. C. F. Simpkins
 Mary Artis Danner
 Mrs. R. K. Irvine
 Mary E. McChesney
 Mrs. H. D. Hevener
 Virginia Wilson, President
 Roger Norman, President
 G. W. Lockridge, President
 B. K. Lockridge, President
 R. L. Shaver, President
 Mrs. S. E. Zirk, President

MEN OF THE CHURCH

President, J. T. Hailey; Secretary, R. R. Sayre, Jr.; Vice Pres., S. H. Barrell;
 Treasurer, E. M. Mantiply.

YOUNG ADULTS

President, W. F. Caldwell, Jr.; Secretary, Mrs. R. W. Moffett;
 Vice Pres., W. E. Null; Treasurer, Patricia Philpott.

BULLETIN

Editor, Patricia Philpott; Ass't Editor, W. F. Caldwell, Jr.

APPENDIX E. OLD CEMETERY GRAVESTONES

"... here is the resting place of the ashes of the ancestors of many of the families in Virginia and Kentucky." Foote

This graveyard was begun early in the settlement of this section of the Valley of Virginia, presumably about 1740. Many of the oldest graves have no markers. The essential facts from each marker are given below with names in alphabetical order.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Andrew A. Alexander | John Willis Antrim |
| died 8 Aug. 1842, aged | died 15 Oct. 1850 |
| 32 yrs., 9 mos., and 5 days | age 1 yr., 1 mo. and 12 days |
| Archibald S. Alexander | child of G. T. and M. J. Antrim |
| died 20 Sep. 1848 | Mary I. Antrim |
| aged 28 yrs. | died 6 Aug. 1853 |
| Archy Alexander | age 24 yrs., 1 mo. and 20 days |
| died 9 Jan. 1851 | wife of George T. Antrim |
| aged 9 mos. | Robert P. Antrim |
| child of J. and S. Alexander | born 25 Sep. 1859 |
| Gabriel Alexander | died 16 Aug. 1860 |
| [died 1779] | child of G. T. and C. J. Antrim |
| James Alexander | Henry Davis Arnall |
| died 1 June 1852 | age 7 mos. and 15 days |
| aged 29 yrs. and 4 mos. | child of John T. and M. E. Arnall |
| James Clayton Alexander | Alexr. H. H. Stuart Baskin |
| died 5 Aug. 1852 | born 12 Nov. 1848 |
| aged 7 mos. | died 12 Mar. 1901 |
| child of J. and S. Alexander | age 52 yrs. and 4 mos. |
| John Alexander | Bettie Francis Baskin |
| born 10 Oct. 1795 | born 1 Dec. 1843 |
| died 1 Apr. 1874 | died 1 Jan. 1929 |
| John Alexander | age 85 yrs. and 1 mo. |
| died 2 Apr. 1833 | Charles Baskin |
| age 49 yrs. and 4 days | died 10 Aug. 1822 |
| John S. Alexander | Charles N. Baskin |
| died 16 May 1852 | born 24 Apr. 1845 |
| age 9 yrs. | died 7 Nov. 1896 |
| child of J. and S. Alexander | John C. Baskin |
| Martha Alexander | died 28 Dec. 1833 |
| died 20 Aug. 1836 | age 60 yrs. |
| age 80 yrs. and 20 days | Mary Baskin |
| Nancy Alexander | died 13 Dec. 1816 |
| died 2 Sep. 1847 | age 70 yrs. |
| age 61 yrs. | [dau. of Rev. John Craig] |
| wife of John Alexander | Rebecca Mae Baskin |
| Susan S. Alexander | died 23 May 1924 |
| died 4 July 1892 | age 42 yrs. |
| age 80 yrs., 2 mos. and 28 days | dau. of C. N. and B. F. Baskin |

Rebecca P. Bell Baskin
born 16 Dec. 1809
married 17 Sep. 1829
died 3 July 1839
wife of Thos. S. Baskin

Hannah Bazel
died 29 Oct. 1861
age 62 yrs.
wife of John Bazel

John Bazel
died 19 Jan. 1862
age 56 yrs.

James Bell
born 28 Oct. 1844
died 29 Mar. 1889
son of D. S. and Nancy C. Bell

Jane Crawford Bell
born 26 May 1846
died 26 Jan. 1883
dau. of D. S. and Nancy C. Bell

Nancy C. Bell
born 16 June 1822
died 26 Apr. 1857
wife of David S. Bell

James Black
born 13 July 1773
died 27 July 1828

Jane B. Black
died 5 July 1845
age 67 yrs., 1 mo. and 9 days

John S. Black
died 18 June 1847
age 42 yrs., 9 mos. and 9 days

Samuel Black
died 10 July 1857
age 55 yrs. and 5 mos.

Virginia A. Black
died 11 June 1875
age 68 yrs., 11 mos. and 1 day
wife of Samuel Black

Thomas Rankin Blair
died 3 Dec. 1846
age 41 yrs.

Elizabeth B. Branaman
died 29 Dec. 1835
age 19 yrs.

Amelia H. Brooks
died 17 July 1847
age 9 mos.

Andrew Brooks
born 1 Mar. 1837
died 7 May 1863
age 26 yrs., 2 mos. and 7 days
son of J. M. and E. T. Brooks

Archibald S. Brooks
died 29 Aug. 1834
age 2 yrs.

Eleanor Tate Brooks
born 13 Sep. 1806
died 29 Oct. 1880
wife of James M. Brooks

Emmett Brooks
died 12 Apr. 1867
age 26 yrs.

James M. Brooks
died 1 Oct. 1863
age 59 yrs., 9 mos. and 20 days

James S. Brooks
died 14 Jan. 1835
age 11 days

Jane A. Brooks
died 8 Oct. 1848
age 5 yrs.

John Brooks
died 11 July 1845
age 10 yrs.

John Brooks
born 2 Sep. 1791
died 15 Oct. 1863

Mary L. Brooks
born 24 Mar. 1841
died 17 May 1895
wife of Emmett Brooks

Mary S. Brooks
died 20 June 1832
age 17 mos.

Moffett Brooks
born 24 July 1843
died 29 June 1862
age 18 yrs., 11 mos. and 25 days
son of J. M. and E. T. Brooks

Sarah F. Brooks
died 7 Feb. 1838
age 17 mos.

Susan H. Brooks
born 17 Feb. 1807
died 11 Dec. 1863

William Brooks
died 16 July 1861
age 23 yrs.
son of J. M. and E. T. Brooks

John Brown
died 30 May 1869
age 62 yrs.

John L. Brown
died 12 July 1839
age 1 yr., 5 mos. and 3 days

Johnson F. Brown
died 24 Aug. 1852
age 6 mos.

Mary Ann Brown
died 16 Aug. 1868
age 49 yrs., 5 mos. and 7 days
wife of Samuel B. Brown

Mary F. Brown
died 22 Apr. 1847
age 13 mos.

Mary H. Brown
died 1838
age 29 yrs.

Thomas S. Brown
died 23 Feb. 1851
age 10 mos.

Samuel B. Brown
died 8 Mar. 1881
age 69 yrs., 1 mo. and 18 days

Fannie Ella Bush
died 22 Oct. 1859
age 2 yrs., and 6 mos.
child of W. M. and F. E. Bush

Sarah Bush
died 9 June 1816
age 36 yrs.

Mary Ella Byers
died 8 May 1859
age 7 mos.
child of C. S. and C. R. Byers

Meredith A. Byers
died 28 Feb. 1860
age 2 yrs. and 11 mos.
child of C. S. and C. R. Byers

Sarah Calbreath
died 10 Mar. 1875
age 40 yrs. and 4 mos.
wife of Z. F. Calbreath

Thomas Calbreath
died 7 Mar. 1878
age 66 yrs., 5 mos and 16 days

Elizabeth S. Caldwell
born 24 Feb. 1817
died 28 Apr. 1875

Ellenor Caldwell
died 29 July 1858
wife of John Caldwell

John Caldwell
died 29 Oct. 1823
age 54 yrs.

John Ellis Caldwell
died 3 Aug. 1855
age 1 yr. and 6 mos.
child of W. and S. A. Caldwell

Margaret Susan Caldwell
died Aug. 1852
age 1 yr., 3 mos. and 13 days
child of W. and S. A. Caldwell

Mary Virginia Caldwell
died 31 July 1855
age 7 yrs., 9 mos. and 22 days
child of W. and S. A. Caldwell

Susan A. Caldwell
born 2 July 1817
died 17 Dec. 1885

William Caldwell
born 10 Dec. 1810
died 21 July 1874

Fannie J. Carter
born 17 Feb. 1847
died 28 June 1879
wife of H. C. Carter

William B. Coalter
died 2 July 1861
age 73 yrs.

Jane Annis Cochran
born 6 Oct. 1818
died 22 June 1863

Celestine Coiner
born 20 Dec. 1813
died 30 Sep. 1849
wife of David D. Coiner

Joseph S. Coiner
died 12 May 1864
age 29 yrs.

- Mary Susan Coiner
died 25 June 1856
age 12 yrs., 3 mos. and 9 days
child of S. D. and S. Coiner
- S. D. Coiner
died 3 Apr. 1867
age 62 yrs.
- Susannah Miller Coiner
born 14 Aug. 1812
died 21 Apr. 1895
wife of Col. S. D. Coiner
- Eliza A. Colman
born 9 Feb. 1840
died 2 Feb. 1898
wife of Samuel E. Colman
- Elizabeth E. Coursey
died 24 Sep. 1854
age 36 yrs.
wife of J. W. H. Coursey
- Hugh Brown Craig
died 3 June 1864
age 26 yrs., 6 mos. and 28 days
- William Moffett Craig
born 4 Nov. 1834
died 10 Aug. 1836
child of Geo. E. and Matilda G. Craig
- Abraham Croft
died 13 Dec. 1863
age 36 yrs., 8 mos. and 13 days
- James A. Croft
born 19 Dec. 1858
died 8 July 1883
- Willie H. Croft
died 24 Aug. 1858
age 2 yrs., 11 mos. and 9 days
child of A. and M. A. Croft
- [Name illegible] Davis
died 12 Jan. 1806
age 75 yrs.
- Abraham Wayland Davis
born 13 Feb. 1828
died 21 June 1828
child of Walter and R. Davis
- Annis Davis
died 24 Apr. 1837
age 73 yrs.
wife of William Davis
- Columbus Green Davis
born 26 Apr. 1832
died 3 Jan. 1862
son of Walter and R. Davis
- Elizabeth Parks Davis
born 1 Sep. 1820
died 20 July 1854
dau. W. and R. Davis
- Martha A. E. Davis
born 23 Oct. 1822
died 13 Feb. 1899
- Rebecca Davis
born 5 Dec. 1796
died 1 Sep. 1867
wife of Walter Davis, Esq.
- Walter Davis
died 20 Mar. 1803
age 70 yrs.
- Walter Davis
died 4 Aug. 1869
age 77 yrs. and 6 mos.
- William Davis
died 3 Feb. 1852
age 86 yrs., 1 mo. and 24 days
- William Reeves Davis
born 30 Apr. 1825
died 23 Aug. 1860
son of Walter and R. Davis
- Capt. Jas. A. Dold
died 30 May 1864
age 27 yrs.
- Sarah Dold
born 14 Feb. 1753
died 29 Feb. 1848
wife of William Dold
- William Dold
died 3 July 1856
age 85 yrs.
- Amanda E. Dorman
died 29 Sep. 1829
age 28 yrs., 8 mos. and 17 days
wife of Charles P. Dorman
dau. of Maj. M. and S. McCue
- Sallie Hall Douglass
born 13 Nov. 1826
died 6 Apr. 1860
dau. of J. A. and E. Douglass

- Sarah Eldridge
died 11 July 1868
age 85 yrs.
- L. F. [initials on footstone]
R. F. [initials on footstone]
- Sarah Finley
died 17 Apr. 1851
age 78 yrs.
- William Finley
died 28 Nov. 1836
age 56 yrs.
- William W. Finley
died 13 Feb. 1862
age 19 yrs., 10 mos. and 18 days
son of F. M. and E. Finley
- Ietta Freeman
died 17 May 1870
age 78 yrs.
wife of R. Freeman
- Richard Freeman
died 6 Feb. 1870
age 78 yrs., 8 mos. and 24 days
- Charles C. Gentry
died 24 Apr. 1849
age 9 yrs., 2 mos. and 2 days
child of David and Jane Gentry
- Jane Gentry
died 26 Oct. 1850
age 54 yrs.
wife of David Gentry
- Jane A. Gentry
died 13 Sep. 1850
age 18 yrs. and 6 days
- Elizabeth Ray Gibson
born 21 Apr. 1804
died 29 May 1864
wife of Overton Gibson
- Agnes Gilesby
died 28 Sep. 1829
age 62 yrs.
- David Gilkeson
died 11 Sep. 1851
age 74 yrs., 6 mos. and 20 days
- David Gilkeson
died 7 Dec. 1866
age 84 yrs.
Tinkling Spring Elder 51 yrs.
- D. V. G[ilkeson]
died 25 June 1871
age 2 mos. and 14 days
- David V. Gilkeson
died 23 Mar. 1871
age 44 yrs., 11 mos. and 8 days
- Elizabeth Gilkeson
died 13 Jan. 1856
age 78 yrs.
wife of David Gilkeson
- John Gilkeson
died 7 May 1841
age 25 yrs. and 2 mos.
son of Wm. and Sarah Gilkeson
- Margaret T. Gilkeson
died 25 Nov. 1881
wife of R. G. Gilkeson
- Polly Humphreys Gilkeson
born 8 July 1790
died 21 Dec. 1860
- R. G. Gilkeson
died 12 Mar. 1884
age 73 yrs.
- Samuel H. Gilkeson
born 20 Oct. 1826
died 30 May 1857
- Sarah Gilkeson
died 29 Aug. 1858
age 73 yrs.
wife of Wm. Gilkeson
- Sarah Leann Gilkeson
died 18 June 1853
age 15 mos.
child of H. W. and L. R. Gilkeson
- William Gilkeson
died 23 Dec. 1864
age 79 yrs., 10 mos. and 2 days
- Ann Guthrie
died 27 Apr. 1832
age 60 yrs.
wife of John Guthrie
- D. Guthrie
born 1801
died 9 June 1877
bro. to Mrs. E. Harrison
- John Guthrie
died 27 Jan. 1845
age 83 yrs.

- Margaret Guthrie
died 27 Dec. 1815
age 43 yrs.
wife of John Guthrie
- Margaret Guthrie
died 2 Apr. 1824
age 22 yrs. and 22 days
wife of Wm. Guthrie
- Isabella H. Hamilton
died 5 Nov. 1855
age 83 yrs., 8 mos. and 11 days
wife of James Hamilton
- James Hamilton
died 14 July 1837
age 68 yrs.
- Nancy Hamilton
died 7 Apr. 1851
age 36 yrs.
wife of William Hamilton
- Patience Hamilton
died 22 Feb. 1822
age 70 yrs.
[wife of William Hamilton]
[dau. of Rev. John Craig]
- Kate E. Hanger
born 28 March 1869
died 20 July 1869
- Sallie M. Hanger
born 3 Feb. 1839
married 25 Nov. 1858
died 2 June 1869
wife of Dr. David W. Hanger
dau. of Col. F. and N. A. McCue
- Mrs. E. Harison
born 30 Oct. 1798
died 11 Nov. 1879
sister to D. Guthrie
- Joseph Harper
died 5 Sep. 1863
age 64 yrs.
- Mary R. Harper
died 1 Mar. 1875
age 68 yrs.
- Julia Ann Harris
died 7 July 1852
age 31 yrs., 6 mos. and 2 days
wife of T. T. Harris
- Mary G. Henkel
died 3 Sep. 1865
age 50 yrs., 3 mos. and 10 days
- Mary Hook
born 15 Mar. 1759
died 15 Dec. 1852
- Amanda Jane Hunter
died 19 May 1866
age 37 yrs.
wife of Wm. L. Hunter
dau. of Thos. Wilson
- Catherine M. Hunter
born 26 Feb. 1828
died 27 Apr. 1850
wife of Wm. Hunter
- Elizabeth L. Hunter
born 22 June 1817
died 9 July 1900
- John N. Hunter
born 11 Dec. 1811
died 28 Jan. 1882
- S. McD. Hunter
died 15 Apr. 1876
age 25 yrs., 3 mos. and 23 days
- Samuel Hunter
born 17 June 1777
died 9 Oct. 1849
age 72 yrs., 3 mos. and 23 days
- Sarah L. Hunter
died 28 Mar. 1847
age 70 yrs.
wife of Samuel Hunter
- Eliza Imboden
born 31 Aug. 1824
married 26 June 1845
died 23 Dec. 1857
wife of John D. Imboden
dau. of Colonel Franklin McCue
- George Wm. Imboden
died 3 Dec. 1862
age 5 yrs., 8 mos. and 15 days
child of J. D. and E. Imboden
- Isabella Imboden
born 6 Dec. 1849
died 27 July 1852
child of J. D. and E. Imboden

- Cynthia Johnson
born 19 Dec. 1799
died 15 Aug. 1887
age 87 yrs., 7 mos. and 26 days
wife of Thomas Johnson
- Thomas Johnson
died 19 Dec. 1865
age 75 yrs., 4 mos. and 25 days
- Mary Kinney
died 3 Jan. 1806
age about 78 yrs.
- George Koiner
died 10 Oct. 1863
age 2 yrs., 5 mos. and 18 days
child of H. H. and M. A. Koiner
- P. L. [initials on footstone beside
Ellen Stuart]
- Margaret E. LaRew
born 25 Oct. 1825
died 5 Apr. 1889
- Mary LaRew
died 30 May 1868
age 80 yrs., 3 mos. and 10 days
- Margaret M. Life
died 22 Mar. 1879
age 56 yrs., 2 mos. and 29 days
wife of Samuel Life
dau. of R. and I. Freeman
- Samuel Life
born 19 Jan. 1826
died 2 Aug. 1891
- Cornelia Lipscomb
died 23 Apr. 1871
age 23 yrs., 5 mos. and 21 days
wife of J. S. Lipscomb
- Alexander Long
died 6 Mar. 1856
age 55 yrs., 10 mos. and 20 days
- Catharine Long
born 16 Feb. 1762
died Nov. 1836
- Joseph Long, Jr.
born 25 Jan. 1802
died 3 Aug. 1874
- Joseph Long, Sr.
born Sep. 1744
died 15 June 1829
- Mary W. McChesney
born 25 Dec. 1818
died 8 Jan. 1850
wife of William B. McChesney
- Nancy A. McChesney
born 19 Aug. 1802
died 12 Dec. 1843
wife of Z. J. McChesney
- William J. B. McChesney
died 9 July 1856
age 32 yrs. and 11 mos.
- Elizabeth F. McComb
born 15 Oct. 1848
died 18 Aug. 1850
child of J. B. and F. E. McComb
- Frances E. McComb
died 12 Aug. 1879
age 70 yrs. and 9 days
wife of Joseph B. McComb
- Francis M. McComb
died 28 Apr. 1870
age 24 yrs. and 2 mos.
son of Jos. B. and F. E. McComb
- James McComb
born 8 Aug. 1765
died 25 Oct. 1846
- James McComb
born 11 Oct. 1800
died 9 May 1868
- Janetta B. McComb
born 15 Aug. 1805
died 5 Feb. 1885
wife of James McComb
- Jas. McComb
died 6 Sep. 1886
age 51 yrs.
- Joseph Bell McComb
born 9 May 1809
died 1 Feb. 1899
- Joseph H. McComb
died 10 May 1864
age 20 yrs., 8 mos. and 7 days
son of Jos. B. and F. E. McComb
- Martha V. McComb
died 20 June 1878
age 11 mos. and 9 days
child of W. A. B. and Louisa McComb

- Mary E. McComb
died 27 Oct. 1885
age 46 yrs.
wife of Jas. McComb
- Susanah McComb
born 31 July 1769
died 9 June 1848
- William Luther McComb
died 1 Sep. 1862
age 19 yrs. and 29 days
son of Jas. and J. B. McComb
- Douglas S. McCue
died 1 May 1851
age 3 mos.
child of J. and E. S. McCue
- Eleanor D. McCue
died 6 Apr. 1859
age 18 mos.
child of J. and E. S. McCue
- Elizabeth McCue
born 9 Nov. 1761
died 11 Oct. 1831
wife of Rev. John McCue
- Ella and Virginia McCue
died 7 June 1847
age 3 mos. and 7 days
[twin daus. of F. and N. A. McCue]
- Evelina McCue
born 18 Feb. 1834
died 11 Jan. 1854
dau. of J. and H. W. McCue
- Franklin McCue
born 28 Sep. 1795
died 21 Oct. 1873
age 78 yrs. and 23 days
- George Crawford McCue
died 2 Sep. 1827
age 6 mos. and 19 days
- Hannah M. McCue
born 7 July 1838
died 10 Aug. 1906
- Hannah M. McCue
died 20 Jan. 1827
age 11 mos.
child of J. and H. W. McCue
- Hannah W. McCue
born 19 June 1801
died 8 Nov. 1845
wife of John McCue
- James W. McCue
died 28 June 1821
age 2 mos.
child of J. and H. W. McCue
- Jane McCue
died 13 Apr. 1829
age 27 yrs.
wife of Col. Franklin McCue
- John McCue, Esq.
born 17 Feb. 1793
died 18 May 1862
- Rev. John McCue
died 20 Sep. 1818
age 66 yrs.
T. Spring supply pastor 27 yrs.
- Mary Ann McCue
died 2 Nov. 1833
age 7 mos. and 24 days
- Maj. Moses McCue
died 28 Apr. 1847
age 78 yrs., 4 mos. and 5 days
- Nancy A. McCue
born 5 Apr. 1801
died 3 Mar. 1893
wife of Col. Franklin McCue
- Rebecca Ann (?) McCue
died 18 Dec. 1832
age 1 yr., 5 mos. and 24 days
- Robert D. McCue
died 12 Jan. 1860
age 4 mos.
child of J. and E. S. McCue
- Sarah McCue
died 6 Apr. 1856
age 82 yrs., 5 mos. and 1 day
wife of Maj. Moses McCue
- W. Crawford McCue
died 26 Aug. 1861
age 27 yrs. and 16 days
son of F. and N. A. McCue
- Wm. Wirt McCue
died 12 Mar. 1862
age 25 yrs. and 8 mos.
son of F. and N. A. McCue
- Franklin Marshall
died 14 Aug. 1845
age 31 yrs.

- Nancy Marshall
died 19 Nov. 1858
age 71 yrs.
- Susan Marshall
died 8 June 1859
age 62 yrs.
wife of William Marshall
- Elizabeth C. Martin
born 16 May 1844
died 12 July 1880
dau. of Dr. T. W. and Mary B. Shelton
wife of Wm. Martin
- Hugh A. Moffett
died 26 Feb. 1846
age 14 yrs.
- Robert S. Moffett
died 18 July 1856
age 61 yrs. and 13 days
- William G. Moffett
died 30 Nov. 1855
age 20 yrs. and 4 mos.
- Nancy Montgomery
born 13 Dec. 1803
died 31 July 1880
[Name illegible] Myers
born and died 25 Dec. 1879
child of J. G. S. and Jennie P. Myers
- William Nelson
died 18 Apr. 1828
age 43 yrs.
- Joseph Parks
died 21 Aug. 1810
age 84 yrs.
- Rebekah Parks
died Dec. 1794
age 60 yrs.
- Mary M. Parry
wife of John Parry
- James S. Patterson
died 17 Oct. 1862
age 3 mos. and 1 day
child of S. W. and A. Patterson
- Virginia Patterson
died 3 Sep. 1862
age 30 yrs., 7 mos. and 4 days
wife of S. W. Patterson
[dau. of James McCune]
- Ellen Peck
born 23 Aug. 1789
died 3 June 1859
wife of Joseph Peck
[dau. of James McClure, 1748-1799]
- Joseph Peck
died 5 June 1839
age 51 yrs.
- Christianna Peck
died 22 July 1861
age 29 yrs.
wife of H. H. Peck
- [Name illegible] Peck
died 19 July 1861
infant son of H. H. and C. Peck
- John Preston
died 1747
- W. R. [Initials on footstone]
- Junius F. Root
born 14 Jan. 1838
died 5 Oct. 1874
age 36 yrs., 8 mos. and 21 days
- Elizabeth Ross
died 10 Feb. 1855
age 66 yrs., 6 mos. and 2 days
wife of Wm. Ross
- Mary C. Ross
born 25 Mar. 1828
died 29 Aug. 1879
age 51 yrs., 5 mos. and 4 days
wife of Wm. Ross
- William Ross
born 20 Mar. 1825
died 29 Mar. 1888
age 63 yrs. and 9 days
- Wm. Ross, Sr.
died 3 Feb. 1836
age about 45 yrs.
- Mary Elizabeth Savage
died 31 Dec. 1854
age 26 yrs.
wife of George Savage
- Martha Scott
died 24 Apr. 1833
age 18 yrs., 8 mos. and 18 days
- George Baxter See
born 27 Feb. 1829
died 22 Feb. 1864

- Jacob W. See
born 11 May 1798
died 26 May 1862
- Jacob Van Lear Shelton
died 12 Mar. 1853
age 1 yr. and 4 mos.
child of Dr. T. W. & M. F. Shelton
- Mary Shelton
born 6 Nov. 1820
died 5 May 1848
wife of Dr. Thomas W. Shelton
[dau. of Dr. James C. Willson]
- Mary Finley Shelton
died 21 Feb. 1856
age 27 yrs., 3 mos. and 10 days
wife of Dr. T. W. Shelton
dau. of J. and J. B. Van Lear
- Mary Montgomery Shelton
died 21 Dec. 1847
age 6 mos. and 21 days
- Susan Mildred Shelton
died 9 July 1847
age 15 mos. and 7 days
- Nancy Shields
died 12 Feb. 1852
age 75 yrs.
- John W. D. Speck
died 25 Oct. 1861
age 14 yrs. and 16 days
child of J. and M. Speck
- Andrew A. Steele
born 18 May 1822
died 24 Oct. 1857
age 35 yrs., 5 mos. and 6 days
- Charles A. Steele
died 28 Apr. 1837
age 18 yrs., 1 mo. and 15 days
- Frances Steele
died 25 July 1854
age 71 yrs. 10 mos. and 2 days
wife of Samuel Steele
- Dr. James H. Steele
died 15 July 1853
age 42 yrs., 5 mos. and 17 days
- John Steele
died 6 ——— 1804
- Samuel Steele
died 18 May 1835
age 61 yrs., 8 mos. and 17 days
- And. A. Stuart
born 16 July 1810
died 3 May 1870
- Archibald Stuart
died 15 Dec. 1849
age 72 yrs.
- Benjamin Stuart
died 12 Dec. 1808
age 72 yrs.
- Benjamin B. Stuart
died 29 Nov. 1814
age 21 yrs.
- Ellen Stuart
died 9 ——— 1801
age 56 yrs.
- John Stuart
died 28 May 1842
age 14 yrs.
- Martha A. Stuart
born 26 Oct. 1812
died 12 Jan. 1898
- Mary Alexander Stuart
died 1 Mar. 1821
age about 50 yrs.
wife of Archibald Stuart
- Sarah S. Stuart
died 9 Apr. 1873
age 49 yrs., 1 mo. and 16 days
wife of Andrew A. Stuart
- Susannah Stuart
died 11 Apr. 1833
age 13 yrs.
her infant child also died
- Alex. Thompson
died 5 May 1824
age 92 yrs.
- Mary M. Matilda Tisdale
died 18 Nov. 1854
age 45 yrs.
wife of Randolph Tisdale
- Evaline E. Vanlear
born 28 Aug. 1830
died 22 Apr. 1853
age 23 yrs.
dau. of J. and J. D. Vanlear
- Jacob Vanlear
died 13 Nov. 1876
age 87 yrs. 1 mo. and 5 days

- | | |
|--|--|
| Jane Berry Vanlear
died 21 Nov. 1857
age 66 yrs.
wife of Jacob Vanlear | James C. Willson
born 21 Oct. 1784
died 10 Jan. 1840
T. Spring supply pastor 21 yrs. and
2 mos. |
| Letitia Jane Van Lear
died 27 Apr. 1847
age 19 yrs.
wife of Wm. Van Lear | John Henry Wilson
born 15 Dec. 1850
died 5 Aug. 1852
child of P. E. and S. M. Wilson |
| Samuel F. Vanlear
born 13 Apr. 1823
died 5 Apr. 1854 | John P. Wilson
born 3 Oct. 1787
died 22 Mar. 1862 |
| Mary Chastine Wayland
born 10 June 1789
died 16 Apr. 1852
wife of Lewis Wayland | Margaret A. Finly Wilson
died 27 Oct. 1891
age 48 yrs., 1 mo. and 5 days
3rd wife of Osborne Wilson |
| Ellen A. White
died 28 Oct. 1852
age 41 yrs.
wife of R. M. White | Sally Wilson
died 4 Aug. 1857
age 52 yrs., 11 mos. and 22 days
wife of Jno. P. Wilson |
| Katie A. White
died 24 Sep. 1851
age 4 mos.
child of R. M. and E. V. White | Samuel Wilson
died 1811
age 44 yrs. |
| Robert M. White
died 3 Sep. 1868
age 71 yrs., 2 mos. and 23 days | William S. Young
born 11 Oct. 1782
died 3 Feb. 1860 |

Every available space is said to be filled in the old Tinkling Spring cemetery. If so there are as many unmarked as marked graves. The oldest markers of early settlers have disintegrated long since. However, the meager list that follows, each confirmed from some authentic source, supplies a few names from the missing markers.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Breckenridge, Alexander
died about 1742 | Gibson, John Best
died 16 July 1870
aged 25 yrs. |
| Calbreath, Fannie H.
died 18 Nov. 1886
aged 39 yrs. and 6 mos.
second wife of Z. F. Calbreath | Gibson, Overton
died 1 Dec. 1877
aged 75 yrs. and 5 mos. |
| Calbreath, Zechariah Franklin
died 18 July 1898
aged 74 yrs. and 6 mos. | Gilkeson, Elizabeth
died May 1830
aged 84 yrs.
dau. of John and Ann Guthrie
wife of Hugh Gilkeson |
| Christian,
"Thirty-six of name of Christian
are buried in Tinkling Spring
graveyard" a note in Bolivar
Christian Bible | Gilkeson, Hugh
died Feb. 1806
aged 60 yrs. |

- Hamilton, William
born 1748
died 1795
husband of Patience Craig
- Hamilton, William
died 1886
great grandson of John Craig
- Kennedy, George Scott
born 1793
died 3 Dec. 1873
aged 80 yrs.
- Kennedy, Arabella Brown
born 1805
died 24 Oct. 1854
- McClure, Eleanor
born 9 Oct. 1804
died 6 Dec. 1891
- McClure, Hugh
born 29 Oct. 1796
died 7 Oct. 1876
- McClure, Isaac
born 1800
died 24 Oct. 1887
- McClure, James
born about 1690
died 1761
- McCune, James
born 1781
died 22 April 1845
- McCune, Sarah
aged 70 yrs.
wife of James McCune
- McCune, Elizabeth
born 5 Dec. 1827
death date unknown
- McCune, James B.
born 14 July 1817
death date unknown
- McCune, John
born 14 Dec. 1815
death date unknown
- McCune, Josephine
born 29 — 1836
death date unknown
- McCune, Margaret
born 26 Jan. 1826
married James Cullen
death date unknown
- McCune, Martha
born 31 Aug. 1822
death date unknown
- McCune, Mary (Polly)
born 26 Sep. 1829
death date unknown
- McCune, Susanah
born 12 Apr. 1814
death date unknown
- Patton, Mrs. James
died prior to 1750

APPENDIX F. RECORD OF BAPTISMS, 1740-1749

"A Record of the names of the children bap'd by the Rev'd John Craig both in his own & in the neighbouring congregations where God in his providence ordered his labours.

"Wherein the time & place & the parent's name that presented the childe are all recorded: note if ye childe belong to the congregation no place is named.

"For the use of the congregation. Beginning anno dom. 1740."

The manuscript of the Record of Baptisms, 1740-1749, is in chronological order. The arrangement below is in alphabetical order with the place of baptism given in the footnotes. The congregation referred to was the old Craig parish in which was included both Stone and Tinkling Spring Meeting Houses.

William Adams		John Anderson	
Margaret	25 Feb. 1749 ¹	John	19 Oct. 1740 ²
Gabril Alexander		Robert	15 Nov. 1741 ²
Margaret	25 Apr. 1742 ²	Jean	29 Apr. 1744 ²
James	8 Apr. 1744 ²	Rebecca	Oct. 1746 ²
Elisabeth	13 Apr. 1746 ²	James	6 Mar. 1748 ²
Mary	24 Apr. 1748 ²	William Anderson	
William Alexander		Margaret	10 Apr. 1743 ²
James	Oct. 1746 ¹	Mary	21 June 1747 ²
Mary	31 May 1748 ²	Samson Archer	
Francis Alison		John	28 June 1743 ¹
Andrew	10 Sep. 1746 ²	Joshua	3 Nov. 1745 ²
John Alison		Robert	27 July 1747 ²
Martha	10 Sep. 1746 ²	Dorcas	28 Apr. 1749 ²
Jennet	1 Mar. 1749 ³	James Armour	
William	9 Apr. 1749 ²	Andrew	5 Aug. 1741 ²
James Allen		James Armstrong	
Rachel	19 Oct. 1740 ²	Mary	19 Dec. 1741 ²
Margaret	21 Mar. 1742 ²	Joseph	7 Apr. 1745 ²
James	18 Mar. 1744 ²	Benjamin ⁷	9 Aug. 1747 ²
Isabel	20 Apr. 1746 ²	Matthew ⁷	9 Aug. 1747 ²
Malkum Allen		James Barclay	
Robert	9 Mar. 1749 ⁴	John	5 May 1745 ²
George Anderson		William	12 May 1749 ²
William	2 Nov. 1740 ²	Robert Barnet	
Margaret	27 June 1742 ²	Elisabeth	10 May 1741 ⁸
Mary	18 Mar. 1744 ²	William Basken	
John	June 1746 ²	Charles	15 Mar. 1741 ²
George	25 Nov. 1748 ²	Hugh	20 Mar. 1743 ²
Jacob Anderson		Elisabeth	10 Dec. 1745 ²
John	2 Mar. 1747 ⁵	Thomas Bay	
James Anderson		Robert	3 May 1741 ⁹
Agnes	19 Oct. 1740 ²	Jas. Bell, Sr.	
Ann	1 Mar. 1741 ⁸	William ⁷	12 Dec. 1740 ²
Mary	23 Mar. 1743 ²	James ⁷	12 Dec. 1740 ²
Thomas	12 Feb. 1745 ²	William	12 July 1741 ²
Samuel	15 Feb. 1747 ²	John	26 Feb. 1744 ²

Sarah	11 May	1746 ²	Elisabeth	6 Mar.	1747 ¹
Thomas	23 Oct.	1748 ²	Hugh	25 Feb.	1749 ¹
Joseph Bell			Robert Brown		
Mary	21 Feb.	1748 ²	Hugh	18 Sep.	1748 ²
Thomas Bell			Thomas Brown		
William	6 June	1742 ²	Elisabeth	5 Nov.	1747 ¹
Agness	29 July	1744 ²	William Brown		
Robert	July	1746 ²	Margaret	20 Aug.	1749 ²
Thomas Berd			Alexander Brownlie		
Rosanna	25 Mar.	1744 ²	William	30 Aug.	1747 ²
Ann	25 Feb.	1749 ¹	John Brownlie		
William Berd			Margaret	23 Aug.	1741 ²
Agness	24 May	1747 ²	James	2 Feb.	1744 ²
Margaret	16 May	1749 ²	John	5 Nov.	1747 ¹
Francis Betty			John Buchanan		
James	20 Oct.	1741 ¹	Patrick	23 Aug.	1741 ²
Francis	25 Feb.	1749 ¹	Robert	6 Mar.	1747 ¹
John Bigham			James	25 Feb.	1749 ¹
John	5 June	1748 ²	William Buntine		
Anthony Black			John	30 Aug.	1747 ²
Jean	25 Mar.	1744 ²	Geo. Callwell		
Anthony	24 Aug.	1746 ²	George	28 Mar.	1742 ²
Sarah	25 Sep.	1748 ²	William Calwall		
Jno. Black			John	18 Dec.	1740 ⁸
Jean	19 June	1741 ¹⁰	Charles Campbell		
Alexander Blair			William	1 Sep.	1745 ²
William	5 July	1741 ²	Elizabeth	5 Apr.	1747 ²
Alexander	18 Mar.	1744 ²	Jean	2 Apr.	1749 ²
Philip	July	1746 ²	David Campbell		
Edward Boyle			John	12 July	1741 ²
Mary	2 Mar.	1747 ⁵	Arthur	15 Jan.	1744 ²
Samuel Braford			James	9 June	1745 ²
Robert	25 Mar.	1744 ²	Gilbert Campbell		
Elisabeth	Aug.	1746 ²	Charles	15 Oct.	1741 ¹³
Rachel	25 Feb.	1749 ¹	Hugh Campbell		
Robert Bratton			Jean	15 May	1743 ²
James	11 Mar.	1749 ¹¹	Robert	14 July	1745 ²
James Breden			William	16 Apr.	1747 ²
Jennet	25 Feb.	1749 ¹	Esther	9 Apr.	1749 ²
George Breckenridge			John Campbell ¹⁴		
Alexander	30 June	1743 ¹²	John	13 Nov.	1740 ²
Francis Brown			John	27 Apr.	1741 ²
Hugh	14 July	1745 ²	Elisabeth	15 Apr.	1744 ²
Mary	18 June	1749 ²	Elisabeth	27 Oct.	1745 ²
James Brown			Robert	21 Mar.	1746 ²
James	12 July	1747 ²	Mary	July	1746 ²
Rouling	11 June	1749 ²	Daniel	17 Sep.	1748 ²
John Brown			Robert Campbel		
William	9 Dec.	1740 ¹	Robert	4 Oct.	1742 ²

Adam Caruth [Caruthers]		Jean	21 May 1746 ²
Mary	21 Apr. 1745 ²	Isabel	15 Sep. 1748 ²
Robert	10 Aug. 1746 ²	John Coulter	
Andrew Cathy		Joseph	17 July 1748 ²
William	26 Apr. 1741 ²	Andrew Cowen	
Mary	27 June 1742 ²	John	25 Feb. 1749 ¹
James	15 Apr. 1744 ²	James Cowen	
Margaret	21 Nov. 1745 ²	Andrew	13 Apr. 1746 ²
George Cathy		Mary	3 July 1748 ¹
Ann	3 Apr. 1743 ²	John Cowen	
Margaret	21 Oct. 1744 ²	Andrew	27 Sep. 1741 ²
James	June 1746 ²	Hanna	3 Apr. 1748 ²
George	15 Nov. 1747 ²	George Cowin	
John Cathy		Mary	18 Jan. 1747 ²
Jean	30 Dec. 1744 ²	Richard Cowser	
James Chambers		Katharine	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵
Sarah	6 Mar. 1743 ²	Jennet	30 June 1743 ¹²
John Chooswod		Nathaniel	June 1746 ¹²
Margaret	22 Dec. 1746 ²	James	26 Feb. 1749 ¹²
John Christian		Alexander Craig	
Robert	2 Feb. 1744 ²	Mary	30 Aug. 1741 ²
Rebecca	2 Feb. 1746 ²	William	5 Aug. 1744 ²
Mary	26 Jan. 1748 ²	John	31 May 1748 ²
Robert Christian		James Craig	
William	12 July 1741 ²	Sarah	21 Oct. 1744 ²
Margaret	15 Sep. 1743 ²	James	28 July 1745 ²
John	5 Jan. 1746 ²	Samuel	10 Aug. 1746 ²
Robert	26 Jan. 1748 ²	John	24 Jan. 1748 ²
Willm Christian		George	26 Mar. 1749 ²
Patrick	29 July 1744 ²	John Craig	
Margaret	2 Feb. 1746 ²	William	10 Aug. 1746 ²
Elisabeth	10 Apr. 1748 ²	James	24 Jan. 1748 ²
Israel Christy		Rev. John Craig	
Elisabeth	1 June 1746 ¹	Isabella Helena	16 June 1745 ²
James Clark		Mary	Oct. 1746 ²
Margaret	1 June 1746 ¹	John	1 May 1748 ²
Charles Clendanning		Robt Craig ¹⁴	
Thomas	31 July 1743 ²	John*	15 Mar. 1741 ²
Thomas	7 June 1748 ²	Elenor*	19 July 1741 ²
William Clerk		Elisabeth	2 May 1742 ²
John	21 June 1741 ¹⁵	Jennet*	4 Sep. 1743 ²
James Coil		Margaret	7 Apr. 1745 ²
James	23 July 1749 ²	John*	6 Apr. 1746 ²
Robert Coil		William*	13 Dec. 1747 ²
Barnet	30 Mar. 1746 ²	Frances	12 June 1748 ²
William Coll		Alexander Crawford	
Lettice	23 Dec. 1740 ²	William	1 June 1746 ¹
John Corsby		David Crawford	
John	29 Apr. 1744 ²	Margaret	15 Mar. 1749 ¹

James Crawford		Margaret	5 Dec. 1742 ²
George	4 Apr. 1742 ²	John	25 Nov. 1744 ²
James	Aug. 1746 ²	Robert	5 Apr. 1747 ²
Alexander	13 Nov. 1748 ²	Samuel Davison	
John Crawford		James	23 Aug. 1741 ²
Josiah	25 Oct. 1741 ²	Benjamin	8 May 1743 ²
William	21 Mar. 1745 ²	Jessee	14 Apr. 1745 ²
Patrick Crawford		William	8 Mar. 1747 ²
Martha	13 Nov. 1748 ²	Mary	11 June 1749 ²
Robert Crocket		Daniel Deniston	
James	12 July 1741 ²	Margaret	19 Jan. 1746 ²
Alexander	1 June 1745 ¹¹	Ann	2 Aug. 1747 ²
Andrew	16 Sep. 1747 ²	Mary	19 Feb. 1749 ²
(The last by Margaret Crocket, widow.)		John Deyermond	
Joseph Culton		Sarah	12 July 1747 ²
Jean	27 Sep. 1741 ²	John Dickey	
David Cunningham		John	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵
Mary	6 Mar. 1747 ¹	Robert Dickson	
Hugh Cunningham		Samuel	1 Nov. 1744 ²
James ⁷	16 Oct. 1741 ³	Thomas	18 June 1745 ²
Mary ⁷	16 Oct. 1741 ³	(James Cathy, sponsor)	
Isabel	1 Mar. 1749 ³	William	28 Sep. 1746 ²
John Cunningham		Michael Dicky	
Margaret	15 May 1748 ²	James	5 Sep. 1742 ²
Elisabeth	11 June 1749 ²	Mary	12 Feb. 1745 ²
William Cunningham		John	16 Apr. 1747 ²
Margaret	July 1746 ²	William	22 Jan. 1749 ²
Elisabeth	15 Sep. 1748 ²	Jacob Die	
Nathaneel Curry		Jacob ¹⁹	29 May 1743 ²⁸
Margaret	17 May 1741 ¹⁷	Agness ¹⁰	29 May 1743 ²⁶
William Curry		Hugh Diver	
James	Aug. 1746 ²	James ¹⁹	22 May 1746 ²
Rebecca	24 Apr. 1748 ²	John ¹⁹	22 May 1746 ²
Charles Dalais [Dallas]		David Doack [Doak]	
James	8 Feb. 1747 ²	William	5 Nov. 1747 ¹
John Davies		John Doage [Doak]	
Mary	17 Apr. 1748 ²	Thankful	30 June 1743 ¹²
Robert Davies		Samuel Doak	
James	19 May 1748 ²	David	9 Dec. 1740 ¹
James Davis		Elisabeth	19 May 1747 ²
Robert	19 June 1743 ²	John Dobbins	
Nathanael Davis		Jean ¹⁹	6 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
John	6 Nov. 1743 ²	John ¹⁹	6 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
Elisabeth	11 May 1746 ²	Charles Dockarty	
Samuel Daviset		James	3 May 1747 ²
Thomas	4 Mar. 1741 ¹⁸	William Dockarty	
John Davison		William	13 Mar. 1749 ²¹
Elisabeth	19 Apr. 1741 ²	Joseph	13 Mar. 1749 ²¹
		Agness	13 Mar. 1749 ²¹

John Dodson		Margaret*	Dec. 1746 ²
Elisabeth	21 June 1741 ¹⁵	James	8 Mar. 1747 ²
Thomas Dougherty		George	4 Jan. 1748 ²
William	18 Dec. 1740 ⁶	(baptised by Rev. John Thomson)	
Hugh Douglas		James	26 Mar. 1749 ²
John	26 June 1743 ²	Wm. Finly	
Joseph	5 Dec. 1745 ²	William	26 Oct. 1740 ²
Alexander Douglass		William	16 Jan. 1743 ²
George	12 May 1745 ²	Robert	23 June 1745 ²
Mary	26 July 1747 ²	Thomas Fitzpatrick	
Robert Dukson		Elisabeth	7 July 1743 ¹¹
Samuel	1 Nov. 1744 ²	Samuel	9 Sep. 1746 ²
Andrew Duncan		Samuel Forsaith	
Joseph	15 Aug. 1747 ²	Moses	28 Aug. 1743 ²
Elisabeth	26 Feb. 1749 ¹²	John Fowler	
Robert Dunlap		William	12 Feb. 1745 ²
Samuel	3 Feb. 1741 ²²	Samuel	11 June 1747 ²³
Samuel Dunlap		Robert Fowler	
Isabel	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵	William	21 Aug. 1743 ²
Jean	30 June 1743 ¹²	Jean	23 Feb. 1746 ²
John	14 Feb. 1748 ¹²	John Frame	
William Dunlap		Mary	21 Feb. 1742 ²
William	26 Aug. 1744 ²	William	8 Sep. 1745 ²
Matthew Edmiston		John	Dec. 1748 ²
James	Nov. 1746 ²	William Frame	
Mary	25 Nov. 1748 ²	Esther	23 Mar. 1746 ²
George Egger		Jennet	19 July 1747 ²
Agness	3 May 1741 ⁹	Elisabeth	2 July 1749 ²
William Eliot		James Francis	
Robert	7 July 1743 ¹¹	John	1 Mar. 1741 ⁶
Andrew Erwine		John Fresure [Frazer]	
Francis	23 Jan. 1744 ²	John	8 May 1743 ²
Andrew	June 1746 ²	Isabel	10 Nov. 1745 ²
James Erwine		Robert	17 Aug. 1747 ²
Margaret	July 1746 ²	Patrick Fresure [Frazer]	
John Erwine		Ann	22 Dec. 1746 ²
Jean ¹⁹	8 May 1746 ²	William	10 Mar. 1748 ²
Margaret ¹⁹	8 May 1746 ²	Jacob Fulkenburgh	
Benjamin	16 Apr. 1747 ²	John	19 Oct. 1740 ²
Samuel	27 Apr. 1749 ²	James Fulton	
William Erwine		Elenor	10 Dec. 1740 ²⁴
Mary	15 Dec. 1745 ²	Robert Galt	
Ann	Nov. 1746 ²	James	17 Aug. 1747 ²
Margaret	17 Apr. 1748 ²	Alexander Garnar	
John Finly ¹⁴		John	1 May 1747 ²
Elisabeth	18 Jan. 1741 ²	Samuel Gay	
William	30 Jan. 1743 ²	Elisabeth	19 Apr. 1741 ²
George*	30 Jan. 1743 ²	Rebecca	26 Sep. 1742 ²
Robert*	21 Apr. 1745 ²	William	12 Aug. 1746 ²

Alexander Gibson		Gresil	30 Aug. 1741 ²
James	7 Aug. 1744 ²	Martha	10 Mar. 1744 ²
Christian	Aug. 1746 ²	Sarah	23 Mar. 1746 ²
Mary	15 Sep. 1748 ²	Margaret	3 Apr. 1748 ²
Robert Gibson		James Greenlee	
Mary	15 Mar. 1743 ²	James	16 Oct. 1741 ²⁵
Elisabeth	17 Mar. 1745 ²	Samuel	30 June 1743 ¹²
William ⁷	3 May 1747 ²	John Grier	
Isabella ⁷	3 May 1747 ²	Mary	20 June 1743 ¹⁸
James	19 Mar. 1749 ²	Edward Hall	
Samuel Gilbrath [Calbreath]		Jennet	Feb. 1745 ²
Thomas ⁷	26 Feb. 1746 ²	Isaac	31 May 1747 ²
Elisabeth ⁷	26 Feb. 1746 ²	Archibald	28 Sep. 1749 ²
Robert Gilkison		William Hall ¹⁴	
Isabel	20 Aug. 1744 ²	John	15 Oct. 1741 ¹³
Alexander Gillespy		William	15 Oct. 1741 ¹³
Elisabeth	Oct. 1746 ¹	Elisabeth	10 Sep. 1746 ²
Jacob Gillespy		Archibald Hamilton	
Martha ⁷	27 Apr. 1749 ²	Andrew	19 July 1741 ²
Mary ⁷	27 Apr. 1749 ²	Ginny	4 Sep. 1743 ²
James Gillespy		Alexander	June 1746 ²
Margaret	4 Oct. 1741 ²	William	19 Aug. 1748 ²
Elisabeth	16 Jan. 1743 ²	Arthur Hamilton	
Matthew Gillespy		William	6 Mar. 1747 ¹
James	17 Sep. 1749 ²	John	25 Feb. 1749 ¹
Thomas Gillespy		James Hamilton	
James	18 Mar. 1744 ²	Mary	13 Sep. 1747 ²
William	18 Oct. 1747 ²	Joseph Hanna	
Nathan Gilliland		Alexander	28 Nov. 1742 ²
Katherine	29 May 1746 ¹¹	Jennet	12 June 1745 ²
James Gilmore		Martha	18 July 1748 ²
Elisabeth	1 June 1746 ¹	Samuel Harris	
James Givans		Thomas	10 May 1741 ⁸
Deborah	17 Sep. 1749 ²	Andrew Hays	
John Givans		John	2 Mar. 1747 ⁵
Sarah	13 Jan. 1745 ²	James	27 Feb. 1749 ⁵
Ann	Aug. 1746 ²	Charles Hays	
John	10 July 1748 ²	John	19 Apr. 1741 ²
Mrs. Sarah Givans, widow of Samuel		Andrew	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵
Givans, Esq.		John Hays	
George	11 Mar. 1741 ²	Rebecca	June 1746 ⁵
John Glass		Patrick Hays	
Samuel	18 June 1741 ¹⁰	Hugh	10 Dec. 1740 ²⁴
Sarah	16 Mar. 1746 ²	Rebecca	30 June 1743 ¹²
Samuel	10 Apr. 1748 ²	Alexander Henderson	
John Gordon		Elisabeth	20 Dec. 1741 ²
John	11 Apr. 1742 ²	John	19 Dec. 1742 ²
Thomas Gordon		John	22 Apr. 1744 ²
John	2 Nov. 1740 ²	Samuel	30 Mar. 1746 ²

Jean	13 Mar. 1748 ²	James Hogseed [Hogshead]	
Daniel Henderson		John	9 Sep. 1744 ²
Robert	28 Oct. 1744 ²	James	6 Apr. 1746 ²
Mary	10 Aug. 1746 ²	William	1 May 1748 ²
Jean	27 Apr. 1749 ²	John Holms	
David Henderson		Jean	29 July 1744 ²
Elenor	22 May 1748 ²	Katherine	13 Apr. 1746 ²
James Henderson		James	14 June 1747 ²
Jean	26 Apr. 1747 ²	John Hood	
Archibald	26 Mar. 1749 ²	Margaret	7 Apr. 1745 ²
John Henderson		Robert	Oct. 1746 ²
Mary	23 May 1742 ²	John	25 Nov. 1748 ²
John	19 Aug. 1745 ²	Robert Hooks	
Margaret	19 Aug. 1745 ²	Esther	23 Dec. 1740 ²
Robert	5 June 1748 ²	Robert	26 Jan. 1743 ²
Samuel Henderson		Martha	16 Jan. 1745 ²
John	30 Jan. 1743 ²	George ⁷	Oct. 1746 ²
Margaret	17 Mar. 1745 ²	Jean ⁷	Oct. 1746 ²
James	22 Mar. 1747 ²	Jonathan Horseford	
Rebecca	4 June 1749 ²	Mary	16 Dec. 1742 ²
Thomas Henderson		Henery Hughs	
Michael	22 Feb. 1741 ²	Sophia	5 Nov. 1740 ²⁷
Thomas	14 Mar. 1742 ²	George Hutchison	
William Henderson		Frances	22 Nov. 1740 ²
Elenor	24 Oct. 1742 ²	George	Mar. 1744 ²
Susanna	25 Nov. 1744 ²	John Hutchison	
Elisabeth	July 1746 ²	Mary ¹⁹	24 Apr. 1741 ²
Rachel	1 Feb. 1747 ²	Isabel ¹⁹	24 Apr. 1741 ²
Elisabeth Herison, an		William	6 June 1742 ²
adult person	27 July 1744 ²	Jennet	10 Mar. 1744 ²
Jeramiah Herison, an		Thomas	11 Oct. 1747 ²
adult person	3 Nov. 1740 ²⁶	George	10 Sep. 1749 ²
Lidea Donnel	29 May 1743 ²⁶	John Jamison	
(Jeramiah Herison, sponsor)		Jean	8 May 1748 ²
Nehemiah	5 Dec. 1745 ²	William Jamison	
Abigal Herrison, an		Elisabeth	4 Mar. 1747 ¹¹
adult person	21 Jan. 1747 ²	James Jeners	
Joshua Hicman		Jean ¹⁹	21 June 1741 ¹⁵
William	19 July 1741 ²	Mary ¹⁹	21 June 1741 ¹⁵
Samuel	8 Aug. 1742 ²	William Johnston ¹⁴	
Mary	5 Feb. 1744 ²	John	19 Oct. 1740 ²
Rachel	12 Jan. 1746 ²	Margaret*	26 Oct. 1740 ²
Isaac	30 Mar. 1747 ²	Mary	15 Nov. 1741 ²
George	5 May 1748 ²	Zachariah*	26 Sep. 1742 ²
Jonston Hill		Jennet	26 June 1743 ²
Robert	July 1746 ²	Joseph	21 Apr. 1745 ²
William Hinds		Joseph	1 May 1748 ²
William	May 1743 ²	Abraham Jonston	
Margaret	9 Apr. 1749 ²	Maryanna	29 May 1743 ²⁶

David Kennedy		Joseph	16 Sep. 1744 ²
Mary	14 June 1741 ⁸	David	11 May 1746 ²
Felix Kennedy		Joseph Lapsly	
James	7 Feb. 1744 ²	Jean	15 Oct. 1741 ¹⁸
Martha	26 Feb. 1746 ²	William Legerwood	
Elenor	27 Mar. 1748 ²	James	11 Dec. 1740 ²
Andrew Ker		Jacob Lemons	
Jennet	24 Aug. 1746 ⁸	Elisabeth	29 May 1746 ¹¹
John	27 Mar. 1748 ²	James Lesly	
John Ker		Isabel	27 Apr. 1741 ²
Isabel	19 Oct. 1740 ²	Magaret	20 Mar. 1743 ²
Elisabeth	6 Feb. 1743 ²	John	13 Jan. 1745 ²
Letitia	22 Sep. 1745 ²	Dolly	15 Feb. 1747 ²
Margaret	2 Aug. 1747 ²	Sarah	22 Jan. 1749 ²
Mary	27 Feb. 1749 ⁵	Andrew Lewis	
Samuel Ker		John	14 Sep. 1746 ²
Samuel	29 Nov. 1741 ²	Samuel	18 Sep. 1748 ²
Agness	20 Mar. 1743 ²	James Liper	
William	5 May 1745 ²	Margaret	19 Apr. 1741 ²
Lucia	13 Dec. 1747 ²	John	22 Jan. 1744 ²
William Ker		Thomas Little	
Andrew	16 Sep. 1744 ²	John	1 May 1741 ²⁰
James	13 Apr. 1746 ²	Jacob Lockard	
Thomas	11 Oct. 1747 ²	Elisabeth	28 June 1743 ¹
John King		Jacob	21 June 1745 ²
Isabel	12 Apr. 1741 ²	Jean	28 Aug. 1747 ²
Sarah	July 1746 ²	Samuel Lockard	
Margaret	24 Jan. 1748 ²	Jean	10 Aug. 1746 ²
William King		Sarah	21 Jan. 1748 ²
Annis	20 Oct. 1741 ¹	William Lockridge	
David Kinked		James	3 Feb. 1741 ²²
Elisabeth	20 June 1743 ¹⁸	David Logan	
Hobson	4 Aug. 1745 ²	Margaret	5 July 1741 ²
Robert Kirkpatrick		Benjamin	1 May 1743 ²
Margaret	4 July 1742 ²	Hugh	24 Mar. 1745 ²
Hanna	29 July 1744 ²	John	10 May 1747 ²
William Lamb		William	16 July 1749 ²
Anna	25 Jan. 1743 ²	William Logan ¹⁴	
James	2 June 1745 ²	Samuel*	26 Oct. 1740 ²
William	29 June 1747 ²	John	2 May 1742 ²
Robert	6 June 1749 ²	Elisabeth*	7 Nov. 1742 ²
Thomas Landrif		Mary	22 Mar. 1744 ²
William	4 Apr. 1742 ²	Mary*	9 June 1745 ²
Joseph Lang [Long]		Ann	21 May 1746 ²
Ruth	10 Sep. 1746 ²	Isabel	24 Apr. 1748 ²
Patrick Lang [Long]		Jean	12 June 1748 ²
Patrick	24 May 1741 ²⁸	Daniel Love	
William Lang [Long]		William	18 Aug. 1746 ²
Francis	5 Dec. 1742 ²		

John Lowry			John McCollock		
John	26 Feb.	1749 ¹²	Samuel	11 July	1742 ²
Adam Luny [Looney]			Thomas	14 Aug.	1743 ²
Robert	4 Mar.	1749 ⁴	Alexander	1 Sep.	1745 ²
William McCandless			Thomas McCollock		
John	30 June	1743 ¹²	Elisabeth ¹⁹	2 Nov.	1745 ²
Ann	June	1746 ³⁰	Ann ¹⁹	2 Nov.	1745 ²
John McCapin			Andrew McComb		
Margaret	13 Mar.	1749 ²¹	Jean	26 Jan.	1746 ²
Robert McClean			Barbara	30 Oct.	1748 ²
David	5 Nov.	1747 ¹	John McCord		
James McClelland			Agness	4 Mar.	1741 ¹⁸
Rhoda	10 May	1741 ⁸	James McCowen		
Robert McClenochan			Ann	Oct.	1746 ¹
Jean	8 Dec.	1740 ²	John McCowen		
John	7 Nov.	1742 ²	Malkcome	6 Mar.	1743 ²
Letitia	26 May	1745 ²	Agness	9 Sep.	1746 ²
Robert	19 Apr.	1747 ²	Samuel McCuen		
William	10 Jan.	1749 ²	Rachel	28 Oct.	1744 ²
Alexander McCliry			Mary	Nov.	1746 ²
Rachel	16 Oct.	1741 ²⁵	John	29 Jan.	1749 ²
Andrew McCluer			James McCurkle		
Esther	19 June	1743 ²	William	8 Mar.	1747 ²
Elisabeth	10 Nov.	1745 ²	Robert McCutchion		
James	25 Sep.	1748 ²	Agness	6 Nov.	1748 ²
Jas. McCluer			John	31 Aug.	1749 ²
Samuel	9 Nov.	1740 ²	Rondal McDonal		
Esther	8 Nov.	1741 ²	Alexander	9 Nov.	1740 ²
Nathaniel McCluer			John McDowel		
Mary	2 Mar.	1747 ⁵	Sarah	16 Oct.	1741 ²⁵
Alexander	10 Mar.	1749 ³	Robert McDowel		
John McClure ¹⁴			Mary	15 Mar.	1741 ²
James	2 Nov.	1740 ²	William	4 Sep.	1743 ²
Ann	29 Mar.	1741 ²	Sarah	Oct.	1746 ²
Mary	28 Nov.	1742 ²	James McElroy	July	1746 ²
Jean	14 July	1745 ²	James		
Ann*	10 Nov.	1745 ²	James McGill		
Elisabeth	21 May	1746 ²	William	21 Apr.	1748 ²
Esther*	13 Sep.	1747 ²	John McGown		
Thomas	15 Sep.	1748 ²	Samuel	4 Mar.	1749 ⁴
James*	6 Nov.	1748 ²	Andrew McKinny		
Patrick McColam			William	Dec.	1748 ²
Elisabeth	22 Nov.	1747 ²	Robert McKittrick		
Isaac McCollock			Sarah	15 Aug.	1747 ²
John	19 Apr.	1741 ²	John McLWraith		
Jennet	19 June	1743 ²	Thomas	14 Sep.	1747 ²
James	29 Sep.	1745 ²	Agness	14 Sep.	1747 ²
Joseph	27 Sep.	1747 ²	Hanna	14 Sep.	1747 ²
			Jean	14 Sep.	1747 ²

Robert McMachan			James Miles		
Jean	25 July	1742 ²	Andrew	Oct.	1746 ¹
Thomas	1 Feb.	1745 ²	Sarah	27 Feb.	1749 ⁵
Neal McNeal			James Miller		
Thomas	7 Mar.	1749 ³¹	Jean	4 Oct.	1741 ²
Daniel McNear			John	27 Feb.	1744 ²
Joanna	19 Dec.	1742 ²	David	1 June	1746 ¹
Martha	30 June	1745 ²	Katharine	28 Nov.	1748 ²
James	29 Apr.	1747 ²	John Miller		
Robert McNeely			Sarah	11 Mar.	1742 ²
Michael	10 Mar.	1741 ³²	Martha	11 Mar.	1742 ²
George ⁷	20 June	1743 ¹⁸	James	11 Mar.	1742 ²
William ⁷	20 June	1743 ¹⁸	Margaret	6 July	1743 ¹¹
Andrew McNeily			Francis	21 Sep.	1744 ²
Mary	10 Mar.	1749 ³	Sarah	9 Dec.	1745 ²
James McNish			John	12 Mar.	1749 ¹¹
James	1 May	1741 ²⁹	William Miller		
Samuel McRoberts			Robert	23 June	1743 ²⁰
Samuel	5 Mar.	1749 ³³	Alexander Mills		
Andrew McWilliams			Elisabeth	Oct.	1746 ²
Jean	16 Dec.	1740 ³⁰	Gilbert	30 Apr.	1749 ²
John Madison			John Mills		
Thomas	1 Oct.	1746 ²	Mary	8 Mar.	1749 ³⁴
John Malkom			Andrew Mitchel		
Elenor	1 Dec.	1745 ²	Hanna	28 Nov.	1742 ²
John	24 July	1748 ²	Jean	4 Apr.	1746 ²
James Maphet [Moffett]			John Mitchel		
Elisabeth	3 Feb.	1748 ¹	Elisabeth	6 Mar.	1747 ¹
John Maphet [Moffett]			William Mitchel		
Mary ¹⁹	29 Mar.	1741 ²	John	30 June	1743 ¹²
Katherine ¹⁹	29 Mar.	1741 ²	James Moor ¹⁴		
John	5 July	1741 ²	James	1 Mar.	1749 ³
Robert	26 June	1743 ²	James	10 Mar.	1749 ³
William Marshall			John Moor		
William	26 Jan.	1748 ²	Margaret	3 Feb.	1741 ²²
Andrew Martin			Agness	1 Jan.	1745 ¹²
Elenor	18 Oct.	1741 ⁵	Robert	10 Mar.	1749 ³
Patrick Martin			William Moor		
George	20 Oct.	1741 ¹	Andrew	26 Feb.	1749 ¹²
Edly Maxwell			Benjamin Morrow		
Edly	15 Mar.	1741 ²	William	29 May	1746 ¹¹
John Maxwell			David Neilson		
William	3 July	1743 ²	John	27 Dec.	1741 ²
James	15 Aug.	1745 ²	William Owens		
Thomas	28 Feb.	1748 ²	Robert	20 June	1743 ¹⁸
William Maxwell			Henry Paton		
Patrick	10 May	1741 ⁸	Henery	6 Mar.	1748 ²
John Meson			James Patton, sponsor		
John	7 Mar.	1749 ³¹	Henery	20 Jan.	1742 ²

John Paul		Robert Ralston	
Isabel	2 Jan. 1745 ¹⁵	Mary	5 July 1741 ²
Mary	28 Feb. 1749 ¹⁶	Ruth	27 June 1742 ²
John Petterson [Patterson] ¹⁴		Robert	20 Aug. 1744 ²
Jennet	14 Nov. 1742 ²	Agness	20 May 1746 ²
Martha	4 Mar. 1745 ²	Elisabeth	12 June 1748 ²
John	24 Mar. 1745 ²	John Ramsey	
Elisabeth	18 Oct. 1747 ²	James	8 Dec. 1745 ²
Charles	22 Nov. 1747 ²	John	31 May 1747 ²
Nathan Petterson [Patterson]		Alexander	16 Apr. 1749 ²
Robert	6 Mar. 1747 ¹	Robert Ramsey	
Robert Petterson [Patterson]		Sarah	26 Feb. 1749 ¹²
Abigail	3 Nov. 1740 ²⁶	Michael Realy, an	
Isobel	2 Aug. 1741 ²	adult person	24 July 1747 ²
William Petterson [Patterson]		John Reid	
Shusanna	29 Feb. 1742 ²	Thomas	23 June 1743 ²⁰
John	8 Apr. 1744 ²	Joseph Reid	
William	30 Mar. 1746 ²	Sarah	8 Sep. 1746 ²
John	10 Apr. 1748 ²	George Renex	
Israel Pickens		Elisabeth	20 July 1749 ²
Magaret	18 Dec. 1740 ⁸	Robert Renex	
John Pickens		Ann	19 Oct. 1740 ²
Elisabeth	29 Mar. 1741 ²	William	2 June 1745 ²
William	30 May 1742 ²	Joshua	Oct. 1746 ¹
Martin Burk	10 Dec. 1743 ²	George	15 Sep. 1748 ²
(Mrs. Pickens, sponsor)		Thomas Renex	
Israel	7 Oct. 1744 ²	Robert	4 Feb. 1749 ²
Helenor	Dec. 1746 ²	George Renkin	
Robert	16 May 1749 ²	Jean	15 Oct. 1743 ²
Gabriel Pickins		Thomas	22 Sep. 1745 ²
Margaret	13 Aug. 1745 ²	William	20 Mar. 1748 ²
William	27 Apr. 1749 ²	John Risk	
Richard Pilson		Mary	20 Oct. 1741 ¹
Richard	30 Mar. 1746 ²	James Robertson ¹⁴	
Mary	8 May 1748 ²	Jean	22 Feb. 1741 ²
Thomas Pir'y		Sarah*	8 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
Margaret	20 Oct. 1741 ¹	Ann	20 June 1742 ²
Robert Poage		Margaret*	23 June 1743 ²⁰
Thomas	1 Nov. 1740 ²	George	24 Apr. 1744 ²
Margaret	25 Dec. 1744 ²	Elisabeth	26 Feb. 1746 ²
John Preston		Alexander	10 Jan. 1748 ²
Mary	28 Oct. 1740 ²	Margaret	8 June 1749 ²
James	18 Oct. 1742 ²	Matthew Robertson	
Katharine Queen		William	25 Dec. 1748 ²
James	20 Apr. 1746 ²	George Robison	
Letitia Tillary	27 Aug. 1747 ²	James	4 Sep. 1743 ²
(Robert Stephenson, sponsor)		James Robison ¹⁴	
Patrick Queen		Rachel ⁷	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵
John	6 Sep. 1747 ²	Hanna ⁷	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵

James	20 Oct. 1741 ¹	Samuel Scot	
Jean	23 June 1745 ²	Mary	23 Dec. 1740 ²
John	5 Nov. 1747 ¹	George	11 June 1747 ²³
David	9 July 1749 ²	Thomas Scot	
John Robison		Mary	22 Mar. 1747 ²
Jennet	Nov. 1746 ²	Katharine	17 July 1748 ²
Mary	6 Nov. 1748 ²	John Scull [Scholl], an adult person	3 Nov. 1747 ²
George Rodgers		John Seewright	
Elisabeth	29 Mar. 1747 ²	Margaret	25 July 1742 ²
James Rosbrough		James	22 Sep. 1745 ²
Samuel	1 Mar. 1747 ¹²	John Sharp	
James	15 Mar. 1749 ¹	John	June 1746 ²
John Rusk		Mergery	21 Feb. 1748 ²
Margaret	14 Feb. 1748 ¹²	Thomas Sheals	
Elisabeth Russ		Jenet	Aug. 1741 ²
Letitia	30 Mar. 1747 ²	Jennet	25 Oct. 1741 ²
An'd Russell		Uriah Shedweek	
Andrew	26 Oct. 1740 ²	Daniel	July 1746 ²
Robert	15 Aug. 1742 ²	Agnes	22 May 1748 ²
Joseph	2 Feb. 1746 ²	John Shields	
John	24 Feb. 1748 ²	William	25 May 1746 ²
Martha	24 Apr. 1749 ²	John Small	
Thomas Rutledge		Martha	8 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
John	10 Mar. 1744 ²	Laurance Small	
George	3 Feb. 1745 ²	Mary	8 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
Elisabeth	Nov. 1746 ²	Alexander Smily	
James	29 Jan. 1749 ²	Elinor	Oct. 1746 ¹
Andrew Scot		Walter	14 Feb. 1748 ¹²
Thomas	12 Sep. 1742 ²	Henery Smith	
Mary	8 Feb. 1747 ²	Abraham	2 Oct. 1748 ²
Martha	10 Sep. 1749 ²	John	27 Apr. 1749 ²
George Scot		John Smith	
Christian	23 Dec. 1740 ²	David	19 July 1741 ²
Jean	27 June 1742 ²	Jonathan	22 July 1744 ²
Rachel	3 June 1743 ²	Louvisa	6 Oct. 1745 ²
Samuel	19 May 1745 ²	Sarah Smith, an adult person	5 May 1748 ²
Joseph	10 Aug. 1746 ²	William Smith	
Mary	10 Mar. 1748 ²	James	9 Nov. 1740 ²
Robert	12 Apr. 1749 ²	Jean	28 Mar. 1742 ²
John Scot		Robert	14 Apr. 1745 ³⁰
Elisabeth	18 May 1746 ²	William	24 Apr. 1748 ²
Abigail	25 June 1748 ²	William Snodgrass	
Robert Scot		Elisabeth	Aug. 1746 ²
Jean	23 Dec. 1740 ²	Robert	5 Mar. 1749 ³⁸
Jacob	22 Mar. 1744 ²	Jean Steel, widow	
James	5 Dec. 1745 ²	Thomas	3 July 1748 ¹
Martha	10 Mar. 1748 ²		

Samuel Steel		William	12 Sep. 1742 ²
John	18 Dec. 1743 ²	James	29 July 1744 ²
Jean	30 Mar. 1746 ²	Elisabeth	12 July 1747 ²
Martha	24 Apr. 1748 ²	Moses Thomson	
David Stephenson		Moses	9 Nov. 1740 ²
William	2 Nov. 1740 ²	Sarah	4 Oct. 1741 ²
Mary	19 Sep. 1742 ²	David Trimble	
David	14 Sep. 1746 ²	James	2 Aug. 1747 ²
David	26 June 1748 ²	John Trimble	
John Stephenson		Jean	20 Oct. 1741 ¹
Thomas	13 Jan. 1743 ²	John	18 Mar. 1744 ²
Mary	16 June 1745 ²	James	1 June 1746 ¹
John	26 June 1748 ²	Walter Trimble	
Agness Stocdon		Margaret	1 Nov. 1741 ²
John	21 June 1743 ³⁶	John	21 Apr. 1745 ²
Thomas	21 June 1743 ³⁶	William	30 Apr. 1747 ²
Jacob Stover, an adult		Tasker Tosh	
person	14 Mar. 1741 ²	Mary	7 Mar. 1749 ³¹
David Stuart, an adult		John Turk	
person	21 Jan. 1747 ²	Robert	19 Apr. 1741 ²
Elisabeth	12 Aug. 1746 ²	John	9 June 1745 ²
John	31 May 1749 ²	Thomas Turk	
Thomas Stuart		Jean	9 Apr. 1749 ²
Archibald	Feb. 1745 ²	George Vance	
Jennet	22 Feb. 1747 ²	Margaret	12 Sep. 1748 ²
Ann	29 Jan. 1749 ²	James Vance	
Richard Syril		Thomas	11 Jan. 1747 ²
John	25 Oct. 1742 ²	Mary	25 Feb. 1749 ¹
(Robert Cunningham, sponsor)		William Vance	
John Tate		Moses	20 Oct. 1741 ¹
Elenor	5 Nov. 1747 ¹	William Verdiman	
John	26 Feb. 1749 ¹²	Jemima	8 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
Joseph Teas		Alexander Walker	
William	12 July 1741 ²	Martha	19 July 1747 ²
Charles	31 July 1743 ²	Joseph Walker	
Joseph	11 Sep. 1745 ²	Sarah	10 Apr. 1748 ²
Adam Thomson		Samuel Walker	
Jean	13 Nov. 1740 ²	Barbara	18 Oct. 1741 ⁵
Andrew	15 Mar. 1743 ²	William Wallis [Wallace]	
Margaret	14 Oct. 1744 ²	William	16 Dec. 1740 ¹⁸
Elisabeth	Oct. 1746 ¹	Mary	8 May 1743 ²
Rebecca	14 Aug. 1749 ²	William	1 Sep. 1745 ²
Alexander Thomson		John Weads	
Walkingshaw	19 July 1741 ²	Margaret	8 Mar. 1741 ²⁰
James Thomson		Isaac White	
Mary	June 1746 ⁵	Elisabeth	13 Apr. 1746 ²
Matthew	28 Feb. 1749 ¹⁶	Sarah	28 Feb. 1748 ²
John Thomson		Jeremiah Williams	
John	25 Apr. 1742 ²	Elisabeth	15 Oct. 1740 ⁸⁷

William Williams			William Woods		
John	23 Dec.	1740 ²	Agness	15 Oct.	1741 ¹³
Stephens ⁷	14 July	1742 ²	Mary	20 June	1743 ¹⁸
Sarah ⁷	14 July	1742 ²	Wm Wright		
Joshua	5 Aug.	1744 ²	Samuel	14 Feb.	1743 ²
John Willson			Samuel	8 Apr.	1744 ²
Sarah	2 Mar.	1747 ⁵	Jean	25 May	1746 ²
Rob't Willson ¹⁴			Elisabeth	23 May	1748 ²
Elisabeth	28 June	1743 ¹	James Young		
John	19 May	1747 ²	William	24 May	1749 ¹
John	28 June	1747 ²	John Young		
Thomas	25 Feb.	1749 ¹	John	19 July	1741 ²
William Willson			William	19 Feb.	1744 ²
Sarah	10 May	1741 ⁸	Elisabeth	2 June	1745 ²
Andrew Woods			Margaret	10 July	1748 ²
Margaret	31 Jan.	1747 ²	Hugh Young		
Archibald Woods			Mary	28 June	1743 ¹
Margaret	16 Dec.	1740 ¹⁸	Robert Young		
Michael Woods			Mary	1 Feb.	1741 ¹
Samuel	16 Dec.	1740 ¹⁸	James	15 Oct.	1741 ¹³
Richard Woods			Robert	14 Jan.	1743 ²
Margaret ¹⁹	15 Oct.	1741 ¹³	William	27 May	1745 ²
Samuel ¹⁹	15 Oct.	1741 ¹³	Margaret	10 Sep.	1746 ²
			Hugh	5 Nov.	1747 ¹

¹At North Mountain, a settlement and meeting house ten miles west of Tinkling Spring.

²In the congregation.

³At North Branch of the James River.

⁴At Lunys, James River, probably Mill Creek, just south of Buchanan, Virginia, on U. S. Highway 11.

⁵At Timber Grove, a settlement and meeting house twenty miles southwest of Tinkling Spring, three miles north of Timber Ridge, on U. S. Highway 11.

⁶At John Caldwell's, Buckmountain, twenty miles northeast of Tinkling Spring and east of the Blue Ridge.

⁷A twin.

⁸At the west branch of Conococheague, a stream in Pennsylvania.

⁹At John Funk's, on the Shenandoah River.

¹⁰At Opecken, on a stream near present Winchester, Virginia.

¹¹On Calf Pasture River.

¹²At South Mountain, a settlement and meeting house sixteen miles southwest of Tinkling Spring.

¹³At Gilbert Campbell's, North Branch of the James River.

¹⁴There seem to be two fathers by this name. When there appears sufficient reason to do so, one family is indicated by asterisks.

¹⁵At Daniel Holdman's.

¹⁶At North River Joins James.

¹⁷At Conadogunam in Pennsylvania.

¹⁸At William Wallace's, South Side Ridge, east of Jarman's (Woods) Gap in the Blue Ridge.

¹⁹Not a twin.

²⁰At Rockfish, a settlement and meeting house east of the Blue Ridge and fifteen miles southeast of Tinkling Spring.

²¹On Cow Pasture River.

²²At John Moore's, Borden's Grant.

²³At Robert Craven's in present Rockingham County, Virginia.

²⁴At Patrick Hays', southwest corner Beverly Manor Grant, in the South Mountain settlement.

²⁵At John McDowell's, Borden's Grant.

²⁶At Halfway house, evidently toward Frederick County, Virginia, in the general area of present Harrisonburg, Virginia.

²⁷At the Town, evidently north of Halfway house.

²⁸At Chestnut Levell in Pennsylvania.

²⁹At James McNish's at North Branch Shenandoah River.

³⁰At his house.

³¹Near Great Lick, now Roanoke, Virginia.

³²At Michael Woods', east of Jarman's (Woods) Gap in the Blue Ridge.

³³Near Catapa (Catawba), west of present Buchanan, Virginia.

³⁴At Tinkers Creek, near present Cloverdale, Virginia.

³⁵At Mr. Burdon's (Borden) house, in Borden's Grant.

³⁶At Joseph Kinked's, South Side Ridge, east of Jarman's (Woods) Gap in the Blue Ridge.

³⁷At Bulskin in Pennsylvania.

APPENDIX G. SKETCHES OF EARLY VALLEY CHURCHES THAT NO LONGER EXIST

The record is available for Valley churches now extant where regular religious work was begun under the ministry of the Old Side pioneer minister, the Reverend John Craig, namely Brown's (now Hebron), Rockfish, Stone (now Augusta Stone) and Tinkling Spring Meeting Houses. (The Opequon and Potomac Meeting Houses were of a slightly earlier date in the lower Valley but were not under the ministry of Mr. Craig.) But there are only fragmentary records of several old meeting houses whose early religious influence might well be cherished as a part of the heritage of Virginia Presbyterianism.

MOUNTAIN PLAINS MEETING HOUSE

Though located east of the Blue Ridge this old meeting house grew out of the ministry of Mr. Craig. It is said to have been located about a mile up stream from where the U. S. Highway 250 and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad cross Mechum River in Albemarle County. This work began in the homes of William Wallace, John Caldwell and Michael Woods. After John Caldwell had removed to his new location on Cub Creek, the settlement established the Mountain Plains Meeting House where they worshipped under the leadership of itinerant preachers until 1747. At that time they joined Rockfish in calling Rev. Samuel Black as their settled pastor. The Lebanon Presbyterian Church is the spiritual heir of this early beginning. *The History of Albemarle County in Virginia* by Edgar Woods enlarges on the history of this old meeting house.

NORTH MOUNTAIN MEETING HOUSE

There was a gathering place for worship at "North Mountain" in the fall of 1740 and a year later they had built a "meeting house." The Presbytery of Donegal ordered Mr. Craig in 1740 to supply North Mountain one Sabbath in two months and "as many week days as he can."

In 1745 they joined South Mountain in calling an Old Side minister, Rev. Samuel Black, as settled pastor. He accepted and Donegal Presbytery installed him pastor of the two meeting houses, for as yet they were only Christian Societies, not yet set in order with ordained officers. But following acceptance, "other circumstances" encountered after leaving presbytery caused Mr. Black to change his mind. He refused to undertake this work and presbytery dissolved the unfulfilled pastoral relation.

The New Side Presbytery of New Castle and Synod of New York saw at this time an open door of opportunity in Virginia—whether because of the Old Side failure to settle another pastor is not stated. However, they sent in the fall of 1745 Rev. William Robinson as their most suitable revivalist to reach the Virginia people; following him they sent Rev. John Blair. On his second visit, in 1746, Mr. Blair organized, along with others, North Mountain into a New Side meeting house set in order under the care of New Castle Presbytery.

Major Brown was evidently not too well pleased with happenings at North Mountain, so he proceeded with the help of his neighbors to build a meeting house near his home. It was received by the Augusta court as a place of worship 16 February 1748.

Mr. Craig continued to serve North Mountain. However, in his record for awhile the term "meeting house" is noticeably absent from his notation of place. If he was kept out of the meeting house it was only temporary for the Hanover Presbytery minutes indicate frequent assignments of Mr. Craig to supply there until his death in 1774. Itinerant and supply ministers cared for the North Mountain pulpit until 1778 when she united with Brown's Meeting House to call and settle Rev. Archibald Scott. Mr. Scott's field had two meeting houses on one side of his parish with a large segment of the congregation settled on South River and Christians Creek quite some distance from both. This situation led to a dispute over repairing the old North Mountain Meeting House or relocating. This was the occasion of the building of the Bethel Church.

North Mountain had two installed pastors; one failed to arrive for reasons known in that day, the other within a year centered his activities in a new center of the congregation. Yet the influence for good of that little group in Old Augusta County will be measured only in eternity. Full details of this meeting house will be found in *Bethel and Her Ministers* by Herbert S. Turner.

PEAKED MOUNTAIN MEETING HOUSE

The first tradition concerning the preaching of the gospel in the area of the Peaked Mountain Meeting House comes through the Hook family to the effect that the first ministers to preach in that place were "Rev. Mr. McDowell and Rev. Mr. Thompson." The records of Donegal Presbytery in Pennsylvania confirm the fact that Rev. John Thomson supplied in Virginia in 1739 and that Rev. Alexander McDowell was hastily ordained in 1741 to go to Virginia and help Rev. John Craig.

On the 16th of June, 1742, presbytery licensed Mr. John Hindman to the Presbyterian ministry and sent him on a missionary tour in "the back parts of Virginia." Five months later they ordained him and ordered him "to supply in the back parts of Virginia in a circular Itinerant Manner as before." In time he was called by Presbyterian meeting houses in Virginia but declined to accept. He is credited with the honor of having organized the first church in present Rockingham County. It was called Peaked Mountain. This meeting house was located two and a half miles from the base of Peaked Mountain, the southern end of Massanutten Range. The earliest road orders for that area speak of the "Lower Meeting House on Stevens Spring" in 1744; "Meeting House, Lower Congregation, 200 acres where it is now built including a spring joining Thomas Stephenson's land" in 1746; and "the New Stone Meeting House" in 1749.

Mr. Hindman, disappearing from the Presbyterian record after 1745, borrowed money from John Stephenson, neighbor to his sister, Eleanor (Mrs. John Fletcher), in the Peaked Mountain Congregation and traveled to London for Anglican ordination. On April 7, 1747 he became the Rector of Augusta Parish and continued to live with John Stephenson near Peaked Mountain until his death early in 1748. Other families in that congregation were Craigs, Hooks, Houstons, Thompsons, Scotts, Beards, Hewitts, Frazers, Ways, Lairds and Shanklins.

The Peaked Mountain and Cook's Creek congregations petitioned the Synod of Philadelphia in 1756 to receive and appoint the Reverend Alexander Miller

to become their regular pastor. This was done and he was ordered installed before August 1757. In 1765 Mr. Miller was deposed from the ministry. The congregations of Peaked Mountain and Cook's Creek were served from 1770 to 1773 by the Reverend Thomas Jackson, who, when he died in 1773, is said to have been buried in an old graveyard now covered by the lake at Dayton, Virginia. In this period the names of commissioners and elders from Peaked Mountain appear in presbytery minutes as follows: Thomas Lewis, Esq., John Craig, Archibald Houston, James Brewster, Patrick Frazer and others.

After the Revolutionary War many of the Scotch families removed and Peaked Mountain was overshadowed by other denominations. But in more recent years this church has returned to a place of usefulness as the Massanutten Cross Keys Presbyterian Church. A detail study of this church will be found in *The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 10:17-23, March 1919, "The Early History of the Peaked Mountain Presbyterian Church, Rockingham County, Virginia" by Charles E. Kemper.

SOUTH MOUNTAIN MEETING HOUSE

On the border between Beverley Manor and Borden's Grant were settlers who were not conveniently located to worship at either Tinkling Spring, North Mountain or in Borden's Grant. The first baptisms in this settlement by Mr. Craig were in the homes of Patrick Hays and John Moore. By 30 June 1743 they were worshiping in "South Mountain meeting house." They joined North Mountain in calling Rev. Samuel Black in 1745 but, though transferred and installed by Donegal Presbytery, he did not take up the work and the technical relation as pastor was dissolved by presbytery.

This meeting house was not long, if ever, without dissension in her ranks. The revival issue divided them into Old and New Side groups, the latter being organized by Rev. John Blair into New Providence Meeting House in 1746. The Alexander family tradition is that some of this group were from the Providence Meeting House in Pennsylvania, hence New Providence in Virginia.

Mr. Craig continued to serve the Old Side adherents at South Mountain. The membership is known only from the families who had their children baptized there, some of whom are as follows: Cowsers, Rusks, Mitchells, McCandless, Duncans, Dunlaps, Breckenridges, Doaks, Greenlys, Lowrys, Smileys, Ramseys, Tates and others. Hanover Presbytery made its last mention of South Mountain in 1760 when, because of the scarcity of ministers, they "affectionately" appealed to Brown's, North and South Mountain Meeting Houses to form themselves into "one congregation, at least for a time."

With the healing of the breach between the Old and New Sides in 1758 many churches began using Watts *Imitations of David's Psalms*. The Reverend E. D. Junkin, historian of New Providence, says that about this time the "Psalm singers" of that church seceded and joined others in rebuilding on the old South Mountain site and called their church "Old Providence." With the Seceders in control, South Mountain ceased to exist and Old Providence no doubt drew Psalm singing Seceders from the surrounding area. In 1762 the Old Providence congregation began making formal requests for supplies to the Associate Presbytery of Philadelphia. Many years of notable service for Christ

by Old Providence are now a matter of history and her work continues to be a valuable unit in the building of Christ's Kingdom.

TIMBER GROVE MEETING HOUSE

The first meeting house of record in the Valley of Virginia was Rev. John Craig's reference to "Timber Grove Meeting House" on Sunday, 18 October 1741, when he baptized children at that place for the Hays, Dunlap, Cowser, Martin, Walker, Dickey and Robison families. Mr. Craig continued to baptize children at Timber Grove during the time covered by his record.

In 1746 the New Side movement under Rev. John Blair and others organized a section of this congregation into Timber Ridge Meeting House. This organized group built the second house on, or near, the site of the first Timber Grove house and it was "certified" a "Presbyterian meeting house," on 20 May 1748.

Early road orders in Augusta County include one from the Court House to Timber Grove, ordered 21 November 1746. The reference of Rev. John Craig, 27 February 1749, to baptisms "at Timber Grove" closes the record of this Old Side meeting house. With the calling of a New Side pastor to Timber Ridge Meeting House and their rebuilding with stone in 1756 in a new location, Timber Grove, having served her short day, drops from the record.

The Reverend John Brown became pastor of Timber Ridge and New Providence in 1753. He worshiped as a lad at Tinkling Spring where he lived with the Archibald Stuarts, being a brother to Mrs. Stuart. His wife was Margaret Preston, daughter of John Preston of Tinkling Spring, who was neighbor to the Stuarts. To assume that all the old Timber Grove group supported the work of Mr. Brown when he became pastor at Timber Ridge is a mistake, for only about one family out of five, that Mr. Craig had served, joined in the call to Mr. Brown. However, with the reunion of the Old and New Sides in 1758 Timber Grove people were no doubt soon worshiping with their unwanted evangelical child, Timber Ridge, whose beloved pastor was worthy of their trust and confidence.

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