HISTORY

OF THE

Hebron Lutheran Church,

MADISON COUNTY, VIRGINIA,

FROM

1717 TO 1907.

BY

REV. W. P. HUDDLE, PASTOR.

HENKEL & COMPANY,
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1908.
This is a reprinting of the history of the Hebron Lutheran Church from 1717 to 1907 which was written by Rev. William Peter Huddle, with several printing errors corrected. The history encompasses the arrival of the German Lutheran founders of the congregation at Germanna in Orange County and follows closely the events which transpired during the tenure of each pastor who served the church.

The epilogue, written by Margaret G. Davis, surveys the history from 1908 to 1990. The 1940 bicentennial celebration of the church building is highlighted as well as its restoration to eighteenth century appearance. Three historical documents, located since the publication of the original text, are included as appendices. These are the letter of appreciation to the European benefactors, a petition to the Colonial government to be exempt from paying taxes to the established church, and a four-page pamphlet written by John Caspar Stoever in 1737, to further the appeal for funds to build the church and a school.
History of the
Hebron Lutheran Church
Madison County, Virginia
1717 to 1907

by
Rev. W. P. Huddle

With Epilogue
1908 to 1989

by
Margaret G. Davis

Hebron Lutheran Church
Madison, Virginia
VALLEY OF THE ROBINSON RIVER AND WHITE OAK RUN.
Hebron Lutheran Church.
To
The Behrav Congregation
Which for more than ten years has been so considerate of me and my family,
I dedicate
This Volume.
PREFACE.

This little volume is the result of investigations begun in 1904, in order to write a short sketch of the Hebron congregation for publication in The Lutheran Visitor. The article appeared, July 27, 1905. Many mistakes are to be found in it. I pursued my investigations: the more I learned, the greater became my desire to preserve in permanent form, for my people and the church at large, the facts concerning this the oldest Lutheran congregation in the South.

Many difficulties have had to be met, owing to the lack of early records. Mistakes may be expected, especially in the early history which is very misty and hard to clear up. There were missing links which I could not find. However, I have done my best with the material at hand, trusting that wherein I have failed the future historian will succeed.

I have gone as far as possible to original sources for information. But I have been compelled to use translations from the Hallische Nachrichten and other German works. In addition to a number of foot-notes, I give the principal sources from which the material for this work has been gleaned. They are the Church Records, namely, Treasurer's Reports 1733 and 1734, 1799 to 1807, and 1840 to 1853; Subscription Book of Rev. Stoever, 1735-1739; Baptismal Register from 1750 to 1825; Register of Communicants from 1773 to 1812; Church Books from 1861 to 1907; Records of Spotsylvania, Orange, Culpeper and Madison Counties; Records of the Land Office, Richmond; Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, 1748-1821, Philadelphia, 1898; Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1903, Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3, pp. 1-17, 98-110, 140-150; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Richmond;—[Moravian Diaries of Travel Through Virginia, Vol. XI., (1903-4), No. 2, pp. 113-131; No. 3, pp. 225-242; No. 4, pp.
PREFACE.


I am indebted to many brethren and friends for valuable help, to whom I wish to return publicly my sincere thanks.

The reader must remember that the first Lutherans settled in Essex County; that from 1720 to 1734, they were in Spottsylvania County, though in the meantime they had moved to the Robinson River; and that Orange was formed from a part of Spottsylvania in 1734; Culpeper from Orange in 1748; and Madison from Culpeper in 1792. The congregation therefore has been located respectively in the last four and the church in the last three counties.

The engravings added at considerable cost, it is hoped, will make the work more valuable.

I have added Appendices I. and II., giving respectively a short sketch of Mt. Nebo Lutheran church at Rochelle and copies of documents obtained from the public record office, London, England.

With the hope that it may awaken, among our people, a deeper interest in the history of their church, increase their love for it, and arouse them to make greater efforts to transmit to their posterity the priceless heritage they have received from their German ancestors, this volume is sent forth on its mission.

May the Lord bless this feeble effort to the good of His church and the glory of His name.

Madison, Va., August 1, 1907.
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CHAPTER I.

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN COLONISTS NEAR GERMANNA,
VIRGINIA. 1717-1725.

The Germans have had no small part in the settlement, growth, and development of this country. Their influence has been a considerable factor in determining its social, political, and religious life. While the English, in point of time, preceded them as colonists, yet they have equaled them in patient endurance, heroic endeavor, and in loyalty to their adopted country. They have filled prominent positions in church and state. They have contributed their part in developing the resources, creating the wealth, and insuring the general prosperity of this great nation. German blood flows today in the veins of a large per cent. of our citizens. We have only to hear their names spoken to recognize their German origin.

A large part of the early German colonists, as well as those German immigrants who arrived in more recent years, were of the Lutheran faith. But the first representatives of the Lutheran church in the territory of the United States are not to be found among the Germans, but among the Dutch colonists from Holland who settled at New Amsterdam, now New York city, near the close of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Closely following them, came the Swedes who settled along the Delaware River and built their churches. Then came the Germans in small numbers, toward the close of the seventeenth century. In the next fifty years great numbers had flocked to our shores, settling in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, &c. Among the colonies that sailed for Pennsylvania
there was one, small in numbers, poor in material wealth, but rich in faith, which, after a disastrous voyage, was cast by the hand of Providence upon the shores of Virginia, where it took root, grew, and became the first permanent Lutheran settlement in the State.

Other colonists of the same faith followed a few years later. Together, they established Hebron church a few miles east of the Blue Ridge, in the valley of the Robinson River and White Oak Run, in what is now Madison County. For years it has been known as the "Old Dutch Church." This however is a misnomer, for it was the Germans and not the Dutch who built and worshiped in it. It has stood successively in three counties, Orange, Culpeper, and Madison. And today after a lapse of 167 years it still stands as a monument to the piety, industry, and persistent efforts of these German Lutherans to establish the church of their fathers in the new world. The congregation is known to have been in continued existence for at least a hundred and seventy-four years, and is the oldest of the Lutheran faith in Virginia and in the South. The original part of the building is the oldest Lutheran church built, still used and owned by Lutherans in the United States. It is older than the Trappe church near Philadelphia. The "Old Swedes church" (1699) at Wilmington, Delaware, and the Gloria Dei (1700) at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, are both older, and were built by Lutherans; but they have long been in the possession of the Episcopalians. The history, therefore, of this church building and congregation should be of much interest to Germans and especially to Lutherans.

It was in the year 1717 that a little band of German Lutheran emigrants left the shores of the Fatherland, and set sail with the hope of finding a better country in the wilds of Pennsylvania. Their vessel stopped at London. There, the captain of the ship was imprisoned for debt for several

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weeks. By this delay, part of the ship's provisions were consumed. What remained was insufficient to meet the demands of the passengers and many died of hunger. The rest never reached their intended destination. For after a trying and disastrous voyage in which they were driven southward by a storm, twenty families, consisting of about eighty persons, were landed on the Virginia coast—strangers in a strange land—where they were sold by the captain of the vessel to pay the cost of their transportation. Governor Alexander Spottswood advanced the money, and they became his indentured servants. They were settled by him on the south side of the Rappahannock (Rapidan) River, near Germanna, about twenty miles above Fredericksburg, where he had established three years before a German Reformed colony from Nassau-Siegen, consisting of twelve families of forty-two persons.

2. The Lutheran colony did not settle at but near Germanna. In 1732 Col. Byrd saw there a baker's dozen of ruinous tenements where so many German families had lived. Both colonies had moved; the German Reformed to Fauquier, the Lutheran to Madison County. If the Lutherans had lived at Germanna, there would have been more houses.

3. In April, 1714, this colony was settled at Germanna on the south side of the Rapidan River in the northeast corner of what is now Orange (then Essex) County, about twenty-five miles above Fredericksburg. Their names were John Kemper, Jacob Holtzclaw, John Spillman, John Martin, John and Herman Fishback, John Hoffman, Joseph Cuntz (Coons), Jacob Rickart (Rector), Dillman Weaver, Milchert (Melchior) Brumback, and Peter Hitt (Will Book A. Spottsylvania C. H., Va., pp. 69, 73, 74.) It is stated positively that this colony was German Reformed. Some Lutheran writers have claimed that it was Lutheran. This is certainly a mistake, as we know from having looked up the records at Spottsylvania and Orange Counties, and also the Land Books at Richmond, Va. We do not hesitate to say they were not Lutherans. And even if they were, they certainly did not assist in the founding of the Lutheran church on the Robinson River. John Hoffman and Jacob Holtzclaw of this colony did patent lands near the church, not earlier than Sept., 1728. The former resided in Madison County, and is known to have been a Fres-
The names of eight of them are known. They are Christopher Zimmerman, Matthew (Michael) Smith, Michael Cook, Andrew Kerker, Henry Snyder, Christopher Pavlur or Parlur (later known as Beller, Barler, and Barlow), Hans Herren Burger (John Harnsburger), and John Motz. The other twelve are probably Conrad Amburger, Balthaser Blankenbeker, Nicholas Blankenbeker, Matthias Blankenbeker, Michael Clore, George Sheible, George Mayer, Michael Kaifer, Michael Holt, George Utz, Zerichias Fleshman and Andrew Ballenger. The twelve last named, together with Nicholas Yager, John Broyles, Philip Paulitz, Henry Snyder, Michael Smith, Michael Cook, were being sued in the court of Spottsylvania County in 1724 for money which Col. Spottswood claimed was still due him for their transportation. Three of them make oath that they came into this country in 1717. It might be concluded that the eighteen sued came the same year. If this be so, the number of families must have been at least twenty-four, for five of those known to have been of the 1717 colony had settled for their passage money and the name of George Long would have to be included.

Presbyterian (Calvinist) or German Reformed; the latter as far as we can ascertain lived and died in Fauquier County. Certainly he was a resident of that county as late as 1747 (D. Book, Orange Co., No. 11, p. 83.) Some of the descendants of these colonists became members of Hebron church in later years, but they were not among its founders. The Reformed colony left Germanna about 1721 and located at Germantown in Fauquier County. Rev. Henry Haeger, their pastor, went with them to their new settlement where he continued his work and where he died in 1737. For a full history of this colony, see Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Vol. II., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and the Kemper Genealogy by Willis M. Kemper.


The particular localities in Germany from which they came have not been determined positively. Efforts are now being made to solve the problem which we hope will prove successful. From the naturalization papers of Nicholas Yager and his son Adam, we are informed that the former was a native of Hesse and that the latter was born near Dusseldorf in the Dukedom of Neuburg, Empire of Germany. Now both Nicholas Yager and his son may have come with the first colony, but the evidence seems to put their arrival a year later. In the Moravian Diaries, it is said that most of the colonists living in the neighborhood of Hebron church in 1748, came from Wurtemburg. This may be true, but at that time there were about eighty families. The first colonists were in the minority, and hence the statement may or may not be evidence as to the province from which they came. Rev. John Caspar Stoever’s account of the Hebron congregation, as well as a report printed at Weimar a few years later, states that they came from Alsace, the Palatinate, and neighboring districts. It seems certain, therefore, that they did not all come from the same province in Germany. The above statements are indefinite, it is true, but they embody all the information we have been able to get.

The cause of their emigration to this country is found in these words, “on account of the then well known severe persecutions.” Not being able to determine the provinces from which they came, the conditions under which they lived, civil and religious, can be described only in a general way. At the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, deplorable conditions prevailed in Germany. The hardships and sufferings of the masses of the people were almost too great for endurance. The wars of Louis XIV. and that of the Spanish Succession had well nigh exhausted Germany and especially those provinces along the Rhine. In addition to the effects of war, the extravagance, cruelty, and despotism of the rulers, the con-

tentions that existed between the different confessions of religion, followed by intolerance and persecution—all these more or less were felt throughout Germany,—so that the lot of her citizens became exceedingly hard to bear. The general misery became so great that many Protestants—especially from the upper provinces of the Rhine—emigrated to America rather than continue to live under such conditions. Among those who emigrated from Germany we find the colony of 1717.

Another Lutheran colony (and it may be colonies), consisting of forty families, arrived between 1717 and 1720. These also had to pay the cost of their transportation to Virginia by serving the English. And though they were scattered during their servitude, when they became free most of them must have settled in the neighborhood of their countrymen. There is some evidence of a colony in 1718. Although January seems to have been an unusual month for vessels to arrive, yet Frederic Cobler \(^7\) makes oath that he came into this country in that month and year. If his statement is true, others also must have arrived that year. With him we would put Nicholas Yager, Philip Paulitz, John Broyles \(^1\), Jacob Broyles, and George Long.\(^7\)\(^\frac{1}{2}\) All these may have arrived a year earlier or later. There is positive evidence of a colony in Nov., 1719. The following persons \(^8\) made oath that they came into this country the above named month and year: John Blowers, Meredith Helms, Godfrey Ridge, John Bell, Thomas Jackman, Joseph Right, and John Broyles \(^2\).

The first colonists, after their arrival in the wilderness near Germanna, went earnestly to work to build rude huts, establish new homes, and provide a living for themselves and families. It is said of them, as it is of the German Re-

\(^7\) Will Book A, Spottsylvania County, p. 69.
\(^7\)\(^\frac{1}{2}\). Court Order Book Spottsylvania County, 1724-1730, pp. 142, 352. Also Will Book A, Spottsylvania County, p. 69.
\(^8\) Will Book A, Spottsylvania County, pp. 68, 69.
formed colonists, that they supported themselves in all quietness by agriculture and cattle raising. According to tradition they were employed in Governor Spottswood's iron mines. This, it seems certain, is true. Those familiar with the management of blast furnaces in which charcoal is the fuel used, will doubtless believe with us that they were employed part of the time in the manufacture of iron and also raised a few cattle and farmed on a small scale. But it seems that they did not prosper and that their lot was a sad and bitter one. They were poor, and it was with difficulty that they could get the necessaries of life. They had not only to provide for their families, but also to return by service or money their transportation charges. The hardships, temptations, and struggles through which they passed could not be written even if we had full data. They could get no lands of their own and set up no permanent homes. If their complaint was just they received hard treatment at the hands of Col. Spottswood. Rev. John Caspar Stoever says that they underwent great hardships during their first eight years. In 1724, they were having trouble—a number of them had been sued in the court of Spottsylvania County. And these suits were pending for several months.

Tradition says that they at length became disgusted with the poverty of the soil and their hard life in the mines, and determined to leave the Governor's lands and secure lands of their own. This determination to leave, no doubt, caused him to institute proceedings against them, as he wished to retain them in his service. On April 23, 1724, Zerichias Fleshman and George Utz laid a petition 9 before the Colonial Council at Williamsburg in behalf of themselves and fourteen other high-Germans then living near Germanna, in which they complain that Col. Spottswood had unjustly sued them in the court of Spottsylvania County for the non-performance of a certain agreement pretended to have

been entered into with him in consideration of money advanced them upon their transportation into the colony. They claimed that they had performed and were ready to perform any agreement made with him. He, they said, had refused to give them a copy of the agreement for which they had asked; hence they, having been already sued, applied to the Colonial Council, in order to secure justice. An attorney, Mr. Henry Conyers, was allowed them to conduct their defense. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the suits against three of them were dismissed: that against a fourth was dismissed by the plaintiff, upon the consent of the defendant to pay the fees of the clerk and sheriff. We have found no records of how the others were finally settled.

What provision, it may be asked, had these Lutherans to supply their spiritual needs, during these eight years? Rev. Henry Haeger, the German Reformed minister who had a congregation at Germanna and preached in the block-house, served his own people and the Lutherans “in common.” But after his removal to Fauquier County about 1721, they had no minister as far as known. In the absence of proof, we think it can safely be said that they had services in their homes conducted by one or more of their number. These would consist of song, prayer, scripture reading, exhortation and reading a sermon or selection from some devotional work.

Some writers have claimed that Rev. Gerhard Heukel was at one time pastor of this colony. Of this, we have found no evidence we consider credible. The claim may be true. But in all the references we have seen there are found statements that cannot be true. Hence we must believe that while he may have visited and preached for the people, he was not their pastor. Rev. John Caspar Stoever ought to have known, and he says that he himself was the first pastor and that for sixteen years they had been without public worship and a pastor. Sixteen years date back to 1717.
The German Reformed and Lutheran colonists sent Mr. Christopher Zollikoffer of St. Gall in Switzerland, as their agent to Germany to secure an assistant minister to Rev. Mr. Haeger and to collect funds to establish a church and school. He carried with him to England a petition which was laid before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, October 2, 1719. In it, they asked the Society for the support of a minister. The result of this petition, which was not acted upon till March 18, 1721, was that the Society refused to grant their request, but agreed to give them 25 copies of the Common Prayer in the German language. Mr. Zollikoffer collected money and books in Germany and returned about the fall of 1720. How the funds were used and what became of the German Prayer Books, we have not learned.

Did the Lutherans have a church in the place of their first settlement? There is no evidence that they had. This is true of both the Lutherans and the German Reformed. Certainly there was none in 1719. It is true, there existed the German Parish of St. George from 1717 to about 1720. This included an area extending five miles on each side of the town of Germanna. Whether the Lutherans were included in this area or not, we do not know, for the exact locality of their settlement has not been determined. In all probability they were. The General Assembly of Virginia created the Episcopal Parish of St. George, when Spottsylvania became a county. An appropriation of £500 was made for building a church, courthouse, &c. This church afterward built by Col. Spottswood was not a Lutheran, but an Episcopal church of the Parish of St. George.

CHAPTER II.

THE REMOVAL AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN COLONISTS ON THE ROBINSON RIVER AND WHITE OAK RUN. 1725—1733.

The poverty of these Germans, their hard lives as indentured servants, their desire to possess lands of their own and finally trouble with Col. Spottswood, impelled them to leave the settlement near Germanna and try their fortunes farther west where better lands could be obtained at little or no cost and where they could make better provisions for themselves and families. They sought out and found a better country on the banks of the Robinson River and White Oak Run, in Madison (then Spottsylvania) County, near the eastern base of the Blue Ridge. They moved up the Rapidan River, crossing it according to tradition below Madison Mills at the old German ford, and settled on both sides of the Robinson River and White Oak Run. With the church as a center, a radius of about eight miles would include the territory they occupied.

The place of their new settlement is described as being at "Smith's Island." The evidence as to its location we consider conclusive, though no island is now to be found. White Oak Run was first called "Island Run," because there was an island near its mouth. It bears this name in the first patents granted the settlers. A few years later the name was dropped and White Oak Run takes its place, though for years afterward the "Island line" was referred to and was well known. As early as August 5, 1729, there was an island in the first fork of the White Oak Run. It was situated east of the church between the foot-hill and the run. The hillock rising above the bottom lands and covered with trees and bushes was certainly part of it, and may have been itself the island, for the tradition is still preserved that it was called
"the little island." It is not now, but it may have been then in the first fork of the White Oak Run. During a freshet in 1906, we could trace plainly the outline of an island in the first fork a hundred yards higher up the run. The church and island being only about a stone’s throw from each other were the center of this settlement. "Smith's Island" and the one in the first fork of the White Oak Run are undoubtedly the same.

All the colonists did not move at the same time. Tradition has still preserved thirteen surnames which are said to be those of the first settlers. They are Aylor, Blankenbeker, Carpenter (Zimmerman), Crigler, Finks, Hoffman, Clore, Yager, Utz, Wayland, Souther, Crisler, and Weaver. We doubt very much the correctness of all these names. Some of them are undoubtedly correct, while it seems certain that others did not arrive until a few years later. The first colonists were soon reinforced by others; some from the old settlement, others from the surrounding neighborhood when the time of their servitude to the English had expired. New immigrants also arrived, coming by way of Pennsylvania, till in eight years their number had increased to about three hundred.

The time of the removal of the first Germans to Madison County cannot now be fixed positively. It certainly was not earlier than April 23, 1724, for they were then living near Germanna; it certainly was not later than June 24, 1726, for then the first lands were patented. The Germans to whom Rev. Hugh Jones refers as having already moved further up in 1724, were undoubtedly those of the 1714 colony. From certain court orders found at Spottsylvania Court House, giving these Germans the privilege of making roads—the one to clear a road from the ferry at Germanna to Smith's Island up the Rapidan—the other to lay

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out and make the most convenient way for ye Germans' Mountain Road,' Mr. Charles E. Kemper, of Washington, D. C., in an article, "Early Westward Movement of Virginia," concludes that it was probably in 1726. But it seems more probable to us that they were already at "Smith's Island," July 6, 1725, when leave was granted them to make a road; for early pioneers usually made settlement first and roads afterward. Our conclusion is that it was in the spring of the year 1725. The year before eighteen of them were being sued by Col. Spottswood. Five (Christopher Zimmerman, Christopher Parlor [Barler], John Motz, John Harnsburger, and Andrew Kerker) had already settled for their transportation, and as early as the first of September, 1724, the suits against four of them (Andrew Ballenger, Michael Holt, George Utz and Michael Clore) had been dismissed, and in all probability nearly all of them had been decided by the end of the year. They were then free to leave their first settlement and secure lands of their own. Beside, the eight years of affliction, through which the founders of Hebron church on the Robinson River passed, of which Rev. Stoever speaks, must have been while they lived near Germanna. His statement, together with the other evidence, fixes the year almost positively. It is reasonable to suppose that when they were free from the service of Col. Spottswood and had settled on lands of their own, they would be enabled to make better provision for themselves and families. Eight years, counting from 1717, puts them in Madison County in 1725.

This colony, transplanted to more congenial soil on the western border of the county, became for the time the advance guard of civilization westward. There was no white settlement between them and the Pacific Ocean. The vast wilderness surrounded them, and settlements of Indians are said to have existed at a distance of about forty miles.

But they lived on friendly terms with their red-faced neigh-
bors. In their excursions, they sometimes camped nearby,
visited the settlers, and even allowed themselves to be
coaxed into their homes where they received much kind-
ness. The tradition is still preserved that from the old
church, the smoke of their camp-fires near Haywood could
be seen; and that guards were placed around the church to
protect the worshippers against an unexpected attack.

Their first work, according to tradition, was to build a
fort and stockade on the north side of the Robinson River,
about a mile from the church, on what is now known as
the Thornton Utz place near the residence of Mr. Samuel
N. Banks. The fort was used as a protection against hos-
tile Indians and also as a place of worship. Here the first
religious services, which must have been conducted by a
layman, are said to have been held.

What has been said of other German immigrants is cer-
tainly true of these. They were “a hardy, industrious, and
honest people.” And their descendants still show the same
characteristics. They were also a religious people. They
brought with them “their Bibles, hymn-books, and a few
devotional works.” And though settled in a strange land
and denied the privilege of having the Gospel preached
among them, they did not forget to worship the God of their
fathers. Their persistent efforts to have a pastor among
them and their sacrifices made to secure and support their
first one, show how deeply religious they were and how
ardently they desired to have their children reared in the
faith of the Gospel.

Used to toil, they went earnestly to work, building their
rude huts, clearing the forests, and cultivating the soil.
Soon from the top of the Blue Ridge, “the eye of the Indian
as it swept the range of this beautiful valley, saw the luxu-
riant woods here and there dotted with fields and the smoke
curling gracefully among the branches of the trees as it as-

16. Patented by George Utz.
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cended from the white man's hut. The sound of the wood­
man's axe and saw and the cheerful voices of children, gave
life to the scene and bore to the ear of the savage unmis-
takable proof that the tide of civilization rolling westward
would soon sweep him from the soil that sepulchred the
ashes of a long ancestry.''

Settled in their humble homes and their immediate wants
supplied their next step was to build a house of worship.
Since the removal of Rev. Haeger from Germanna in 1721,
they had had, so far as known, no minister to break to
them and their children the bread of life. Their need was
great. So anxious were they to have a pastor that in 1725
they sent two of their number to Germany for this purpose.
Whether this was before or after their settlement in Madison
County is uncertain, but we know their efforts were not
successful. They returned but brought no minister with
them. This was a sore disappointment to these anxious,
waiting people. They had hoped and prayed and waited
for their return and for the success of their mission.

It must have been during the absence of these commis­
sioners that "The German chapel" was built. That such
a house existed is proven by two facts. First, Michael
Cook was clerk or reader in "the German chapel" during
part at least of the time that Rev. Stoever was absent in
Europe. Second, in 1760, Lord Fairfax made a grant17
of land to John Carpenter, in which one line of the survey
is described as meeting George Utz's line at the place where
"the German chapel stood." Within the bounds of this
grant which called for 1245 acres was included the land for­
merly patented by Andrew Kerker. We have had this
grant plotted, and the conclusion is that the chapel stood on
the same lot as the present church. The reference shows
that it had already been torn down. The church lot must
have been given by Andrew Kerker, though no deed for it
appears till 1790. This house certainly was built of logs.

No description of it remains but that given of the first house of worship, built in Kentucky by their descendants, would fit it very well. "It was a cabin church in reality, built of unhewn logs. The roof and door were made of clapboards. The floor was laid with puncheons and the seats were made of saplings. An opening was made at each end by sawing out a few logs for windows. These were always open, that is, without sash or lights. They had neither stove nor fireplace in it and yet met for worship during the winter." The date of its erection can safely be put as early as 1726, for Mr. F. J. Crigler, one of the oldest members now living, tells us he was always told by the old people of his family that services were held in a house on the same lot and near the present church as early as 1726. Though while building this chapel they had no pastor, they were making efforts to secure one, they believed their efforts would be successful and the house would be ready at his coming. There is no reasonable doubt about their having had religious services of some kind. The fact that Michael Cook was clerk or reader in this same chapel some years later, proves that there certainly was one among them competent to hold religious worship and strongly argues that he or some other lay-member did during this period.

It would be of much interest if we could give the names of all the founders of this church. But this cannot now be done as only part of them are known. We give the names of twenty-two German settlers who first patented lands on the Robinson River and White Oak Run, June 24, 1726. They are Zerichias Fleshman, Henry Snyder, John and Michael Tower, or Tomer (doubtless Tanner or Turner), Matthias Blankenbeker, Nicholas Blankenbeker, Belthaser

Blankenbeker, John Prial (Broyles), George Utz, George Sheible, Nicholas Yager, Christopher Zimmerman, Michael Smith, Jacob Crigler, Michael Clore, Michael Cook, George Mayer, George Woodroof, Matthias Beller, Michael Kaifer, William Cimberman (Carpenter), and Michael Holt. Two days later John Motz and John Harnsburger of the 1717 colony patented lands. These certainly were Germans; and nearly, if not all, were Lutherans and among the founders of "the German Lutheran congregation" in Madison County.

September 28, 1728, the following persons patented lands: Michael Holt, William Carpenter, John Thomas, Christopher Zimmerman, Jacob Broyles, Thomas Wayland, George Woods, Michael and John Clawse, Cyrus and Peter Fleshman, Frederic Cobler, Robert Tanner, Michael Wilhoit, Andrew Kerker, George Mayer, Thomas Farmer, Matthias Costler (Crisler), Thomas Wright, &c. Nearly all of these must have been Germans, and as far as can be ascertained of the Lutheran faith. John Hoffman and Jacob Holtzclaw of the first colony at Germanna also patented lands near the Robinson River, the latter September 27, 1728, the former September 28, 1729. But as we have stated before they are known not to have been Lutherans. Of the five belonging to the 1717 colony not sued by Col. Spottswood and of the eighteen sued by him we have traced all to the neighborhood of Hebron church by patents and deeds except one, Andrew Ballenger, and we have found Edward Ballenger as the owner of property on the south side of Deep Run in 1733. There are also others who patented lands a few years later. Among them we find George Lang (Long), September 17, 1731; Pattas

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22. This was the "Glebe farm."
22½. A tributary from the north which flows into the Robinson River, a mile below the church, at Russell's Ford.
Hebron Church, With Annex, Built About 1860.
HEBRON CHURCH.

Blankenbeker, March 28, 1732; John Michael Stolts, April 11, 1732; Conrad Amburger, John Carpenter, and Joseph Bloodworth, June 20, 1734; Jacob Manspoil and Andrew Garr, October 3, 1734, &c. As no church records covering this period can be found the names of the members cannot be determined. However a number of those just named are known to have been Lutherans and among the founders of this congregation.

The date of the organization cannot be determined positively. It is certain that an organized congregation existed as early as January 1, 1733, as is to be seen from the Treasurer's report for that year. It was during this period that the oldest pieces of the communion service were given the church. They are one large paten, on which is an engraving made by hand of the institution of the Lord's Supper, two patens each with an engraving of Christ on the cross and a baptismal bowl—all made of pewter. These bear the inscription, "A gift from Thomas Giffin, London, May 13, 1727." There are also two flagons, made of the same material, on which are inscribed the words, "A gift from Thomas Giffin, London Hall Street, London, October 21, 1729." A wafer box, doubtless of one of the dates named, was carried off during the Civil War by a Federal soldier. How they came into the possession of the congregation is not known. Tradition and history as far as we can ascertain are both silent. It seems very probable to us that they were secured by the two commissioners sent to Europe, either through the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts or the German Lutheran Ministers in London. Now the earliest date on this service strongly argues the existence of a congregation. And the fact that the two commissioners had the power to engage the services of a pastor, shows that there must have existed an organization of some kind from which they derived their authority to act. This carries us back to 1725, the year of their settlement at "Smith's Island." We have found no positive
evidence of a German Lutheran congregation near Germanna, though one probably existed. But as many of the founders of the church belonged to the colony of 1717, we may very appropriately date the beginning of the congregation from that year. And this agrees with Rev. Stoever's statements in his published report of 1737. The organization must have been effected by the members themselves. Congregations in those early days were often formed in this way and existed for years without a pastor. As an example, Hopeful church in Boone County, Kentucky, was organized by Lutherans from Hebron in 1806 and existed eight years without a pastor. During these years "services were kept up regularly, unless providentially hindered, every Sabbath."

The name Hebron does not appear for years after the church had been founded. It is simply spoken of as "the German congregation." In the history of the Hopeful church, Boone County, Kentucky, which was composed chiefly of emigrants from the Hebron church, the author, Mr. H. A. Rattermann, editor of the Dutch Pioneer, refers to the diary of Rev. Gerhard Henkel, in which he speaks of a church erected in the beginning by these Germans and called die Hoffmungs-volle Kirche (the church of Good Hope). That the chapel first built was named Hopeful we consider very probable because of the name given the new organization in Kentucky. The child would naturally take the first name of the parent. Of this however we can find no evidence. We know that after the building of the church and the establishment of the congregation upon a solid basis it was called by its present name, Hebron.

"The old church in Madison County," says Rev. H. Max Lentz, "was composed of Lutherans and German Re-

22% Mr. George C. Henkel, M. D., Farmersville, Ohio, who is said to have in his possession the diary of Rev. Gerhard Henkel, wrote the author March 7, 1906, that he had no such book and never had.

23. History of the Lutheran Churches in Boone County, Ky., p. 16.
formed members.” We have been able to get no positive evidence either to substantiate or deny the statement. It was customary in those days for Lutherans and German Reformed to unite in erecting houses of worship for the use of both. And as some of the Germans on the Robinson River are known to have been German Reformed and to have afterward built the Hoffman chapel about two miles distant, it is probable that the statement is true. But we must say that no tradition even is preserved that they both worshiped in Hebron church.
CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST PASTOR, JOHN CASPAR STOVER, AND HIS WORK IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY. 1733-1739.

After repeated attempts on the part of the congregation, to secure the services of a minister, success at length crowned their efforts, and Rev. John Caspar Stoever became their first pastor in the spring of 1733. He had a son named John Caspar,24 who was also a minister and who did successful work in Pennsylvania for many years.

John Caspar Stoever,25 the elder, was born at Frankenberg, in Hesse, in 1685. "His father Dietrich Stoever conducted a mercantile establishment. His mother Magdalena was the daughter of Andrew Eberwein, pastor at Frankenberg. One of his baptismal sponsors was John Christian Eberwein, pastor and head teacher in the Pedagogium at Giessen, which position was held for a long time after by a relative of the Stoovers, John Philip Fresenius, one of the most prominent and the warmest friend of the Lutheran church in America. Already in youthful years Stoever was a teacher at Amweiler on the eastern slope of the Hartz mountains, and received from there good testimonials of his

24. John Caspar Stoever, Jr., was born December 21, 1707, in the Duchy of Berg. His father was a native of Hesse and his mother's name was Gertrude. He received his literary and theological education in Germany. He came to America with his father in 1728, landing in Philadelphia, September 11. He was ordained by Rev. John Christian Schulze, April 8, 1733, in a barn at the Trappe (New Providence), where the Providence congregation worshiped. He organized many congregations in eastern Pennsylvania, and ministered to many already organized; also made mission tours into Virginia, preaching, baptizing, and marrying. He died at Lebanon, Pa., May 13, 1779.

descent and his character, which were prepared for him by the elders of the congregation. Here he had also attended to the playing of the organ and probably engaged in the study of theology. In the year 1728, he sailed with ninety Palatines on the ship Good-will, David Crocket, master, of Rotterdam, leaving Deal on the 15th of June, and landed in Philadelphia on the 11th of September."

Where he passed the years between his arrival in Pennsylvania and the beginning of his ministry in Virginia is not positively known. He seems to have labored in and around Philadelphia or to have returned to Europe. We can find no evidence of his being in Virginia prior to 1733. The congregation had sent to Pennsylvania to inquire about a pastor. This inquiry may have resulted in his coming to Virginia. He received a call from the Hebron church. Afterward, in company with Mr. George Sheible, he traveled to Pennsylvania, where in 1733 he was ordained by Rev. John Christian Schulze who was the only regularly ordained clergyman south of New York to whom he could apply. His ordination must have taken place in the spring, for he administered communion to his people for the first time, the second Sunday after Trinity. He says that the most kind God sought him out as an unworthy servant for their teacher and pastor after previous calling and ordination.

The spiritual condition of these Germans must have been deplorable when he began his ministry among them. For sixteen years they had been without the services of a Lutheran pastor. They were scattered and like sheep without a shepherd. They had passed through great sufferings and privations. They had known what it was to suffer need, both in temporal and spiritual things, since their coming to Virginia. But during the last eight years their material prospects had brightened, and they were now very well supplied with temporal things. They grew their food supplies

and cultivated tobacco which they exchanged for their necessary clothing. Still what spiritual destitution must have existed during those years without a pastor to teach their children, preach the word, administer the sacraments, comfort the sick and dying, and bury the dead! No wonder they were in the greatest hunger for the Word of God. No wonder the ministry of this godly man brought joy to their hearts. He found them shepherdless, and the great desire of his heart was to tend this flock of which God had made him overseer. His coming was God's answer to their continued prayers and persistent efforts, and it brought to them comfort, hope, help in the time of their need.

He informs us that he was the first pastor of this church, that at the time of entrance upon the duties of his office or soon after, the number of souls was three hundred, that he began service of public worship among them, teaching and administering the sacraments as God gave him ability, and that he contented himself with a yearly salary of 3,000 pounds of tobacco—about forty dollars—which his parishioners paid in addition to taxes for the support of the English church.

With the coming of a pastor there arose the need of a parsonage. The same year a farm of 193 acres, more or less, was bought of Mr. William Carpenter. This farm is still known as the "Glebe." A parsonage or "Glebe-haus" was built on it by the beginning of the fall of 1734. The deed, still in the possession of the church, and preserved in the clerk's office of Madison County, was made December 3, 1733, to Michael Cook and Michael Smith, wardens and trustees of the German church and people inhabiting in the fork of the Rappahannock River, in St. Mark's Parish, in the county of Spottsylvania, for a glebe for the use of the minister of the said German people and his succes-

27. See chancery causes ended September, 1890. E. D. Fray, &c., versus Trustees of the Lutheran church. Also recorded in Deed Book B, Spottsylvania Co., Va., pp. 487, 488.
sors forever. It was signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of John Waller, Robert Turner, Edward Brough-ton, James King, and William Henderson. The consider­ation named in the deed was five shillings lawful money of Virginia. For years it has been said that this farm was a gift. But after we discovered at Orange Court House in the summer of 1906, the treasurer's report of the congre­gation for 1733 and 1734, we know that it was bought. This report shows that it was paid for in full, and that the price must have been several pounds.

Rev. Stoever was deeply interested in the education of his people and in the establishment of a school for the instruction of the young. Did he establish a school while pastor? It has been said that he did, but we can find no evidence to substantiate the statement. We know he conceived the idea of a school, gathered money for that purpose, but it seems certain that its actual establishment was the work of his successor. Of this we will have something to say in the next chapter.

The time he passed in Virginia, as pastor of Hebron, was short—only about a year and a half. But in that time he did much for his people and laid the foundation for the future growth and prosperity of the church. A new house of wor­ship was badly needed. The chapel in which he preached had become too small for the growing congregation and unsuitable for church purposes. The means of his people were limited. After paying their pastor's salary and taxes for the support of the established church, they felt that the burden of building was too great for them to bear alone. What should they do? It was finally decided to ask help of their brethren across the seas. Accordingly, in the fall of 1734, the pastor, Michael Smith an elder, and Michael Holt a member of the congregation were sent to Europe to solicit funds to aid in building a church, establishing a school, and supporting an assistant pastor.

These Germans, before starting their commissioners on their mission across the sea, were anxious to have a recommendation from the Governor of the province. But as he did not know their poverty and need of help, they laid a petition before the court of Spottsylvania County and the court certified to the truth of what they affirmed. As we have never seen this court order²⁹ in print we give it in full.

"Order Book 1730 to 1738 page 337.

"On the petition of Michael Holt, Michael Smith & Michael Clore in behalf of themselves and ye rest of the Germans, seated by the great Mountains on the Robinson River, in this County, setting forth that they have a Minister, (Ye Rev. Augustine Stover) who they accommodate, pay and satisfy his salary at y'r own charge, and have already purchased a Glebe & built a house for the use of Y'e S'd Minister. And also that they are building a Church for Y'e congregation, but being of low circumstances (& obliged to pay levies in the Parish where they live) and not being able to go through the charge, are sending home to Germany y'e Rev. Augustine Stover, Michael Holt & Michael Smith in order to get some relief & assistance toward Y'e building of said Church & maintainance of y'e s'd Minister.

"Humbly desiring this Court to recomend the same to his Hon. the Governor in order that they might get a certificate of him to testify the truth thereof ; is granted and ordered that ye same be certified according to petition.

"'At a Court held for Spotsylvania County on Tuesday September 3rd 1734. A copy ; Teste : T. A. Harris clerk.'

With this certificate from the court they applied to Governor Gooch, who certified³⁰ to the truth of what they had already done, their need of help, and also that his written testimonial was given, that full credence might be given the commissioners in Germany in all their endeavors and under-

²⁹. Court Order Book 1730 to 1738, Spottsylvania Co., p. 337.
takings. The seal of the colony was affixed. Signed by William Gooch, September 18, 1734.

Thus recommended the collectors went first to England where they were kindly received by the German Lutheran ministers in London: Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, court chaplain; Rev. Henry Alard Butjenter, court preacher at the German court chapel of St. James; Rev. D. Henry Walther Gerdes and Rev. Henry Werner Palm, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran church in Savoy. Here they received not only a good contribution, but also a letter of recommendation from them to Holland and Germany. No records are preserved of any gifts received or subscriptions taken up in England.

From England they proceeded to Holland where they began their collections in Amsterdam about the first of August, 1735. They then passed into Germany and took up the work at Oldenburg. From thence continuing their course in a northeastern direction they passed through Bremen and Hamburg, meeting with much success; thence to Lübeck, and on to Kolberg where they received $146. The amount collected to this time was $1460. From Kolberg they passed on through Koslin, Stolp, Lauenburg to Danzig, where we find them June 11, 1736, and where they remained about two months. Here Michael Holt left them and returned by way of London to Virginia. In Elbing, a city of Polish Prussia, about fifty miles southeast of Danzig, a candidate of theology, Mr. George Samuel Klug, was found and engaged as an assistant pastor to Rev. Stoever. Though it is said that Mr. Klug, immediately after his ordination, proceeded from Danzig to England and from there to Virginia, in company of Michael Smith, yet Rev. Stoever's will shows that this was a mistake. If he was accompanied by either, and it seems that he was, it was Michael Holt. From Danzig, the two traveled by way of Elbing, Marienberg, and Thorn to Königsberg (Nov. 15, 1736). They then returned southward, passing through
Neu-Brandenburg (Jan. 31, 1737), Luneburg and Hanover to Leipsic (July 24). They afterward visited Altenburg, Weimar, Eisenach, Eisfeld, Coburg, Strassburg, and other cities. We have not named all, but enough to indicate the route taken and something of the extent of their travels. The last name that appears is Frankford-on-the-Main, November 25, 1737. Money was collected and forwarded by draft to London.

We will now speak of the old subscription book which Rev. Stoever carried through Holland and Germany and which we have before us as we write. We had parts of it read by the late Rev. Paul Menzel, D. D., of Richmond, Virginia. The notes taken at the time have been used and also passages of a description given of it by Rev. W. G. Campbell while pastor.

"This old book of subscriptions is not only interesting, but is valuable as a link in the chain of evidence connecting the Germanna colony (colony near Germanna) with the German Lutheran settlement in Madison County. It is a volume of 179 pages and is bound in parchment." The first three pages have been lost. Five languages are used. The first few pages are written in Dutch; the body of the book in German. There are some statements written in French and in Latin; signatures in Latin and only two subscriptions in English. "A staunch friend in Lubec signs himself 'An admirer of the promoting of Christianity, especially of ye Evangelical Lutheran Faith in Foreign parts.' There are many warm words of cheer expressed in German, but nothing so fervent as the exclamation of an English-speaking friend who had little else to give but a hearty, 'God bless ye Lutheran church in Virginia.'"

"It covers a period of time from August 11, 1735, to May 20, 1739, and contains a history of the money received with names of donors in autograph." Page 178 gives a statement of money forwarded from different places to John Caspar Stoever, with a note written between the lines, stat-
ing the fact that he died at sea, and also the sum of the collections recorded, which was 7841 rix-dollars, and the remainder, after all expenses of collecting had been paid, which was 4265 rix-dollars. We will give a translation of the last page in the next chapter.

'It is now kept in the fireproof vault of the clerk's office of Madison County, and is the property of the church, having been safely preserved through the vicissitudes' of a hundred and seventy-two years.

'It is a quaint old book, a perusal of whose time-stained pages calls up a thousand misty fancies of the men whose fingers penned these words that are yet legible and which have long since become ashes and dust.'

This book does not contain all the subscriptions taken. There were "collection books, as well as other documents not found in the collection books," and especially a small Hamburg almanac in which were entered many large and small sums in the Latin language, all of which belonged to the receipts. But only the one book remains.

The total value of all collections is said to have been nearly three thousand pounds, between fourteen and fifteen thousand dollars. One-third was paid the collectors for their traveling expenses and as a compensation for their services; the other two-thirds were turned over to the congregation and used in building the church, purchasing a farm, and black slaves to work it, from the proceeds of which the pastors were to get their salaries.

There were also collected a number of theological books for Mr. Stoever and a valuable library of standard works for the congregation. A number received from book-deal-

31. The rix-dollar was a silver coin of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, varying in value in different places from 60 cents to $1.08. Worth now about 75 cents.


ers at Leipsic and Strassburg were exchanged at Frankfort for two hundred Frankfort hand-books which they had bound for use. Others given at Strassburg were exchanged for hymn-books printed in large type for use in public worship. At Plymouth, England, they bought one hundred pieces of cut-glass for the windows of the church and three hundred pounds of putty to hold them in the frames, at a cost of about one hundred and twenty-five dollars.

A silver cup and a small plate were secured to complete the communion service. These and the silver cup and small plate collected for the congregation as referred to by Rev. Stoever in his will are no doubt the same. The goblet is beautifully polished and seems originally to have been lined with gold. It has a brighter appearance than the older pieces of the service, having been made at a later date and by a different workman. The plate, five and a half inches in diameter, is made of the same material. They were gifts from Mr. Furgen Stollen, Lubec, Germany. The following is the inscription on the cup: *I Corinthians, cap. xi, vers 25. Dieser kelch ist dass Neue Testament in meinem Blut solches thiet so oft ihrs Trinchet zu meinem Gedechnis Lubec 28 Marty A-1737. Fur Ehre Gottes und gebrauch Dei Christlich Evangelischen Lutherischen Gemeine der Landt-chaff Virginien in America ist von Herrn Furgen Stollen Kauff und Handelsman diesen Kelch als ein kleines Geschenck Verchret worden mit dem Hertzlichen wunche dass alle durch den warhren Glauben an Christum Jesum Zührer seelen Heyl und seeligkeit darans mogen getranket werden. Gottes wort und Christi Lehr Vorgchet nun und Nimmermehr.*

The translation reads, *I. Corinthians, chapter xi, verse 25. This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me. Lubec, March 28, 1737, for the honor of God and the use of the Christian Evangelical Lutheran congregation of the country of Virginia in America, this cup has been presented by Mr. Furgen Stollen, merchant and tradesman, with the heartfelt*
wish that all, by the true faith in Christ Jesus, may be refreshed by drinking out of it to their soul's bliss and salvation. God's word and Christ's doctrine will never, never perish.

This service has been kept for years in a wooden chest which shows plainly the marks of age. It is of that period when hinges and the nails which held them in place were made in the blacksmith shop. It came in all probability from Germany, and may have been the very one of which Rev. Stoever speaks in his will as having been in a shipwreck. A round box, decayed and worm eaten, whose top has long since disappeared, serves as a receptacle for the goblet and plate, into which they fit nicely and in which they made their voyage across the sea.

The old service is highly prized, not for its intrinsic value, but as a gift and for its age. It is the oldest in the Lutheran church in the South.

Mr. Stoever had published, while in Germany, a pamphlet of four pages in quarto giving a short account of the origin and history of this congregation. A copy is now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The title is, "A short account of a German Lutheran congregation in American Virginia, located on the extreme boundary of the County of Spottsylvania, by John Caspar Stoever, the first preacher of the congregation, Hanover, printed by L. C. Holwein." The title covers the first page, the narrative the other three.

At Darmstadt, he studied theology diligently for about six months, to better prepare himself for his work of preaching. He made his home with his distinguished relative, the Rev. John Philip Fresenius, who became his teacher and who was for many years deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of his countrymen in America. Fresenius "has left on record a tribute to his earnestness, devout spirit, and

34. For a translation of this pamphlet, see Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. XIV., No. 2, p. 147 f.
faithful attempt at a comparatively advanced age to prepare himself fully for ministerial work."

Early in 1739, he and Michael Smith started on their return voyage to Virginia. At sea he became critically ill, and realizing that his end was near he made his will which was witnessed by Michael Smith, William Missing, and John Ebert. Rev. John Caspar Stoever, Jr., his son, minister in Canastoken, was made his executor. This will was proven in Philadelphia, March 20, 1739, and is recorded there, and a translation of it in the clerk's office of Orange County, Virginia. His death at sea was noted in the subscription book. Hebron church was thus deprived of the services of this godly man who had done so much for the Germans during the time he was with them as pastor and also while absent in Germany collecting the money with which the church was permanently established. To him the congregation will ever be deeply indebted.

He was often referred to as "Augustine" Stoever. This name appears in the court order given at Fredericksburg in 1734, also in Governor Gooch's recommendation and frequently in the subscription book. He was certainly called by both names. We do not know why, but we do know that he signed his name in his printed history and in his will John Caspar Stoever; and the same name is written in the treasurer's report of the church 1733 and 1734, and also in the subscription book. Certain it is that "Augustine" and John Caspar Stoever were one and the same man.

35. Will Book F, pp. 126-128, Philadelphia, Pa. For English translation, see Will Book, No. 1, Orange County, Virginia, pp. 84-89. The date of the translation at Orange should be 1739 instead of 1738.
CHAPTER IV.


Though God buries his workmen, he still carries forward his work. Rev. George Samuel Klug became Rev. Stoever's successor. Little is known of his life in Europe, and little information exists as to his protracted labors as the second pastor of the congregation. He was born at Elbing, Polish Prussia, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and studied theology at Helmstedt under Abbot Mosheim. In 1736, through the advice of Rev. Daniel Rittersdorf, pastor primarius of the church of St. Mary and Senior of the Ministerium at Elbing, he was induced to accept a call which the commissioners of the church then in Germany were authorized to extend him, to become assistant pastor\(^{36}\) to Rev. Stoever in Virginia. After examination before the Lutheran Ministerium of Danzig, he was by their authority publicly ordained in the principal church of St. Mary, August 30, 1736, and a testimonial was given him by the Evangelical Ministerium there.

Soon after his ordination he started to London on his way to Virginia, to enter upon his duties as assistant pastor, while Mr. Stoever continued the work of collecting money in Germany. He arrived in London in January, 1737, bearing recommendations and letters to Dr. Ziegenhagen from Rev. Stoever who had furnished him money for his traveling expenses. He lodged with Rev. Mr. Palm. Here he remained about two years. The reason for his long stay in London is not positively known, but it seems to have been caused by some trouble between him and Rev. Stoever.

The latter, in his will, shows clearly that Mr. Klug had been engaged through the suggestions of Michael Holt to the Ministerium at Danzig. Prof. W. J. Hinke, D. D., offers this explanation of the difficulty between them: "Mr. Klug was secured by the machinations of Michael Holt, who thereby tried to supplant Mr. Stoever. I infer that he made false representations to the ministers at Danzig, and on the strength of them Mr. Klug was engaged. When Stoever heard of it he was at first very angry, but finally submitted to the inevitable, and gave him money to travel to London. That Mr. Klug was not on the best of terms with Stoever seems to be implied in the attitude of Dr. Ziegenhagen towards Stoever, in the continued silence of Klug, refusing to answer Stoever's letters, and in the absence of any reference to him when the older Stoever advises his son about the future of the congregation."

He left London some time after September 28, 1738, for he carried a letter bearing that date from Dr. Ziegenhagen to the congregation at Philadelphia. He is known to have been in Virginia, May 20, 1739. This was the year of his arrival, according to Rev. Brunnholtz. 38

At once he entered upon his ministerial duties, gathering his scattered flock and preaching in the German chapel. The two commissioners had returned. They and the church officers were called together at the home of Michael Smith, May 20, 1739, the subscription lists were looked over and found correct, and the funds collected and due were turned over to the congregation. We give a translation of the last page of the old subscription book. It was made by the late Rev. Paul Menzel, D. D., of Richmond, Va. "The accounts of this collection book were looked over and found correct at Michael Smith's house in Orange County, Virginia, by me as pastor of the Virginia Evangelical congre-

COMMUNION SERVICE.

Pipe Organ.
HEBRON CHURCH.

The work of building the church began soon after his arrival. To build such a house was no small undertaking in those days. It required much labor and time to fell the trees, hew the logs for the strong framework, saw the weatherboarding and ceiling with whipsaws, rive, shave, and joint the shingles, and make all the nails in the blacksmith shop. But perseverance overcomes all difficulties, and at length the heavy timbers were ready, the framework reared, and the work completed in 1740, as the date on the great girder shows.

It was a frame structure, rectangular in form, fifty feet long by twenty-six wide by thirty high, with a small vestry room, nine by thirteen feet, attached to the north side just back of the pulpit. There was a door at each end and doubtless one on the south side. A gallery to which a stairway led extended across each end. The pulpit, as the cus-

tom was at that day, was goblet shape, set up high against the side of the house, and was reached by steps. The roof was really self-supporting, but the walls were further braced by a great girder laid across the plates midway between the ends. The interior was ceiled, the overhead ceiling being curved. The weather-boarding was sawed to a feather edge, and all the nails used inside and out were shopmade. Every piece of work about it shows that these sturdy Lutheran pioneers built to endure.

The year the church was completed, the congregation addressed a letter of thanks to all their benefactors, high and low, in and outside of Germany. It was dated, Orange County in America, August 29, 1740, and signed in the name of the congregation accepting the unaltered Augsburg Confession. George Samuel Klug, pastor, Michael Cook, Michael Smith, Michael Holt, Michael Clore, George Utz.

Strange as it may now seem, negro slaves were bought by the congregation, between 1739 and 1743, to work the church lands. "This is one of the rare cases wherein Germans departed from their dislike of the institution of slavery." This institution was then recognized and sanctioned by law, and some of them had their own slaves. It was not considered wrong by many Christians to buy, sell, or own them. As the institution existed in the colony the congregation took advantage of it, and the purchase was made with money obtained in Europe. Pastor Klug was himself a slave owner. The inventory of his property, taken after his death, shows that he had six in his possession. The year of the purchase by the congregation and the number are not known. Neither do we know the number owned at any one time, except in 1743 when there were seven, and in 1748 when there were nine. The number has been put at thirty and as high as sixty. But these figures are certainly too high. A conservative estimate, we think, would be from twelve to fif-

teen at most. The average price of a slave in 1740 was about twenty pounds. Estimating the number first bought at nine (and this is quite likely) the cost would have been a hundred and eighty pounds or about nine hundred dollars.

The pastor and congregation were carrying out Rev. Stoever's purpose which was to buy twelve and use them in clearing and farming the church lands, and thus provide a salary for himself and an assistant pastor without burdening the church members. He also thought that by treating them well and by instructing them in the Word of God that they might become Christians and much good be done them and others in this way. And we know that in later years some of them were communicant members of the church.

Some time after the church was completed, a good and substantial school-house was built and a congregational school was started—the first German school of its kind in the South. It is known to have been in operation as early as 1748—how much earlier, we know not. The idea of the school and the provision made for the means to establish it were Rev. Stoever's, but the actual establishment of it was the work of Rev. Klug. Some of our members still speak of the old house. It was a frame building about sixteen by thirty feet and divided into two rooms. This school was not kept up regularly, yet it appears at intervals for more than a century. The school now known as Warwick Academy, one mile from the church, conducted by Prof. John D. Fray, A. M., had its beginning in a little house on the church lot, a short distance from the site of Rev. Klug's school-house. The instruction given in this first school comprised, it is said, religion, reading, writing and arithmetic.

From 1743 to 1753, Moravian missionaries, in their travels, visited the neighborhood of Hebron church several times. If they tried to win converts from among his people, they did not succeed well. From their diaries\textsuperscript{42} we have gather-

\textsuperscript{42} Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vols. XI., XII.
ed some facts about the congregation and its pastor. It seems certain that Pastor Klug visited and preached for the Germans in the regions now comprising Rockingham, Page, Shenandoah, and Frederick Counties. In 1747, he was visiting and preaching on the Shenandoah River twice a year. His parish at Hebron, the following year, consisted of about eighty families within a circle of a few miles. The congregation at that time (1748) had a beautiful church and school-house and parsonage, with several hundred acres of land and seven slaves to work it. The pastor's salary, November 25, 1743, was eight hundred pounds of tobacco.

"In or about 1746, the vagabond, Carl Rudolph, visited Madison County before going to Frederick, Maryland, and gave trouble for a time" to both pastor and people.

In June, 1749, Pastor Klug visited some of the Lutheran ministers in Pennsylvania and spent two weeks with them. How comforting it must have been to him, who stood as the only representative of his church in Virginia, to come in contact and association with the ministerial brethren of his own faith! Dr. Muhlenberg says, "He complained that he stood so entirely alone in that large and extensive country, as most of the inhabitants are English, and was without the opportunity of being cheered and edified by his German colleagues in office." We are not surprised at his loneliness and desire for fellowship with ministers of the same faith and the same language. Rev. Peter Brunnholtz refers to the same visit in a letter of July 3, 1749: "When we had returned from Lancaster we had a visit from Pastor Klug, of Virginia, three hundred and thirty miles from here, who went there ten years ago. He desired to see our arrangements and become acquainted with us. We received

43. Hebron Church, Article III., Lutheran Visitor, April 75, 1886, by Dr. Schmucker.
him kindly. He left rather quietly and pleased." He adds the prayer, "God grant that the journey may be a blessing to him."

"In 1754, Mr. Muhlenberg says46: 'We have recently received discouraging accounts from there,' but he does not say of what nature. In an unprinted letter of Mr. Muhlenberg, dated September 12, 1753, found in one of his manuscript books, after mentioning some circumstances out of the history of the congregation and the provision for pastor's support, he says, 'His Reverence Pastor Klug can live there and wait on his office peaceably and comfortably. Whether any great hunger for the Word of God and of books manifested itself then, I cannot say with certainty, but I have heard from some one (si fabula vera est) that some years ago they burned a pile of treatises. We had the honor several years since to see Pastor Klug here in Pennsylvania, and were astonished at his hearty and vigorous bodily constitution. May our gracious and almighty God strengthen our brother and fellow-laborer, especially as to his soul, make him his chosen instrument and voice in the Virginia desert, especially as he appears to have such robust, bodily strength and so healthy a spleen.' Dr. Muhlenberg's language shows plainly that he did not have the highest opinion of his Christian zeal and spiritual earnestness in discharging the duties of his high office.

He had some trouble with his people, the exact nature of which does not appear, because he did not keep within proper bounds in regard to things indifferent, and ran into extremes; but he lived on good terms with the clergy of the Episcopal church.

No records of his work are to be found, except in the baptismal register of the church and then only for fourteen years. During that time, he baptized only about sixty in-

46. Hallische Nachrichten, p. 656; and Hebron Church, Article III., Lutheran Visitor, April 15, 1886, by Dr. Schmucker.
fants, so far as we can ascertain. No doubt the list is incomplete and does not properly represent the number.

He is spoken of as a man of ordinary ability, open to conviction, and orthodox in doctrine. He was not a Pietist, nor over-zealous in the work of the Master. Having a salary provided without effort on his part, without contact with ministers of his own church, and with many and great difficulties to meet in his work, it is not a matter of surprise that we are led to the conclusion that during his long pastorate the church did not greatly prosper.

After twenty-five years of service, he went to his reward about the beginning of 1764. This we know from the records of Culpeper County. He was alive March 7, 1763, and appeared at court as one of the witnesses of Peter Clore’s will. An inventory of his property was presented in court, May 17, 1764, and ordered to be recorded. He must have been dead only a short while. His body was laid to rest in front of the chancel under the church. Though he had his faults and had some trouble with his people, he must have been held in high esteem. His widow Susanna, whose maiden name does not appear and who in later years married Jacob Meadley, was given the use of the parsonage for seven years after his death. He had a son who was educated in an English academy and studied theology. He traveled to England and returned with regular orders. The following persons married daughters of Rev. Klug: Godfrey Yager, Michael Broil, Matthias Broil and William Lutspack. His descendants could be found in the county after many years.

CHAPTER V.

REVS. JOHN SCHWARBACH AND JACOB Frank—Rev. PAUL HENKEL AS SUPPLY (?) 1764-1785.

About a year passed after Rev. Klug's death before a successor was secured. We know not positively the year that Rev. John Schwarbach began his labors as catechist in this congregation—not earlier than 1764 nor later than 1766. It was doubtless in 1765, for at the close of this year, he had already been serving the forsaken adherents of the German faith in the wilds of Virginia "for some time." "For some time" may mean a few months or a year or more.

He was a European, and was born about the year 1721. As a teacher in Pennsylvania, he led an exemplary life, and in the absence of a pastor taught the scattered Christians of the Lutheran faith in the Word of God and instructed the children. In 1763, a letter from the congregation of Manchester and Paradise Township, beyond Yorktown, (York, Pa.,) was read before the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, asking that he might be allowed to continue his work among them, and that Rev. Hornell, of Yorktown, administer the Holy Sacraments to them. After much discussion, it was finally decided that he might read and hold exhortations and catechizations on Sundays and festival days, under the supervision of Rev. Hornell, of Yorktown. How long he continued in this field is not known.

From Pennsylvania he came to the Valley of Virginia, where he continued to do the work of a catechist among his widely scattered brethren. At the meeting of the Ministerium, at Philadelphia, in 1766, his name appears as "Cat-

51. Doc. Hist. of the Min. of Pa., p. 84 f.
chist Johannes Schwarbach, from Culpeper County, in Virginia."

Two letters from Augusta County were presented to the synod, asking for his examination and ordination. An examination followed, and while the result is not stated, it is certain that he was licensed on trial and allowed to administer the sacraments. The next we learn of him is from a letter written by himself and sent to the synod in 1768. He had already been ordained. We give the substance of this letter. "As last year, I took the liberty to send to you the report of one part of my work, and now again have the opportunity to inform myself as to your welfare. I would have come to Pennsylvania myself but was prevented by the accumulation of work, as well as by my ignorance of when the Rev. Consistorium would meet. If in your reply I might learn for what time a synodical meeting is appointed for next year, I would D. V. pay my respects to you, and be advised concerning various matters. I am overburdened with work, but under God's assistance, I let nothing discourage me. In six months, I have instructed and confirmed young people in seven different congregations at considerable distance from each other. From this you can conclude as to the rest. I hope that the all-ruling God may for Christ's sake shed his glorious blessing upon my labors. Hearty remembrance to the Honorable Consistorium, especially to Dr. Wrangel and Rev. Mr. Schultz.

I remain your obedient servant,

JOHANNES SCWARBACH.

Culpeper, September 2, 1768."

A letter was also sent from the deacons of the congregation. It reads: "The efforts of Mr. Schwarbach, being not without fruit please us very much, and we again thank the Honorable Consistorium for sending this active man to

52. Doc. Hist. of the Min. of Pa., p. 100.
us. But our means prevent us from providing a proper salary for him, since we must also contribute to the support of the English county preacher, who, however, is of no benefit to us. The English preacher officiates at marriages, but our Mr. Schwarbach dare not. Some years ago a considerable sum was given by benevolent persons in Europe, in collections for the benefit of the church and schools in this place, and the church which still stands was built. But since this is almost too small, and already dilapidated, we do not know what shall be done when it is destroyed. Our predecessors ought indeed not to have spent that which was collected, but we cannot change what has been done. The little which still remains is being properly administered. If through your aid and counsel, we could be freed from the English parish levy, and our German preacher be permitted to marry the Germans, we would be greatly helped. But without your advice we will do nothing in this matter. The gracious God and Father in Christ grant His gracious blessing upon your efforts. Commending you to His Almighty protection, we assure you with all submission, your faithful servants, Adam Garr, Adam Wayland, Deacons, Culpeper, Virginia, September 1, 1768."

The next we learn of him is in 1772, when his name appears for the last time on the roll of the ministers of synod, Schwarbach from Virginia. The following statements are found: "Our country preacher, Mr. Schwb.—from Virginia, complained that he was getting older and weaker, and was troubled so much by far-distant congregations in Virginia, that he was expected to visit and serve them, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty to one hundred miles away, but could not endure it. Up to the present time he still dwells in Culpeper, in the congregation which the late P. Klug served, and which many years ago sent collectors to Europe and gathered some thousand pounds which they brought along, and for it they bought an estate and procured negro slaves

54. Doc. Hist. of the Min. of Pa., p. 136 f.
to work the land, and sustained the preacher from its products. He said that he lived on a portion of the church property, and the rest together with the slaves, the deacons of the congregation had rented out, and received £50 rent yearly, which £50 they gave him for salary, but he could not live on that and requested that we admonish the deacons and elders, that they contribute something in the congregation, and also, if possible, appoint a young assistant, who could serve the far-distant congregations, then he would remain in this old congregation alone. Rev. Peter Muhlenberg who was then pastor at Woodstock, was requested to go to Hebron, investigate the circumstances, and report to the synod. No report has been found.

He remained with the congregation about two years longer. The baptismal register gives evidence that he was still here in the spring of 1774. He left toward the close of that year or at the beginning of the next. In 1775, his successor had taken up the work and "he appears in Pennsylvania, and no longer having any connection with the synod." From his own statement of the distances traveled to preach to the scattered Lutherans, and to instruct and confirm the young, his parish included not only Madison County, but large portions of the Valley of Virginia between Winchester and Staunton, and a congregation in Hampshire County, West Virginia, "near Moorefield."

His work as pastor may be summed up in three words, "In labors abundant." It is reasonable to conclude that his labors were blessed to the salvation of many souls, for the prosperous condition of the church under his successor must have been largely due to his untiring zeal for his Master. He was poorly remunerated for his services. His salary was small and his congregation paid nothing. He simply received the rent from the church lands and the amount for which the slaves were hired.

"At some period during the latter years of Mr. Klug's
life, or after his time, the German Tunkers crept in and drew many into their net, greatly disturbing the peace of the congregation. About 1780, a considerable number of the Tunkers removed to Pennsylvania, under the lead of one of their preachers, John Tanner, who was of the Hebron stock. \(^{55}\)

After Mr. Schwarbach's resignation, Mr. Henry Möller, a catechist from Pennsylvania, visited the congregation and received a call. He went north to receive licensure from the Ministerium. He found his betrothed averse to going to Virginia. Synod met at Reading. During the meeting he preached, the people were so pleased with his sermon that they gave him a call which he accepted and remained there, instead of returning to the congregation in Virginia that was waiting for him.

**REV. JACOB FRANK.**

The fourth pastor was Rev. Jacob Frank, of Pennsylvania. Of his early life and literary training we know nothing. The first information we have of him is that he was a schoolmaster and cantor of Zion's church, Philadelphia. It was in all probability through Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, who then lived in Woodstock and preached to other congregations in the Valley of Virginia, that the congregation heard of Mr. Frank. In 1775, a call\(^{56}\) was extended him as a catechist and preacher. With the consent of the President of the Ministerium, Rev. N. Kurz, Dr. Muhlenberg appointed him with the necessary limitations, as pastor of the Lutheran church in Culpeper. He was sent on trial for three years, until he should make full proof of his ministry. Setting out from Philadelphia on horseback, he made the journey of about three hundred miles in the early fall of 1775.

He at once took up the work with zeal and earnestness. He re-established the congregational school which at some

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55. History of Hoffnungsvolle Kirche, Boone County, Ky., by H. A. Rattermann; Dr. Beale M. Schmucker.
56. Halle Reports, p. 1414.
time since Rev. Klug's early ministry had been suspended. Of this school he himself seems to have been the teacher, for he not only did the work of preaching and catechising the young, but also gave instruction in spelling, reading, and singing hymns. Here his former work in Philadelphia was of great service. His power of song charmed and captivated. Of his singing it is said, "He allured both old and young, even the poor negro slaves by his lovely singing."

Up to this time the church had no constitution. He set about trying to introduce one. Taking the constitution of the church in Philadelphia, and making the alterations necessary to adapt it to the use of the Hebron congregation, he after much difficulty succeeded in having it introduced. This old document, beautifully written in German, is still in the possession of the church, and is kept in the fire-proof vault of the Clerk's office of the county. It is signed by Jacob Frank, preacher, and more than a hundred and seventy members. From the ink used, it seems certain that all did not sign it at the same time. The names of the officers of the church for 1776, and the year of its introduction, are given. The officers are Adam Wayland, Andrew Zimmerman, John Weaver, Nicholas Crigler, John Yager, Christopher Blankenbeker, and Adam Creil.

Another work he undertook and carried to successful completion, was the erection of a new parsonage on the "Glebe" farm. Whether the old house still standing on this farm is the one built at this time cannot be determined, though it could easily have lasted through a hundred and thirty years.

He was highly esteemed by his people, but his pastorate was of short duration. When the time of his probation was ended, to the regret of the congregation, he returned to Philadelphia, where he owned property. Even Dr. Muhlenberg expressed his regret that he was unwilling to remain in Virginia longer than the three years of his probation.

The church council wrote a letter to Dr. Muhlenberg,
August 8, 1781. In it are found these words: "We do not know for what reason Pastor Frank left us. He might well have remained with us. We all went to every possible expense, built a new parsonage and did whatever he wished done." They express their astonishment that he who had had the care of their souls and had been engaged in the work of the ministry among them, should give up the duties of the ministerial office and become a silversmith.

There is almost no data for determining the spiritual condition of the congregation or the number of members at any one time, during the first half century of its existence; but we know that during his pastorate, it was in a flourishing condition and that the number of communicants at one time was as many as 176. While the baptismal register begins under Rev. Klug's ministry in 1750, the record of communicants (not members) begins with Rev. Frank's pastorate. As many as 122 communed, December 25, 1775, and as many as 176, April 7, 1776. This last was perhaps the largest number of members that ever communed at one time in all the history of the church. The same day twenty-two were confirmed.

A VACANCY AND PASTORAL SERVICES.

Rev. Frank's removal left the church without pastoral oversight for about four years. No evidence of any ministerial acts, except baptisms, can be found till November 17, 1782, when forty-one persons were confirmed and the Lord's Supper administered to about one hundred and twenty-five members. As far as we can ascertain, there was not, at that time, an ordained Lutheran minister living in Virginia. The church book shows that the communion was administered in the spring and fall of 1783, in the summer of 1784, and in the spring of 1785, when forty members were confirmed. This looks very much like the work of a regular pastor. But as no other trace of a pastor can be found, it seems more probable that some minister visited the congregation,
HEBRON CHURCH.

prepared the young for confirmation, and preached and administered the sacraments from 1782 to 1785.

Was that minister the Rev. Paul Henkel? The evidence is insufficient to enable us to answer the question positively either in the affirmative or negative. He is known to have

58. He was a son of Jacob and Barbara, a great-grandson of Rev. Anthony Jacob Henkel (Court preacher), descendant of Johann Henkel, D. D., LL. D., father confessor to Queen Maria; and of Count Henkel, who was instrumental in sending Muhlenberg to this country. Anthony Jacob Henkel came to America in 1714, locating at Germantown, near Philadelphia, Pa. Paul Henkel was born December 15, 1754, in Rowan County, N. C., near the present city of Salisbury; studied under Rev. Krug, of Frederick, Md.; licensed to preach, June, 1783; and ordained, June 6, 1792, at Lancaster, Pa., by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. He located at New Market, Virginia, where he "became an active, earnest, zealous minister, laboring in Shenandoah, Rockingham, Frederick, Madison, Culpeper, Pendleton, Botetourt, Wythe and many other counties in Virginia." He had only two settled pastorates—one in Rowan County, North Carolina, and the other at New Market, Virginia. He spent nearly all his life as a traveling missionary, and "made tours on horseback and 'gig' through Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, and North and South Carolina, preaching the Word of God in its purity, simplicity, and power, organizing congregations, catechising and confirming the young, and giving words of comfort and cheer to all." He was present and assisted at the organization of the Synods of North Carolina, Ohio, and Tennessee. He published a hymn-book, which reached several editions, and many other books in German and English. Industrious and active in his calling, he did much toward comforting and establishing his brethren in the faith, and to him the church will ever be deeply indebted. He died at New Market, Virginia, Nov. 25, 1825. Five of his sons were Lutheran ministers; one an active layman; and a daughter married a Lutheran minister, Rev. John Stirewalt; two of whose sons were also Lutheran ministers; whilst a number of his grandsons were noted ministers in the same church. Rev. Paul Henkel's son, Rev. Ambrose Henkel, founded in the year 1806 the first Lutheran printing office in North America, from which was issued the first and second editions of the Book of Concord, the first ever printed in English, and "more truly Lutheran theological works in an English dress than any similar institution in the world." Two of Rev. Paul Henkel's great-grandsons, Ambrose L. and Elon O. Henkel, are the present proprietors of this office and the publishers of this book.
visited and preached for the congregation frequently, but was never pastor as far as can now be ascertained. According to the Minutes of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania he was not licensed till June, 1783, and then only to preach and baptize. But Mr. Ambrose L. Henkel, of New Market, Virginia, a great-grandson, informs us, "He evidently preached as early as 1781," and also that he knows from family history and tradition that he was a licentiate, especially under the care of Rev. Muhlenberg, and that he preached at the "Old Dutch church," and his visits were frequent. True, we find traces of such visits at a later date; but the question is whether he, during this early period, exercised all the functions of a regular minister. From the Minutes of Synod it seems almost certain that he did not. And yet the only way we can account for the pastoral work done is by some unknown visiting minister, or by supposing that Rev. Henkel was licensed a year or two earlier; or that, owing to the scarcity of ministers, he performed while yet a theological student and before licensure the duties of an ordained minister. The great need of the time, the desire of the young for confirmation, and that of the members for the communion, may have led to the granting of privileges which would not otherwise have been allowed. The diary which he kept, most of which seems to have been lost, would without doubt clear up this question. The part that remains is of too late a date to furnish help. The most we can affirm is that he was probably the one who performed the ministerial acts during this period.

Though a long vacancy existed, and the distractions incident to the Revolutionary War which was then in progress, prevailed; yet with the close of the war and frequent services for the next four years, the congregation is known to have been in a fairly prosperous condition, though not what it was at the close of Rev. Frank's ministry.

CHAPTER VI.

REV. WILLIAM CARPENTER AND MICHAEL MEYERHOEFFER. 1787-1821.

The longest pastorate in the history of the church was that of Rev. William Carpenter, who entered upon the duties of his office in the summer of 1787. He was the first minister sent out by the congregation. A descendant of one of the earliest settlers on the Robinson River, he was the son of William and Mary Zimmerman (Carpenter), born May 20, 1762, and confirmed by Rev. Frank in 1778.

When sixteen years of age he entered the Revolutionary army, fought under Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, and continued in service till the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, at which he and his father were present.

Realizing that God had called him to the great work of the Gospel ministry, he prepared himself under the private instruction of Revs. J. C. Leps and Christian Streit—the latter was then pastor at Winchester, only about seventy miles distant. At the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held at Lancaster, in June, 1787, a recommendation from Hebron congregation in Culpeper, was laid before that body, with the earnest request that he be examined and licensed to preach and baptize. After examination the request was granted. On his return home, he immediately took charge of the congregation as catechist, under the oversight of Rev. Streit who occasionally visited his work and administered the Lord's Supper to his parishioners. Two years later, by request of his people, he was allowed to administer the communion. In 1791, June 22, he was regularly ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry, by the president of the Ministerium, Rev. John Frederic Smith.

He was married, November, 1794, to Miss Mary Aylor.
PAUL HENKEL, Lutheran Missionary
Born in North Carolina, Dec. 15, 1754. Died in New Market, Va., Nov. 27, 1825.

His wife, Miss ELIZABETH NAGLEY. Born in New Jersey, Sept. 20, 1757. Died in New Market, Va., April 11, 1843.
Eleven children were born to them, seven of whose names with dates of birth and baptism are recorded in the baptismal register.

It was under his ministry that the annex was built to the original church, between 1790 and 1802. As early as 1768 the building had "become almost too small and already dilapidated." Nothing was done for several years, till finally the necessity for a larger audience room led to the erection of the annex, twenty feet long by twenty-six wide. This was built to the south side equally distant from the ends.

The frame work shows that it was built to the other house, and the timbers having been sawed instead of hewed, show that it was built at a later date. The two galleries were retained. An organ loft was built in the end of the annex facing the pulpit. As the church now stands, "it is cruciform in shape, the nave and arms forming the place of assembly and the head of the cross an attached sacristy."

When the question of building was being considered, the question of the title to the church lot, without doubt, also arose. It was found that no deed for it existed. Hence, in order to secure the property, a deed of gift was made by Mr. Michael Carpenter to the Trustees of the German congregation and their successors. This deed is still in the possession of the church, and is dated February 27, 1790.

As the possession of one thing calls for another, so the enlarged church created the desire for a pipe organ. It was secured and put in place where it has stood for more than a hundred years. Many have looked upon it and listened to its sweet notes, and many more have heard about it, for it is one of the relics of "ye olden time."

It is about sixteen feet high, eight wide, and three thick. The case, massive and strong, on which are plainly seen the marks of age, is made of soft and hard wood and painted in the same color as the interior of the church. The door has a great lock, secured by wrought iron nails, and is opened

60. Deed Book P, p. 471, Culpeper Co.
by a large S key. There are two lever pumps which set off from the instrument with which they are connected by a wooden pipe. The levers work up and down like the treadles in the looms our mothers used. The number of wooden and metallic pipes must be, at least, a hundred each. The metallic ones may once have been bright and glittering; but if so, time has changed them into a dull lead color. It has only four octaves and eight stops. "The key-board is a complete reversal in point of color—those keys being of ebony which are white in modern instruments—the raised keys being of ebony faced with ivory. The tone of the instrument is very good, especially when the rough Terzian and piercing Mixture are avoided. The Flute and Gedackt are inexpressibly sweet—as tender to the ear as twilight to the eye—just suited to that mellow, shaded light peculiar to the church."

According to tradition, it was made at Lutzen, and was a gift from the king of Sweden. It was shipped to Philadelphia and hauled on road wagons, a distance of three hundred miles, and put in position in the old church at an early day.

We will now give the facts as we have gathered them, though it seems a pity to have to destroy a tradition so interesting and so old. It was through the assistance of the late Rev. D. M. Gilbert, D. D., of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, that its history was discovered.  

61. Dr. Gilbert sent me the following letter from the archivist of the Lititz Moravian congregation, Lititz, Pa.: "David Tannenburg (colloquially and usually written Tanneburger), organ builder, was born in Berthelsdorf, Upper Lusatia, Germany, March 21, 1728. He came to Lititz in 1765, and here he conducted his business from that year till his death in 1804. While tuning a new organ he had built for the Lutheran church in York, Pa., he was stricken with apoplexy and died a few days later.

"His organs were famous in his day, and went to Albany, N. Y., Baltimore, Lancaster (Trinity Lutheran, 1774, and Catholic), Zion's church (Lutheran), Philadelphia, 1790 (church destroyed by fire 1794
Hebron Church.

Tannenburg, at Lititz, Pennsylvania, about 1800. Mr. John Yager went to the factory to purchase it. It was hauled on wagons by Messrs. Jacob Rouse and Michael House from “Litz” (Lititz), the treasurer’s report says, and was set up in the church in 1802 by Mr. Philip Broughman. It cost £200. It is still used, is in a good state of preservation, and with proper care will last another century.

The congregational school was continued during his ministry and that of his successor. Mr. Frederic J. Shad was school-teacher and organist, and lived in a house on the church land. Slaves were still owned and hired out by the year. Some of them were communicant members of the church.

Rev. Carpenter was the first pastor to preach in the English language. Prior to his time, German had been used exclusively. Toward the latter years of his ministry, he undoubtedly preached in both languages; for, after his resignation, the congregation applied to the Ministerium for a pastor who could preach in both languages. The first years, peace and harmony prevailed between him and his people, but he met with great difficulties during his latter years. He seems to have had a hard struggle in introducing English preaching, yet he fought the battle successfully, though in all probability it was the opposition he encountered that brought on his resignation. In the Minutes of the Synod of 1814, a letter announces the fact that after much fighting, he had left his congregation in Culpeper and

—(Washington and Congress attended the dedication ceremonies of this instrument), Madison, Va., (between 1799 and 1804—cost £200,) and many other places.

"Some of these organs are still in use, and modern builders, repairing them, are delighted with their beautiful, honest workmanship.

"He is buried in the Moravian graveyard in York. At his funeral service, held by the Rev. John Martin Beck (Moravian) in the Lutheran church, his last organ was played for the first time, and the children of both congregations sang by his grave.

"A. R. Beck, archivist of the Lititz Moravian congregation, Lititz, July 21, 1905."
taken charge of other congregations in Kentucky. After his removal the language question seems to have been practically settled. His successor preached in both languages. English was first used once a month, alternating with German. Gradually it won its way, till finally it was used altogether.

According to Dr. Slaughter's statements in St. Mark's Parish, Mr. Carpenter sometimes baptized and performed other ministerial offices for the Episcopalians of Madison when they had no pastor. He says further that when the Lutherans had no pastor, they sometimes went to Buck Run Episcopal church in Culpeper County to receive the holy communion.

In addition to his pastoral work, he taught the theological student George Daniel Flohr, who in after years labored successfully in establishing Lutheran churches in Wythe and adjoining counties.

Under his administration, the real estate of the church was increased by the addition of 628 acres of land. The farm, bought of Thomas Farmer in 1739, was repatented, December 19, 1794, by Nicholas Crigler and others, as Trustees for the German congregation. Farmer's patent included 90 acres belonging to another party. Deducting the 90 acres, it leaves 685, the number bought in 1739. These 775 acres, together with 251 added, making a total of 1026, were surveyed together, and on the 19th of December, 1794, the whole was conveyed by patent by the Commonwealth of Virginia to the said trustees for the use of the said church. September 9, 1797, 225 acres, more or less, adjoining the above named lands, were bought of Zacharias Wall and his wife for $100 current money of Virginia. March 26, 1800, Joseph Towles and wife made a deed to the church for 14 acres, joining the other lands—price £14 current money of Virginia. September 23, 1802,

62. Deed Book 2, p. 91, Madison County.
63. Deed Book 2, p. 401, Madison County.
48 acres joining the "Glebe" farm were bought of Simeon Carpenter for £57.5 shillings.

As a citizen, Rev. Carpenter was distinguished by integrity of character, kindness to the poor, and his honesty in business transactions. The following incident, which shows his honesty, was told us by one of the oldest citizens of the county. Hearing that a certain man had a fine horse for sale, he called to see the owner and purchase it. The owner stated his price. Mr. Carpenter made him an offer. The man being in straightened circumstances, finally agreed to accept the offer, and the horse became his own. As he rode it around among his people, he was asked at different times where he bought it and what price he paid. He told the circumstances under which he had made the purchase at his own figures. Different parties told him the horse was well worth the price the former owner asked. The result was he went to the man and paid him the price in full.

His character has been summed up in these words, "He was a man of great simplicity, integrity, and force of character, of blameless life, and of ardent devotion his whole life long." The old church records are silent witnesses to the zeal and fidelity with which he discharged the duties of his holy office and to the visible fruits of his labors. The harvest of souls gathered during his protracted ministry in Madison County was large. During sixteen of the twenty-six years of which he was pastor of the church, he baptized 865 persons, beside numerous confirmations.

In 1804, he made a journey on horseback to Kentucky. The next year a colony left the congregation and settled in Boone County of that State. He afterward visited his brethren and preached for them. Finally in the fall of 1813 he left Madison County and became pastor of the Lutheran church (Hopeful) in Boone County, Kentucky, which had been organized seven years before, and which had been all that time without the regular preaching of the Gospel.

64. Deed Book 3, p. 235, Madison County.
Here he labored faithfully for twenty years longer, till the summons from the Master came, February 18, 1833. His remains were laid to rest on his own farm near Florence. The modest inscription on his tombstone simply tells his name, date of death, and age.

REV. MICHAEL MEYERHOEFFER.

After a vacancy of two years, during which time, no doubt, the Rev. Paul Henkel visited and preached for the people, Rev. Michael Meyerhoeffer accepted a call and entered upon his pastoral duties, September 1, 1815.

He was a native of Frederick, Maryland, born October 28, 1794, received his preliminary training in the schools of that city, studied theology under his pastor Dr. D. F. Schaeffer, was licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1815, and ordained by the same body at a meeting held in Baltimore four years later. In the fall after his licensure, he began preaching in Madison County and continued for six years. He seems to have done, as far as known, the most successful work in the history of the church, if the increase in membership is a proper standard by which to judge.

In accordance with the wishes of the congregation, he preached both in the German and English languages. He could preach in both with equal fluency. He was the first pastor to administer the communion in English. One of the older people became greatly offended at the innovation and threatened to leave the church, or remain away from preaching if the act was repeated. But he resolutely pursued the course he had begun, and the German language in the course of time gave place to the English. By the year 1835, the change seems to have been complete. It was brought about slowly and gradually, the old clinging to their native tongue, the young clamoring for English, the language of the country. His pastorate is distinguished as the transition period in the language used: its close is
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marked by the beginning of a decline in numbers and church life.

He was married to Miss Lucy Crigler, daughter of Major Lewis Crigler, of Madison County, April 15, 1816.

More real estate came into the possession of the church soon after he became pastor. A house and lot of nine acres (now owned by the Michael Utz heirs) were bought of Mr. Paschal Early, October 20, 1815, for $2,000 in bonds.

In addition to his preaching and pastoral work, he taught school at the church, thus giving the young of his flock a literary and religious training. In a conversation with Mr. John Miller (now deceased), of Rappahannock County, brought up near the church, and who was then in his 94th year, he remembered distinctly of having attended his school when a boy. In 1818, he reported two schools, and the following year three, within the bounds of his work. The following are known to have been the officers of the church: Daniel Utz, Cornelius Carpenter, Moses Weaver, Aaron Crigler, and Samuel Carpenter.

To judge from outward appearaces, he did a most successful work. He was a man of power in the pulpit. People came from the neighborhood of the Rapidan River to hear him, crowds flocked to his preaching, many coming for miles. The church was filled at his appointments. Scores were converted under his ministry and added to the church. Sixty-five persons were confirmed on Christmas day, 1815. The Minutes of Synod show that 120 were confirmed and 446 persons were baptized in about five years.

On the 15th and 16th of September, 1817, the Virginia Conference of the Lutheran Pastors of the State, which was organized early in 1793, met in Hebron church. Five ministers were present. "On Sunday, the 14th, services were held, at which two sermons in German and one in English were preached, without interruption, by Revs. Reimensnider, J. N. Schmucker, and Reck." The following day.

65. Deed Book 6, p. 15 f., Madison County.
a sermon in German and one in English were preached. Among the resolutions passed were these, "That it be strictly attended to, that none other but pious and, if possible, none but regenerate men be chosen elders and wardens in our congregations, men who attend to family prayer, live uprightly, partake of the Lord's Supper, &c.," and "That Mr. Kriegler (Crigler) student under Mr. P. Schmucker, be allowed to hold exhortations in his congregations."

Rev. Meyerhoeffer was present and assisted at the organization of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, October 20, 1820. From this date the connection of Hebron church with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania ceased. He was also one of the seven ministers who organized the Synod of Virginia, August 10-11, 1829.

Rev. Jacob Crigler was the second minister to go out from this church. He was born in Culpeper (Madison) County, January 15, 1776. He was brought up on a farm and served his country as a soldier in the war of 1812. He began his preparation for the ministry late in life. At the age of 41 years he was a theological student. He never had regular work in his native State. He was licensed by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Baltimore, August 10, 1819, and seems to have moved his family to Pennsylvania soon after, when he began ministering to the church at Berlin. Here he continued to labor fifteen years, and here also he organized in 1825 the first Sunday-school in Somerset County.

After the death of Rev. William Carpenter, he became pastor in 1834 of the Hopeful church, Boone County, Kentucky, where he labored eight years. Here the blessing of God rested upon his work. At Portsmouth, Ohio, he served the Germans one year, organizing two congregations. He assisted at the organization of three synods: West Pennsylvania at Berlin in 1826; The Synod of the West at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1835; and the Miami Synod at Zenia, Ohio, of which he was the first president. From Portsmouth, he retired to his farm near Florence, Kentucky, where July 14, 1847, "he died in the full hope of a blessed immortality."

He was married twice: to Miss Lydia Utz, January 17, 1799, and to Miss Nellie Tanner, daughter of Frederic Tanner, September 20, 1808. From these marriages there were born to him fifteen children. Quite a number of his descendants became active and useful members of the different churches in Boone County, Kentucky.
Some time in 1821, he resigned to take work in Rockingham County, where he continued to serve a number of congregations till his death, April 18, 1833. Here too his labors were blessed and many converted and added to the church. He became known as one of the most eloquent ministers who ever preached in the Valley of Virginia. During the last years of his life, he became involved in politics, was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated.

Though he had his faults, it has been said of him, "He was an exceedingly successful man in the ministry, and perhaps took more persons into the church than any man in the Virginia Synod, considering the time he labored in the ministry. Few men have left a better impression for good with those among whom he labored than he did, and the recollection of whose ministry was more cherished by those surviving him than that of Rev. Meyerhoeffer."

At Hebron, he is known to have worn the gown in the pulpit. How much longer this custom was kept up no one knows. As it was worn by the former pastors who used the German language and followed German customs, it in all probability ceased to be worn with the regular use of the English language in the pulpit.
CHAPTER VII.

REVS. JOHN KEHLER, WILLIAM SCULL, THOMAS W. MILLER AND SAMUEL ALLENBAUGH. 1821-1849.

We have now come to the most discouraging period in the church's history. It presents a steady decline in membership and in Christian life and activity for about thirty years. This decline certainly was not altogether the fault of the pastors. It was due, in a measure, to the change to English preaching and the meager salary that compelled them to farm or teach for part of their support. But we think, it was largely the failure of pastors to catechise the young as formerly, and also the failure on the part of the members themselves to properly care for their children, in having them taught in the catechetical school according to that good old German custom. Not being catechised, and the pastors having no protracted services and making no special efforts to reach and bring the young into the church, they were not prepared for membership as they were before and as they have been since. It seems certain that the pastors did drop the work of catechisation, that they put forth no evangelistic efforts, but depended upon their preaching at their regular appointments to fill up the ranks of the church. As might have been expected, the result was disastrous to the church.

Rev. John Kehler succeeded Mr. Meyerhoeffer after a short vacancy. He was born in Frederick, Maryland, about the close of the eighteenth century, pursued his studies, preparatory to entering upon the work of the ministry under the Rev. D. F. Schaeffer, and was licensed by the Synod of Pennsylvania in 1817, and put in charge of the Poplar Spring congregation. The next year we find him settled at Martinsburg, Pennsylvania. Two years later he was located
at Middletown, Maryland, where his pastorate consisted of four congregations. While in this field he assisted at the organization of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, in 1820.

Entering upon the duties of his pastoral office in Madison County, October 20, 1821, he continued to serve the church for eleven years. Of his pulpit abilities, of his pastoral oversight of his flock, of his Christian character and standing in the community, and of the zeal and fidelity with which he sought to discharge his duties, we know nothing. The oldest members cannot tell us, and no evidence has been accessible to us by which a just estimate can be made. The records of his ministerial acts are very few, and they tell but little. On the church book we find one entry only, viz., that in 1822 seven persons were confirmed and forty-one communed. The Minutes of Synod show, in 1824, 23 baptisms, 65 communicants, and 1 school. The Lord's Supper seems to have been administered twice a year. Considering his pastorate as a whole we are safe in concluding that the church did not prosper under his ministry. The losses by death and otherwise, it seems certain, did not equal the number added.

The first few years he was located on the parsonage farm, but later he bought property in Madison, built a house and moved to town. Part of the land is now owned by the clerk of the circuit court, Mr. G. H. Taylor, but the house is no longer standing. He taught school in a small house near his home, and on the same lot. One of our oldest members, Miss Susan Good, was a pupil in his school when a girl.

At the organization of the Virginia Synod, August 10-11, 1829, he was present and elected the first secretary of that body. At its second convention in 1830, he withdrew "and reunited with the Synod of Maryland, because of the resolution of the former body not to remain in connection with the General Synod."

He resigned about the fall of 1832, and afterward removed to Cumberland, Maryland. After serving the church
there for a time, he entered the ministry of the Episcopal church after re-ordination. "Of his later history, beyond the fact that in his new connection he was employed as a missionary in the western counties of Maryland, we have no knowledge." In 1834 and 1836 he visited his former parishioners of Madison County. The church was vacant at the time of his first visit, and there was talk of calling him back as Mr. Scull’s successor.

REV. WILLIAM SCULL.

Rev. William Scull became the next pastor. His work did not continue long—only about two years. We have been able to get but little information about him as a man, preacher and pastor, and also as to his work while in charge of the church.

He was born in Reading, Pennsylvania. We know nothing of his early life. He received his theological education at Gettysburg. He appeared before the Synod of East Pennsylvania, in June, 1832, and was examined and licensed by that body. Dr. Beale M. Schmucker says he settled in Madison County at once, after his licensure, and the marriage records of the county show that he was here the following August. But from the Minutes of the Virginia Synod, at its meeting in October, 1832, it seems certain that he had been pastor of four congregations in Shenandoah County for several months before coming to Madison County to begin his ministerial work. As Mr. Kehler is known to have been here till after the synodical meeting just named, we conclude that his pastoral work did not begin till the late fall or winter of 1832. He was received as a member of the Virginia Synod in October of that year, and was ordained by the same body, at New Market, a year later.

66½. He introduced a bunch bean, said to have come from Germany, into this section. It is still largely grown, has retained its distinctive characteristics, and is from a week to ten days earlier than any other known to this people. It is called "the Scull bean."
While pastor here he was married to Miss Julia Rush, of Rockingham County. He did not live on the "Glebe" farm, but on the Thomas Gamble place, near Haywood, now owned by Mr. T. L. Carpenter. The house is no longer standing.

No records of his work are to be found on the church register, and we have been able to learn nothing from our oldest people. The number of members during his ministry, as reported to synod, was 70.

The first evidence we can find of the existence of a Sunday-school in the church was in the summer and fall of 1833. Whether one existed earlier no one knows. The information we have comes from the diary of Mr. E. D. Fray, who was then a young man, attended the school, and seems to have been the superintendent. It certainly was not very successful. But it was a beginning, which served to prepare the way for the future growth and prosperity of the Sunday-school work in the congregation.

We now begin to note the sale of church lands. The house and lot, bought of Mr. Paschal Early and located near the residence of Mr. William Utz, was sold, September 12, 1832, to Mr. Daniel Utz for $1,800—a loss of $200 on cost price. April 15, 1833, twenty acres of the glebe lands near the Champlane farm were sold to Mr. Thomas Shirley for $208. From these deeds we learn that the trustees were Ephraim Fray, Moses Weaver, Aaron Carpenter, Simeon Carpenter, Jonas F. Blankenbeker, and Joel Crigler.

Owing to some trouble with one or more of his people, the exact nature of which does not appear, he resigned and his resignation was accepted. He preached his last sermon March 16, 1834. This statement comes from the man who acted in the capacity of organist at that service. He also says, "We fixed and went to church pretty early and heard

67. Deed Book 39, p. 54, Madison County.
68. Deed Book 12, p. 32, Madison County.
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(Rev.) Scull preach his last sermon. He was angry, I thought, and talked pretty rough. Mr. Scull and wife dined at our house and left this eve never to return, perhaps."

There were still some slaves owned by the church. The number cannot now be ascertained. They were hired out by the year, and the money received was used toward paying the pastor's salary.

After his resignation, Mr. Scull located in the Valley, where he was pastor of churches in Augusta County. He afterwards left Virginia and resided respectively in Arkansas, (Shreveport) Louisiana, Maryland and Florida. He died near Tallahassee, Florida, in 1870.

Some years after leaving Madison County he entered the ministry of the Episcopal church. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him.

REV. THOMAS W. MILLER.

Pastors of the Virginia Synod supplied the church with preaching occasionally during the vacancy of one year that followed. The sixth convention of the Synod met in Hebron church, October 11, 1834. Rev. Thomas W. Miller was elected, president; and Rev. William Scull, secretary. Three candidates received ordination. It was at this meeting that missionary and educational societies were first organized, and which continued their helpful work for many years. Here the people became acquainted with Rev. Miller. They afterward extended him a call which was accepted. His parishioners moved him in wagons from his former pastorate in Botetourt County, and he began his pastoral work among them about the first of April, 1835.

After repeated efforts, we could get no information as to the place of his birth, his early life, and preparation for his ministerial calling. He was granted ad interim license between the meeting of the Virginia Synod of 1831 and that of 1832. He was regularly licensed by this body at St. John's church, Augusta County, in 1832, and served churches
in Shenandoah and Botetourt counties till the spring of 1835, when he began his pastorate in Madison County, and took up his residence in the "Glebehaus." Here he lived and preached the Gospel for twelve years. He managed the farm successfully and received in addition a salary of about three hundred dollars per annum.

He had slaves in his employment. Whether they were congregation slaves cannot now be determined. One at least was not. According to a statement made to us by one of the oldest members now living, slaves were still owned as late as 1837; for her father had one of them, a young man named Fielding hired that year. She also says there was another known as "Congregation Kiz." From the above we conclude that it was not till Rev. Miller's pastorate that all the slaves were sold or had died. It is certain there were none when it closed. These slaves when hired out were often cruelly treated, the rent was difficult to collect, and hence they were sold. Thus this old congregation ceased to own human beings. We may well add may the time never come again when slavery shall be sanctioned by law and by the church of Christ.

He preached regularly, but there were few added to the membership. The decline which had set in some years before continued. The number received did not equal the losses. But we must remember, there were causes at work, of which we will speak later which made church work very difficult and discouraging; and that somewhat similar conditions existed in other churches within the bounds of the Synod.

We find traces of the existence of a Sunday-school. A few years one is reported, but we must conclude that it did not prosper, and that its existence ceased for a time after a trial of three or four years. The first prayer-meeting of which we have any evidence was reported in 1844. The descendants of these Germans, whose forefathers had been accustomed to the catechetical schools, do not seem to have
taken up readily with the more modern work of the Sunday-school and prayer-meeting.

As stated before there existed causes which made church work difficult. Many congregations were still passing through the transition period from German to English; and this, as is well known, is a trying time, and often results in serious losses. So discouraging was the outlook that no meetings of the Synod were held in 1836 and 1837. Rev. D. M. Gilbert, D. D., says, "Difficulties which had been more or less in the way of the Synod's progress now manifested themselves anew, at this point in its history. As far as the records are concerned we are left to guess at them, and yet many of us are not altogether unacquainted with their general nature. There were difficulties in various churches growing out of the commingling of German and English elements. There were unhappy differences constantly showing themselves more and more with regard to both doctrine and practice which resulted in wasting controversies and bitter alienation; and there were sad discouragements arising from the indifferent support given the ministry, by reason of which some of the little band were disposed, if not compelled, to abandon their charges and turn their faces toward more hopeful fields."

But Rev. Thomas Miller the President in the spring of 1838 called a meeting of the Synod in his own church, May 19. Only four clerical and two laymen were present, and the Madison pastorate furnished half the number. Here the reorganization of the Synod was effected. Those added to the clerical roll that year together with the absent increased the number of ministers to twelve.

At this meeting Rev. Miller made the first formal report that appears on the Minutes of Synod, "The President had no little to say in his report of the trials and difficulties, the discouragements and prejudices, which had operated to

69. The Lutheran Church in Virginia, 1876, p. 33.
70. The Lutheran Church in Virginia, 1876, p. 34.
the discouragement of the pastors and detriment to the
church; but then he encouraged the brethren to hope, from
the doctrines and government of the Lutheran church and
the intelligence constantly received of her advancement
elsewhere that if they will but make their common confes­sion before God and renew their covenant with Him, a
brighter day would speedily dawn upon them." Much time
was given to the consideration of vacant congregations and
how to supply them. It was a difficult problem to solve.
This was indeed the dark hour, just before the dawn of a
brighter day for the church in Virginia. We mention the
above facts, because they may to some extent account for
the small increase in numbers during the protracted labors
of Rev. Miller.

He is known to have taught school one term, near his
home on the "Glebe." School was kept at the church by
Mr. Robert Utz, Mr. (afterward Rev.) T. W. Lewis, and
perhaps others. At the end of 1844, the Endowment Fund
of the church was $5,583.48.

As a preacher "his efforts in the pulpit were held in high
estimation." He was a vigorous preacher and a fluent
writer. He was a quiet, unobtrusive man, lacking those
traits which go to make a popular and successful pas­tor." One who taught his children and who knew him
well has given very favorable testimony as to his worth as a
man. Among the laity he was known as a silent man.
One of his ministerial brethren has written me as follows:
"As a preacher he was rather a thinker than a retailer of
other men's opinions. His discourses were always well pre­pared, 'though he never wrote them,' clear, logical, and
impressive, and were delivered with unction and animation.
He brought into the sanctuary the well 'beaten oil' and
was a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

The church had constantly lost in membership since Rev.
Meyerhoeffer's time, till in 1847, the year his relation as
pastor ceased, there were only 23 communicants reported—
the smallest number undoubtedly in its history.
From Hebron, he moved to Shenandoah County where he afterward served Zion's and Frieden's churches. In 1859 his name appears for the last time as a member of the Virginia Synod. Before the next meeting he had asked for and received a letter of dismissal.

REV. SAMUEL ALLENBAUGH.

In the fall or winter of 1847, Rev. Samuel Allenbaugh became pastor. He preached also to Pass Run and Naked Creek congregations, in Page County.

Of his early life and former fields of labor we know nothing. At the time of his coming to the church, he was a middle aged man and had a family. His work continued about two years. Part of the time he labored under peculiar difficulties. His influence was weakened by the conduct of a son, who is said to have been intoxicated on one or more occasions, and he himself in consequence became involved in trouble with some of his people. Charges were preferred against him in the Ministerium by one of his members, but as they were not accompanied by evidence, that body refused to act upon them. His troubles in all probability brought on his resignation.

Though the church was very weak numerically, yet before he left it had begun to take on new life. At a protracted meeting, held at the Hoffman Chapel, about a mile
from the church, by Revs. Jeremiah McMullan and Jesse Powers, in which Rev. Allenbaugh assisted, numbers were converted and more than a score united with the Lutheran church. He reports that year 26 additions by baptism and confirmation and the number of communicant members as 37. While the membership was still small, this increase showed the beginning of better things and gave promise of future growth. Still to a visitor, only two years later the outlook for the congregation was very gloomy. Its condition and prospects are thus described by Rev. Beale M. Schmucker who attended the meeting of the Synod held here in the spring of 1850, before his successor had entered upon the work. He says, "The old church stood as firmly as ever, but the congregation had become much enfeebled. All the lands purchased by the generous gifts of friends in Europe had proved a curse rather than a blessing. The negro slaves had long ago been sold and more land purchased, until the congregation had at one time, unless I am mistaken, over 600 acres." He was mistaken. It was between a thousand and fifteen hundred. But of this, between four and five hundred had not been bought with money from Europe. He continues, "But it has done little good, and at that time they were near dissolution. The people who assembled in crowds were splendid specimens of in the forties the house had become dilapidated and in need of repairs. No German Reformed minister, it seems, had preached in it regularly for years, and there were very few members remaining. The people of the neighborhood repaired it, and it was afterwards used as a union church. The only Presbyterian minister now known to have preached in it was Rev. Daniel B. Ewing about 1849. He also preached at Madison and lived at Gordonsville, Virginia. The deed to the lot was made February 9, 1843, from Samuel Hoffman to E. D. Fray, Larkin Deal, John H. Hoffman and Richard Early. (Deed Book 16, p. 98, Madison Co., Va.) Five dollars was the consideration for the half acre of ground. The property was granted to the trustees for the use and benefit of all religious denominations. It was so used for a number of years. Finally it was torn down; but the school-house near it still retains the Hoffman name.
stalwart strength, the men seeming to average six feet in height. But more attention had been given to the farm than to the congregation. The library collected by Pastor Stoever was scattered in the garrets of the members and the general condition of affairs was discouraging." It is just to these people to say that very few of them could read those German books, and that this accounts largely for their not being any longer used. And there is no doubt but that both pastors and people were to blame for the sad condition into which the congregation had fallen.
CHAPTER VIII.

REV. ALONZO P. LUCKETT, WILLIAM S. BOWMAN, D. D.,
AND LEVI KELLER. 1850-1867.

Growth in numbers, benevolence, and Christian activity, has been clearly manifested during the period from 1850 to the present. The darkest hour in its history had been passed and the morning of a brighter day had dawned. The set time to favor Zion had come, "the time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." Under the preaching and efficient leadership of Rev. Alonzo P. Ludden, who was a zealous revivalist, new life began to manifest itself in this old congregation almost ready to die.

This servant of God was born at Brunswick, (now Cropsyville,) New York, July 11, 1819. By the death of both parents he was left doubly orphaned at an early age. He was bound out by his two older brothers to a Massachusetts's farmer. Having surrendered his young heart to the Savior, his quenchless desire was to preach the Gospel. Without money with which to begin, he prepared himself for college and secured his education at Amherst by renting land and raising broom-corn to pay his scanty expenses. After leaving college, he taught school four years in an academy at Stephen's City, Virginia. During this time he pursued his theological studies, and in 1844 became a member of the Virginia Synod. The first six years of his ministerial life he spent in Augusta County as pastor of Mt. Tabor church. While here he married Miss Caroline Grove, of Stephen's City, by whom he had a number of children. One of his sons the Rev. L. P. Ludden, D. D., is well known throughout the church.

June 1, 1850, marks the beginning of his successful work of building up the congregation and infusing into it new
life and power. Only a few weeks before the Virginia Synod had met in Hebron church and he had received his ordination. This meeting was well attended and left a good influence upon the church and community. The fruits of his ministry soon begin to appear. Earnest and zealous in the work of the Master, a series of revival services were held (the first of the kind known in the church) which did much to strengthen the congregation. These meetings continued for days and nights in succession. The community was stirred, crowds attended, many came bringing provisions and remaining on the grounds till after evening services, so anxious were they to attend the meetings. Great good was done and the membership largely increased. The first two years were marked by an ingathering of 75 souls—a big increase over former years. And during his whole pastorate of nearly six years, the number added to the church was 108, of which eight were colored.

He had an influence for good over men, which is seen in the following incident. He was moved from Mt. Tabor to the parsonage in road wagons. One of the men, Mr. Fielden Utz, who took a four-horse team, after his property, was so impressed by the man, his Christian life and godly conversation that he became a regular attendant at church and finally a member.

Mr. Ludden was the first pastor to introduce successfully the Sunday-school which has continued to the present. As stated before Revs. Scull and Miller had made previous attempts to establish it as a permanent part of the church work, but without success. Why, it may be asked, was the establishment of the Sunday-school so long delayed? The reason seems to be this. The young in former years had been taught in the catechetical classes by the pastors themselves, and consequently there was not the need for the Sunday-school that there was in congregations where this custom was not observed. But when this important work had become much, if not entirely neglected, there arose the neces-
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sity for the Sunday-school to take its place in a measure and to give the young instruction in the Word of God. Catechisation is special instruction in the doctrines of Christianity with a view to conversion and the preparation of the young for membership in the church, while the purpose of the Sunday-school is to impart the knowledge of God's word, without special reference at the time to church membership.

In 1852, Pass Run congregation in Page County became part of the Hebron pastorate. He served this people during the remainder of his ministry in Madison, preaching once a month. The first successful prayer-meeting at Hebron, so far as known, was started by him. Rev. Miller had begun this very important work, but it continued only a short while. The prayer-meeting was organized the second year and continued to the close of his ministry. Three are reported, one in each of his two congregations and the other was probably at the Hoffman Chapel.

He served as President of the Virginia Synod two terms, 1852 and 1853.

He labored to improve, not only the spiritual condition of his people, but also the church building which had become worn by age and greatly in need of repairs. Though this work had begun before he became pastor, yet he took it up and pushed it to completion at a cost of a thousand or more dollars. The curved ceiling over-head was taken down, joists were put in, and the audience room was made lower and flat over-head. The ceiling was taken from the walls and the interior plastered. New weatherboarding and a new roof were put on. The old pulpit was replaced by one of more modern design; the sounding board was taken down, never to be used again. The high seats that had done service for at least half a century were removed and replaced by lower ones which are still in use. The wainscoting and the fronts of the galleries were made of these old seats. The house was painted inside and out. Chandeliers were also put in at a cost of a hundred dollars. They
are still to be seen. The old stoves seem to have been bought several years earlier.

About 1852, Rev. C. W. Harkey, President of Illinois State University, at Springfield, Illinois, a Lutheran institution whose life was of short duration, visited the church to collect money for its endowment. The congregation took two scholarships of $300 each, and the members added to that amount. We have seen the certificate of scholarships. The $600 was taken from the Endowment Fund. He also received, the old members say, a lot of old books belonging to the congregation and members, and it may be that some of the missing church records were among the number. We have tried to trace these books but without success.

In February, 1854, Rev. David Harbaugh, pastor of the Lutheran churches in Boone County, Kentucky, visited Madison County and preached in Hebron on "Benevolence," setting forth the need of help in the building of Hebron church in his pastorate and soliciting funds. This church is the granddaughter of old Hebron and her namesake. The relationship comes about in this way: Hopeful church in Kentucky was the daughter of old Hebron and young Hebron is the daughter of Hopeful. Mr. Harbaugh was very kindly received by pastor and people, and was given from the Endowment Fund $400 and $130 by the members which was raised by private subscriptions.

August 25, 1855, the church lands near the Champlua farm were all sold. The time had come when they ceased to be profitable. After the payment of taxes, there was but little income left. Hence the decision to sell. The whole boundary was surveyed by Mr. A. Hawkins and a plot made which is still preserved. There were 1140 acres. Mr. Walter O'Bannon purchased 724 acres at $5 per acre and Mr. John W. Miller the remaining 416 at $11.04 per acre. The collected money was turned into the church treasury. It was then loaned, and much of it was lost during and after the Civil War of 1861-1865.
THIRD PARSONAGE.
PRESENT PARSONAGE.
One of Mr. Ludden’s sons, Willie, a small boy, died while he was living on the “Glebe.” His body was buried in a field above the old “Glebehaus” where a clump of sassafras trees marks his grave.

His resignation took effect in May, 1856, and he returned to his native State where he continued to serve the Master in the ministry nearly thirty years longer.

During the later years of his life, he was engaged in evangelistic work, in which he was eminently successful.

At length, enfeebled by age and “desiring to be near his son the Rev. Luther P. Ludden, D. D., he removed to Lincoln, Nebraska, where April 2, 1892, he entered the valley of rest.”

“Mr. Ludden was an earnest, forceful preacher. He aimed to move the heart, rather than tickle the ear and please the sensibilities with rhetorical periods. To him the preaching of the Gospel was an awful reality and the burden of human souls a tremendous responsibility. Redeeming love was his favorite theme; but if occasion required the heroism, he could with equal fervor portray the fearful risk of incurring the divine displeasure. In exhortation he was a veritable Boanerges.”

“As a minister he was eminently successful. Scores and hundreds of souls have been added to the church militant through his labors, and these will no doubt rise in the church triumphant and call him blessed.”

REV. WILLIAM S. BOWMAN.

The next pastor was the Rev. William S. Bowman. This gifted preacher and pulpit orator was born, August 3, 1830, in Shenandoah County, Virginia, of German parents. He secured his education in the schools of his native county and by private study. He was what has been termed a “self-made man,” and had a strong, vigorous mind. When he had reached his majority, perceiving that God had called him to the work of the Gospel ministry, he took up the
HEBRON CHURCH.

study of theology under the direction of certain ministers of the Virginia Synod. On the recommendation of six ordained ministers of this Synod, he was granted ad interim license December 3, 1853, by the President, Rev. A. P. Ludden. At the next meeting, the following year at Martinsburg, he was regularly licensed after due examination. He received his ordination at Woodstock, October 20, 1856, and at once began to show that talent in the pulpit which gave him a recognized pre-eminence among his brethren, and which made him specially prominent on great occasions.'

His ministry began in Page County, where he had charge of two congregations, St. Paul and Naked Creek, part of one year. In July, 1854, he took charge of Zion, Salem, and Melanchthon Chapel churches in Augusta county, where he discharged the duties of his pastoral office for two years.

Called to Hebron, he began his ministry here May 1, 1856. He served the people faithfully, was popular among all classes, and preached with much power. But there was not a large ingathering of souls. The prayer-meeting and the Sunday-school started by his predecessor were still kept up and were helpful factors in his work.

He preached to the Pass Creek congregation several months, till it ceased to be a part of the Hebron pastorate. We have been told by one who sat under his preaching that his failure to build up the church in numbers and to develop the younger members as he had expected to do were sources of discouragement to him that created a desire to change his field of labor. However there are times in almost all congregations when the ingathering of souls is small. This was to have been expected. Rev. Ludden had gathered a large harvest before him. The field had been ripe for just the kind of work he did. The young and middle-aged formerly unchurched had been gathered in, so that it required time before another abundant ingathering
HEBRON CHURCH.

could reasonably be expected. At a protracted service held during our ministry at this same church with little apparent success, we heard one of our old members make this remark, "We will have to wait till a new generation grows up, before we can have a revival." And he was right. We have remained long enough to see the truth of his words. In Rev. Bowman's time, he lacked the available material for the reception of large numbers of members; his work was to feed and nourish and strengthen those already in the church. And failure to develop young members as we would like to do is quite common. Of a number of ministers who resigned their charges in 1859, all except one gave as the reason inadequate financial support. This it seems was not the reason with him, but discouragement in his work and an urgent call to a more promising field.

In the summer of 1856, Rev. Daniel H. Bittle, a professor in Roanoke College, visited Madison County, preached to his congregation, set forth the needs of the college, and was given $1,000 for that institution of learning. It came from the Endowment Fund. Rev. David F. Bittle, D. D., president, also collected a lot of old German books, we are told, about a hundred in all, for the library of the college. They were mostly Bibles and hymn-books. Hon. J. C. Utz sent him a number of old papers, among them a deed in which reference is made to the "old German chapel," and which was made at a very early day. What has become of them is not known. A search has been made for the deed, but so far it has not been found. If the old books can be found, they may throw some additional light upon the early history of the congregation. Even some of the missing church records may be among them.

Leaving Madison, May 1, 1859, Rev. Bowman moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he took charge of a mission church. Here he labored continuously for twenty years "and established Wentworth street Lutheran church (St. Andrew's), which is his special monument and from
which he was buried, March 29, 1900." While in Charleston the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Newberry College. Later he declined the presidency of that institution to which he had been called.

Ten years he was pastor of the Church of the Ascension, Savannah, Georgia, and seven pastor of St. Mark's church, Charlotte, North Carolina, till failing health compelled him to retire from the ministry. He died at Mt. Pleasant, North Carolina, March 26, 1900. One among the last to minister to him in his dying hour was a member of Hebron congregation, Mr. Hugh A. Crigler, then a student at North Carolina College.

REV. LEVI KELLER.

A vacancy existed from May, 1859, to the spring of the following year, when the Rev. Levi Keller, of Woodstock, Virginia, became pastor.

He was the son of Jacob Keller and Rebecca Coffman; and born, June 20, 1820, on a farm in Shenandoah County, Virginia. As he grew toward manhood, he felt moved to study for the Gospel ministry. While his father appreciated this impulse, he had so exalted a conception of the office and its responsibilities that he discouraged the desire. Prompted by filial regard, he remained at home and helped his father. When his majority was reached, he had a talk with his father, telling him of his unalterable determination to study and to prepare himself to preach the Gospel of Christ. Recognizing that the son had reached the age when he could assume the responsibility of a decision, the father assured him he did not wish to prevent him from doing his duty, but his only desire was to postpone the decision till he was fully convinced in his own mind.

With the benediction of the home, he soon started for Augusta County to enter the institute, which afterward developed into Roanoke College. While a student here, his father died, and he felt his first great sorrow. This only filled him with a greater determination to persevere to the
end in his noble purpose. After completing the course of study, he attended the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where he graduated in 1849.

He received licensure from the West Pennsylvania Synod and accepted a call from the Strasburg charge which embraced large parts of Shenandoah and Frederick counties. He received ordination from the Virginia Synod in 1851. In his first field he labored faithfully eleven years. Here he married Miss Mary C. Hurn who was a faithful helper to the end, and here were born two sons, Dr. Luther Hurn and Rev. Charles Edward.

Early in 1860, he accepted a call from the Hebron congregation, and some time in March or April moved to the parsonage and began his work. He was installed by Revs. W. M. Baum and J. P. Cline, President and Secretary of the Synod, May 6. Here he pursued his calling for seven years during one of the most trying periods in the history of our country.

As a pastor and preacher he was liked by his people. And considering the troublesome times of the great Civil War, through which his ministry extended, his labors were successful, and a large number were added to the roll of members. It was twenty-five per cent. larger at the close than at the beginning. In one year he reported fifty additions. The war interfered seriously with church work all over the country and especially in those portions that were overrun by hostile armies. Both armies at intervals passed through the county. At one time, as Rev. Keller was going home from Madison, he saw some Federal soldiers in a field near the road. Thinking they were Confederates, he rode up to them and hollered, "Hello, boys!" He soon discovered his mistake, for he was captured and held as a prisoner. Soon after Nelson Slater a colored man appeared, told the Federal officer he was a minister, and where he lived, and secured his release.

It was also during the war that the wafer-box, belonging
to the communion service, was carried off. Part of Gen. Pope's army was in the county in July, 1862. The morning his soldiers began crossing the Robinson River at Russell's Ford, Mrs. Martha Crigler and Miss Mary Ann Hoffman (now Mrs. Hiram Carpenter), fearing that the church would be entered by the soldiers and the communion service destroyed or carried off, went to the church themselves and carried it up on the hill to the west and buried it in the woods, not far from the present residence of Mr. S. E. Blankenbeker. As they returned to Mrs. Crigler's home, they saw some parties whom they suspected of having seen them at their work. Afraid lest the service should be found and stolen, they started down in the afternoon to Mrs. Catherine Hoffman's to get advice what to do. When they reached the top of the hill, behold the Criglersville pike was blue with Federal soldiers. Frightened they fled. The next day, they returned, dug it up, and carried it to Mrs. Crigler's home where the different pieces were secreted—some in a shed-room between the plastering and the upper floor, others between the shed-roof and the roof of the main house. The wafer-box, being small and liable to be lost, was put in the bureau drawer. In 1864, Federal soldiers entered the house, searched the bureau drawers, and took everything they wanted. After this search the box had disappeared. It was, without doubt, carried off by a Federal soldier. The other pieces remained concealed till the close of the war. When used they were carried to the church and afterward returned to their hiding place for safe keeping.

The Endowment Fund amounted to about six thousand dollars. It was loaned, and bonds were held by the church. At the close of the war, there was trouble to collect these bonds, and much money was lost. The following resolution was passed by the church council, December 29, 1866, Resolved, "That J. M. Fray and E. F. Blankenbeker be a committee to petition the Legislature in relation to the church funds." This shows there was trouble of some kind; but
just what it was; and what was done, do not appear. The officers were F. J. Crigler, Alfred Carpenter, B. C. Wayman, Samuel Carpenter, N. T. Utz, E. F. Blankenbeker, J. M. Fray and F. J. Smith.

Having been called to Woodstock, he left Madison County about the 1st of March, 1867, returning to the neighborhood of his old home. Though loath to part with his many friends in Madison, he yet felt inclined to come in touch again with the friends of his earlier years. His mother still lived on the "Keller place." Here he was instrumental in building St. Peter's church of Tom's Brook and Bethel church at the old home place.

In 1871, without any solicitation on his part, he received and accepted a call to Funkstown, Maryland, where for nearly ten years he faithfully labored, and where he heard the summons from on high, "It is enough," October 11, 1880. Thus closed a useful life, characterized not so much by brilliancy as by faithfulness.

For many years he was the treasurer of the Virginia Synod, served a term as its president, and was also a delegate to the General Synod. He had the confidence of his brethren in the ministry and the respect of all men. His memory is a sweet savor, a precious legacy, and an inspiration. The world is better in that Rev. Levi Keller lived, and heaven became richer when he died.
CHAPTER IX.


Hebron had no regular pastor for a year and a half after Rev. Keller's resignation. Rev. J. I. Miller, of Staunton, supplied the pulpit during this vacancy. We note now the sending out of the third minister from the congregation, Rev. Bellfield C. Wayman. 73

It was while Rev. Miller was supply pastor that the old "Glebe" farm was sold. The people had come to understand that pastors could not do justice to themselves and the congregation and properly manage so large a farm. The land had been for years steadily damaged under their tillage and management. They could not properly support themselves even partially from the farm and look after the spiritual interests of their people as they ought. Finally, it became difficult to secure a minister who would agree to

73. Mr. Wayman was born near Criglersville, Madison County, Virginia, October 25, 1833, was converted under the ministry of Rev. A. P. Ludden, and became active as a layman. He received his collegiate education at Roanoke College, prepared himself for the ministry by private study under his pastors, was licensed by the Synod of Virginia in September, 1868, and ordained by the same body in 1870. He served the Newport charge, Augusta County, Virginia, two or three years when failing health compelled him to lay down his work. After a lingering illness, he died at his home at Madison, Virginia, October 19, 1873. While his ministry was short, it was long enough to prove his ability to serve in the Gospel. The Synod of Virginia put on record the following tribute to his memory, "Though associated with us in his ministerial character only a few years, he has by his faithfulness in his Master's work, by his patience under affliction, and the noble qualities of heart which imparted beauty and consistency to his life, fastened upon our memories impressions it is sweet to cherish."
make part of his support from the farm and also do the work of a preacher and pastor. Hence, after due deliberation, it was decided to sell. This was done, May 11, 1868, and Mr. Uriel Carpenter became the purchaser for $7,000. Eighteen acres north of the Criglersville turnpike were reserved to furnish wood for the pastors. Thus this old farm, which had for 135 years been the pastor’s home, passed out of the possession of the church. Rev. Keller was the last preacher to live on it. The old house with about two hundred acres of the land is now owned by Mrs. Mollie Carpenter a member of the congregation.

The next pastor was Rev. Robert C. Holland. He was the son of Robert H. and Eliza Ann Holland, born at Churchville, Augusta County, Virginia, April 20, 1840, and graduated at Roanoke College in 1860.

In May, 1861, he volunteered as a soldier in the army of the Southern Confederacy, served in Pickett’s Brigade and Division under Longstreet and Lee, was wounded at the second battle of Manassas in 1862, and afterward more severely at Gettysburg (1863) after Pickett’s Division had dislodged the enemy on Cemetery Ridge, was captured and held as a prisoner till the following December, when, being disabled for service, he was paroled and returned to Salem, Virginia. In the winter of 1864 and 1865, he attended the University of Virginia with other disabled soldiers, where he studied law till driven away by Federal soldiers and the fall of the Confederacy. He returned to the University in the fall of 1865, graduated in law the following summer, and practiced his profession for two years in Salem, Virginia.

Being directed by Providence to the holy calling of the Gospel ministry, he studied theology privately, under the urgent advice of friends, especially his brother Rev. G. W. Holland, D. D., and Rev. D. F. Bittle, D. D., and Rev. J. I. Miller, D. D. He presented himself as a candidate for licensure before the Virginia Synod which met at Aurora, West Virginia, the last of September, 1868. His request
was granted and a supplementary course of study prescribed. A few days later, October 4, he entered upon his duties as pastor of Hebron church. The following year he was ordained at the meeting of the Virginia Synod, held in his own church, (Hebron,) October 14-19.

A second parsonage, known as the Ephraim Carpenter residence, together with about forty acres of land, was bought of Mr. Uriel Carpenter, January 22, 1870, for $3,350. The house was larger than the old one, more convenient to the church, and the location was more desirable. The pastors were thus relieved of the management of a large farm, were near the church, and had all the wood and lands needed for farming and grazing. Mr. Holland lived in Madison till the purchase of this property when he took possession.

The present chancel was put in the church while he was here. He and Mr. E. F. Blankenbeker were the committee to have the work done according to such model as they should decide upon. The cost of the work done on the altar and chancel was about one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The church was also painted inside and out and frescoed, at a cost of more than five hundred dollars. The work was done by Mr. Francis Staling, of Harrisonburg, Virginia.

The trustees elected, August 6, 1870, were J. M. Fray, F. J. Crigler, Col. Simeon Carpenter, E. F. Blankenbeker, John C. Utz and James E. Wayland.

At a congregational meeting, held August 5, 1871, a resolution was passed, "That it is eminently judicious and proper that this congregation have a cemetery convenient to the church as a suitable burying ground for its members, though not strictly confined to the membership of this church." A committee, consisting of James F. Strickler and E. F. Blankenbeker, was appointed to obtain all necessary information with respect to the availability of suitable lot or lots approved for said purpose—character of soil, probable cost of same, and in general to present to a called meeting of the congregation all facts and premises necessary to definite and
final action upon this subject. This committee reported that the lot selected had not been surveyed and the cost had not been ascertained. The lot selected was in the field north of the church lot and joining it. Pits were dug, but they were found to draw water. Hence the ground was not considered suitable for burial purposes, and this effort to establish a cemetery failed.

The first resolution to collect money of the members for church purposes is now found. It reads, "That for the year 1872, the sum of one hundred dollars be collected from the members of this congregation toward the support of our pastor, and that the pastor be entrusted with the duty of devising the mode of its collection." The pastor's salary for years had come from the farm and from the interest or principal of the church funds, and the members paid little or nothing. In fact, money for nearly all purposes was taken from these funds. An effort was also made to collect money for the local work of the Synod. The result of this first effort was encouraging.

The spiritual condition of the congregation can be inferred from the following resolution, passed December 31, 1873, "That it is with pain that we have to record the continued absence from the services of the sanctuary and especially from the Lord's table of so many of the members of the church, who still present no valid excuse for the same. That we sincerely desire that they return to full fellowship with the church and join in with us again in the sanctuary services and in celebrating the Savior's dying love at His table; and that, with a view to accomplish this most desirable end, and prompted by sincere love for their souls, they be and are hereby requested to come to a decision in regard to this important matter, at farthest by our July communion."

He taught school in the house on the church lot. As a teacher, and especially as a disciplinarian, he had few equals or superiors. Many young men attended upon whom he left an abiding influence for good. Some of his former pu-
pils with whom we have conversed still speak of him in the highest terms.

He was a fine Sunday-school worker. He believed in the work and entered into it with heart and soul, conducting the school himself and bringing it up to a high degree of efficiency. Though dignified in his bearing, he won the confidence of young and old, and was able to do efficient work in teaching and training his pupils in the Sunday-school.

He preached, about one year, for the Episcopal church at Madison, during a vacancy that existed. His ministrations were very acceptable to the members.

In the spring of 1875, the Lutherans of Rochelle, who were in need of a house of worship applied for help. The members of Hebron assisted them to the amount of more than a hundred dollars. This was the second Lutheran church established in Madison County. The founders came from the Valley of Virginia.

Rev. Holland was popular with other denominations as well as with his own people. His dignified, manly, Christian bearing was calculated to win the respect and confidence of men. His services to his country as a Confederate soldier, the wounds he received in Pickett's charge at Gettysburg endeared him the more to all who had suffered and fought in defense of the South.

He preached his final sermon, August 1, 1875, and five days afterward ceased from his labors as the pastor of Hebron.

Since leaving Madison County, he has served as pastor of St. Peter's church, Shepherdstown, West Virginia; as Vice-President of Roanoke College, in which he filled the chair of Moral and Intellectual Science; and as pastor of St. John's church, Martinsburg, West Virginia, of Wentwort street (St. Andrew's) church, Charleston, South Carolina, and of St. Mark's, Charlotte, North Carolina.

For seven years he was President of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the United Synod in the
South. As President of the Memorial Endowment Committee, he was instrumental in adding $30,000 to the endowment fund of the seminary. He has been President of the Board of Missions of the United Synod for several years, and is still pastor of St. Mark's, Charlotte, North Carolina.

REV. WRIGHT G. CAMPBELL.

During the interval between the time when Rev. Holland's pastoral relations with this church were dissolved and the coming of Rev. W. G. Campbell, Rev. S. P. Hughes, a student of theology of the Seminary at Salem, Virginia, served the congregation as supply.

Rev. Wright G. Campbell was the son of Rev. J. F. Campbell, and was born in Shenandoah County, Virginia, in the year 1849. He received his literary education at Roanoke College, Virginia, entering in 1866 and graduating in the class of 1870. He studied theology at the Lutheran Seminary at Salem, and was granted ad interim license by the Southwestern Virginia Synod after the meeting of that body in 1876, and was ordained by the Synod of Virginia, August 25, 1877.

His pastorate began April 1, 1877. Mt. Nebo Lutheran church of the county, though in connection with the Tennessee Synod, was also acceptably supplied by him after Rev. Fox's resignation. He did effective work in the congregation for more than five years, and was greatly beloved by his people. He sought the welfare of the church, and to this end his efforts were directed. The members were not developed in the grace of giving, and he knew it as well as they. A plan was devised by which to raise money for the local synodical work and for the general work of the church. In this he was carrying out the idea which had been in the mind of his predecessor, and was also preparing the way for the future development of the people in the grace of giving. So long accustomed to meeting all the expenses of the church, local and general, with funds from
the church treasury, the growth of liberality under his min­
istry and that of his successors was slow and gradual.

In 1880, an assessment of $350 was laid upon his church
by the Synod for the establishment of a mission church in
Richmond, Virginia. The membership was then only 106.
Sixty of them, to whom the cause was presented at a regu­
lar service, gave $283, and the deficit was to be made up by
the forty-six not present. The amount was raised in full.

He lived at the second parsonage. A short while before
leaving the barn was burned, causing a considerable loss to
the congregation. The fire was caused by a stroke of light­
ning.

The congregation grew under his ministry, and his in­
fluence was a power that made for good. He admitted 41
members.

His pastoral relation ceased, May 7, 1882. Since that
time, he has had charge of churches in Rockingham County,
Virginia, in Pennsylvania, and in Concord, North Carolina
—in all about twelve years.

Beginning with 1893, he was professor in Irving College,
Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, for three years. Since his
connection with the college ceased, with the exception of a
few years, he has been engaged in teaching. When the
Spanish-American war broke out, he entered the service of
his country and served as Captain and Adjutant of the Second
Virginia Volunteers. He now resides in Woodstock in his
native county, and has lately been made mayor of the town.

REV. GEORGE H. BECKLEY.

Rev. Campbell's successor, the Rev. George H. Beckley,
entered upon his ministerial duties immediately after the
resignation of the former had taken effect, and continued
only three years. His birthplace was Bedford County,
Pennsylvania. His literary and theological education was
received at Pennsylvania College and Seminary at Gettys­
burg, Pennsylvania. He was licensed to preach the Gospel
HEBRON CHURCH.

on October 6, 1856, and ordained to the work of the active ministry at the synodical meeting, held at Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, October 6, 1857. For about twenty-five years he pursued his calling in Pennsylvania and Maryland where his labors were greatly blessed and where he organized two congregations and built five churches.

In the spring of 1882, he accepted a call, and on May 7 his ministerial relation as pastor of Hebron church began. He found the congregation united and church attendance good. But he also found that there was still a want of liberality on the part of very many. This is evident from the following resolution, passed at the annual council meeting, December 31, 1884: "Inasmuch as the Church Fund is decreasing in consequence of the necessary expenses to meet the urgent demands of the church, and as it is important for the future welfare of the congregation that this fund should not be further exhausted, and whereas it is the duty of all the members to contribute to the support of the church according to their ability; therefore, Resolved, That a special effort be made to secure the hearty cooperation of each member to contribute toward the various objects of expenses connected with the church, so that the principal of the Church Fund be not reduced from the present amount, and that the pastor call upon each member and solicit their contributions." Whether this resolution was carried out by the pastor it does not appear, as his resignation followed soon after.

Extensive repairs were made on the church building. The old house had become dilapidated, and much work was needed to preserve it. New sills (except two or three) replaced the old ones, the vestry room which had been standing for more than a hundred and forty years, had to be rebuilt, the over-head was replastered and the walls partly, a metal roof was put on, and the interior and exterior painted, and the plastering was beautifully frescoed. The old window shutters which were paneled and solid were replaced
by modern blinds—all at a cost of more than a thousand dollars. The greater part of the money was taken from the Endowment Fund. The frescoing in part was done by an Italian painter, Mr. Joseph Oddenino. The building still presents the same appearance, only painting having been done on the exterior.

It was during his ministry that Rev. James William Strickler, the fourth pastor to go out from this congregation, began his ministry.

The length of his pastorate was too short to produce any marked changes upon the spiritual life of the congregation. Sixteen members were admitted.

He resigned, May 1, 1885, and moved to Reistertown, Maryland, where he continued in ministerial work nearly twenty years longer, retiring in the fall of 1904 to await the summons of the Master. It came after a few months, and he now rests from his labors.

Mr. Beckley was always active and interested in the work of the church, always kept his people acquainted with its importance, and his long ministry has been greatly blessed.

74. He was born in Augusta County, Virginia, November 25, 1856, but reared in Madison County. He was baptized and confirmed by Rev. R. C. Holland, graduated at Roanoke College in 1878, and at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Salem, in May, 1882, and the same year ordained by the Synod of Southwestern Virginia. He began his work as a home missionary in Carroll County, Virginia, where he remained for two years and a half. November 27, 1884, he was married to Miss Chloe Cole, of Smyth County. About one year he was afflicted with laryngitis and had no work. The Union pastorate, North Carolina, was his field of labor for the next four years, beginning with January, 1886. Returning to Virginia in 1889, he preached to congregations in Washington, Bland, Rockingham, and Frederick counties for the next sixteen years. In the last named county, in the Stephen's City charge, he continued to do faithful service for more than eight years. Since then he has had work in the North Carolina Synod. He is now at Rural Hall, North Carolina, where he has charge of the Forsythe Mission. He has always had work in the active ministry, except the year he had throat trouble, and has never solicited a call from any church.
PASTORS SINCE 1850.

A. P. Ludden.
R. C. Holland.
J. S. Moser.
J. A. Flickinger.

W. S. Bowman.
W. G. Campbell.

Levi Keller.
G. H. Beckley.
B. S. Brown.
C. B. Miller.
CHAPTER X.


Four months passed after Rev. Beckley’s resignation, and then followed the ministry of Rev. Jacob S. Moser. He was born in Monroe County, Tennessee, August 3, 1849; confirmed at the age of 16; received his education at Hiwassee College, Tennessee, Pennsylvania College, Pennsylvania, and Roanoke College, Virginia, graduating in 1878; studied theology in the seminary at Salem, Virginia; and was ordained, August 24, 1879, by the Synod of Southwestern Virginia.

He married Miss S. E. Scherer, daughter of Rev. Simeon Scherer and sister of Revs. M. G. G., L. P., W. J. D., and J. A. B. Scherer. By teaching and in the agency business, he made the means to support his family and complete his education.

His first work was at Mt. Jackson and Harrisonburg, Virginia. Poor health caused him to resign. Nine months he pursued his calling in Selwood, South Carolina, but because of the malaria in that section he was compelled to leave the field.

His next work was as pastor of the Hebron congregation, which began September 1, 1885, and continued three years. He went earnestly to work to put the finances of the church in better condition. At the second meeting of the council, December 5, a resolution was passed to apportion every member according to ability and willingness to give—the money to pass into the church treasury and be used according to the direction of the council. An apportionment was prepared and the following day submitted to the congregation. It was unanimously adopted, and the assessment of
each was to be paid annually in quarterly installments. This plan has been continued to the present, and has worked successfully. The result of this plan the first year was $349.50 collected from an assessment of $480. Eighty of the 130 members paid in full, twelve in part, and about thirty nothing.

For some reason the council elected in 1880 for eight years did not serve out its time. The first Sunday in May, 1886, a new council was elected, consisting of J. M. Fray, F. J. Crigler, J. C. Utz, E. F. Blankenbeker, J. E. Wayland, J. C. Crigler, R. A. Graves and A. R. Hoffman.

Soon after his arrival on the field, the question of a parsonage at Madison began to be agitated. From a statement found in the church book, none of the pastors' families had been satisfied to live at the second parsonage. After much deliberation it was finally decided to sell and buy a house and lot at Madison. So this house and all the lands remaining to the church except the church lot itself, were sold, September, 1888, to Capt. J. C. Crigler for $1,500. Thus after sixteen years this property also passed out of the possession of the congregation. It is now owned by Mr. L. W. Crigler. The old house was torn down in the summer of 1905, to give place to a new and modern building. Fortunately a photograph has been preserved.

The present parsonage, located at Madison, on a lot of nine acres, was bought of Mr. R. S. Thomas, July 9, 1886; and Rev. Moser and his family took possession about the first of October following. The property cost $1,750. Extensive repairs were made on the house, fences and outbuildings were put in order, and a good barn built—all at a cost of about eight hundred and twenty-five dollars.

The house is a frame structure, twenty feet wide by fifty long, three stories high, with eight rooms, including basement. It is situated at the northeast end of the town in a small but beautiful grove, and presents an attractive appear-
It has been the pastors' home for twenty-one years, and is likely to be for years to come.

The question of establishing a school in which the young men and women of the church could obtain a better education had often been discussed, but nothing had been done. Rev. Moser took up the idea and started a school at Madison. It proved to be only an experiment which lasted a year or two. Such private schools by pastors are generally short-lived—give promise of much but accomplish little, because they lack the element of permanency.

An attempt to have the old organ taken out of the gallery and placed in the corner of the house on the west side of the pulpit met with opposition which in the end resulted in getting a reed organ for the use of the Sunday-school.

Rev. Moser preached for the Lutheran church at Rochelle a year or more. Hebron congregation paid part of his salary for one year for the services rendered. Here he also introduced a plan of systematic benevolence which resulted in the collection of larger amounts of money for church purposes than had formerly been given.

The custom of holding three regular council meetings a year was begun in 1887. The days fixed and still observed, were April 30, August 31, and December 31; and on the preceding day when either of the above days fall on Sunday. At these meetings the regular business of the church is transacted.

A Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society was organized and carried on successfully. It has continued to the present and has done much to awaken a deeper interest in the Lord's work and to give a better knowledge of the claims of missions, as well as to provide money for missionary work at home and abroad.

Rev. Moser is still spoken of as a good preacher. He had a sociable and genial disposition which gave him an influence among men. He did much for the congregation financially. It had been paying taxes for years on its property contrary
HEBRON CHURCH.

...to the requirements of the law. At a council meeting, December 31, 1886, S. E. Blankenbeker and John D. Fray were appointed a committee to have the taxes returned which had been paid contrary to law. The committee discharged its duty, and the sum of $581.70 was returned. The Endowment Fund was at this time more than seven thousand dollars.

As a result of his ministry, a large increase in membership is reported—60 persons in three years. At a meeting, held in the fall of 1887, assisted by Rev. J. W. Strickler, there were 32 members added to the church.

The Virginia Synod met for the fifth time in Hebron church, August 21-26, 1888. This was just at the close of his ministry. The body was well entertained, large crowds of people attended, and the discussions and sermons were helpful to the congregation.

A few days later, Rev. Moser moved to Richmond, Virginia, where he became pastor of the First English Lutheran church of that city. A few years later he located in California, and supplied the pulpit of the First English Lutheran church of San Francisco for nearly a year. Later he took up home mission work at Riverside and the following year organized a congregation, which he continued to serve till failing health compelled him to give up the work of the ministry. He now resides in Washington, D. C.

REV. BACHMAN S. BROWN.

Rev. Moser was succeeded by Rev. Bachman S. Brown. He was born of Lutheran parents in Rowan County, North Carolina, November 19, 1854; catechised and confirmed by Rev. Samuel Rothrock, D. D.; educated at North Carolina College, North Carolina, and Roanoke College, Virginia, taking his degree from the latter institution in 1875; graduated at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Salem; and ordained by the North Carolina Synod in 1878.

His first work in the ministry was as supply for the First
Lutheran church of Wilmington, North Carolina, during the absence of the pastor, Rev. G. D. Bernheim, D. D. He had charge of churches in Mississippi two, and in North Carolina six years, when failing health made it necessary for him to rest temporarily.

After two years, having sufficiently recovered as to be able to pursue his vocation, he accepted a call from the Hebron congregation and entered regularly upon his pastoral duties, November 1, 1888. He was also pastor of Mt. Nebo church of the Tennessee Synod.

Conscientious in the discharge of the duties of his office, he here did faithful service for nearly two years and a half. His health was still much impaired. His sermons were good, rich in thought, filled with the meat of the Word, and delivered in a strong and vigorous manner. As a man and preacher he stood well. One who knew him well and who sat under his ministry has said, "He was one of the most conscientious Christian gentlemen I ever knew." As a conversationalist he had few equals or superiors among his ministerial brethren.

Rev. W. G. Campbell, formerly pastor, but then of Concord, North Carolina, visited his old parishioners and assisted him in a protracted meeting. Interest was manifested and the attendance good, but the visible results were small.

The number added to the church was not large. There are times in the history of most churches and existing conditions when large ingatherings of souls cannot reasonably be expected. Spiritually and otherwise the congregation underwent no marked changes for his work was too short.

His resignation took effect, March 1, 1891. His next work was at Churchville, Augusta County, where he served churches for a few months, after which he returned to his native State. He was pastor of the Holy Trinity church, Mt. Pleasant, four years, and of the St. Michael's charge, Iredell County, three years. Again his health failed and he located on a farm: again it so far improved that he was
HEBRON CHURCH.

able for three years to preach for the St. Luke's charge. Failing health finally compelled him to give up altogether the work of the active ministry.

REV. J. A. FLICKINGER.

July 1, 1891, Rev. J. A. Flickinger became pastor. The date and place of his birth are unknown to the writer. He studied theology in Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, and was ordained to the Gospel ministry, June 13, 1875, at Milton, Pennsylvania, by the Susquehanna Synod. He preached two years before his ordination: one at Hazleton, the other at Montgomery. He afterward became pastor of Trinity church, Shamokin, the membership of which was largely increased and the building enlarged and remodeled. At Milton he organized Christ church and erected a house of worship. Under the heavy work his health gave way and his resignation followed. He then moved to Vienna, Virginia, where after a rest, the following summer his health had so much improved that he accepted a call from the Hebron church, and began work, July 1, 1891.

He did successful work of which he says, "Here I spent four very pleasant years, ministering to a very kind and loyal people. The ingatherings were as large as could be expected considering conditions. Many of the heads of the old families of this congregation have gone the way of all the earth, their mortal remains have been laid to rest in 'God's Acre,' but the memory of their lives of devotion to the Master is the precious inheritance of their children and of the church."

He organized a Young People's Christian Endeavor Society. To its members, he bears this testimony, "A nobler band of young people it has never been my pleasure to meet anywhere."

He was also pastor of the Mt. Nebo church at Rochelle, though it was not then and never has been a part of the
Madison pastorate. He preached twice a month at Hebron and once a month at Rochelle. This left him without an appointment once a month. Not wishing to be idle, he began preaching near the mountain in a school-house on Mr. William Harrison's farm about halfway between the present church and Ruth. Several of the members of his old congregation lived in this neighborhood. They, as well as many others, could not conveniently attend church. This brought the preaching of the Gospel within reach of many who did not attend any church regularly.

The work thus begun, was continued for several months, much interest was awakened, and finally it was decided to organize a congregation and build a church. Trustees were elected the second Sunday in September, 1893. A lot of about half an acre, located on the public road a half mile east of Ruth, was given by Mr. Uriah S. and his wife Sarah E. Gibbs. The deed was made, October 4, 1893, to U. S. Gibbs, O. J. Utz, and Aylette Marshall, trustees for Mt. Pisgah Evangelical Lutheran church. The congregation was organized, April 6, 1894, with Oliver J. Utz and John May as elders and B. D. Tanner and James N. Tanner as deacons. The first twelve members were Sarah E. Gibbs, J. N. Tanner, Annie E. Tanner, Noel May, John May, Elizabeth May, B. D. Tanner, Maggie U. Tanner, O. J. Utz, A. V. Utz, Annie M. Utz and Lanra B. Utz (Yowell).

Efforts had previously been begun to collect funds for building a house of worship and Hebron congregation gave from the Church Funds three hundred dollars. When enough money was in sight to insure the success of the undertaking, a time was appointed and the women came with the men and helped clean off the lot—the pastor himself overseeing and helping in the work. The foundation was soon laid and the work of building begun. The house was completed and dedicated, April 8, 1894, the pastor himself preaching the dedicatory sermon. The cost of the building was about eight hundred dollars. The names of the build-
ing committee are not stated in the church book. Rev. Flickinger deserves much credit for the success of this undertaking. He not only directed the work, but having learned in his younger days the carpenter's trade, he worked on the building with his own hands.

The congregation presented a petition to the Virginia Synod, which met at Strasburg the following August, asking to be received as a part of the Madison pastorate. The request was granted, and this relation has continued to the present time. All the pastors have preached here regularly once a month since it became part of the Madison charge. The congregation has grown in numbers from twelve to about seventy. The membership has been more than doubled in the last ten years.

Rev. Flickinger was a strong preacher and did good work. His resignation took effect, March 1, 1891. He afterward had charge of churches in Pennsylvania—his work at intervals being interrupted by failing health. When we last heard from him he was at Mt. Rauier, Maryland. He was then in feeble health and confined to his bed.
CHAPTER XI.
REVS. CHARLES B. MILLER AND WILLIAM P. HUDDLE.
1895-1907.

The next pastor was Rev. Charles B. Miller, from the first Sunday of July, 1895, to the third Sunday of August, 1896. He is a native of North Carolina, having been born in Rowan County, March 24, 1861. His early years were passed on a farm. His father died when he was but a youth. Being the only son, the support of his mother and sisters depended largely upon his efforts, so that he was rather late in acquiring his literary education. He attended Roanoke College, Virginia, and North Carolina College, North Carolina, graduating from the latter institution in 1885. He studied theology at the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, graduating in the class of 1888, and was ordained by the Synod of North Carolina, September 17, 1887, in Concordia church. The following year he began work as pastor of the Middlebrook charge, Augusta County, Virginia. While here he was married to Miss Irene McCutcheon.

After a service of two years in this field, he located at Gibsonville, North Carolina, and ministered to the Frieden's and Burlington churches.

The first Sunday in July, 1895, he began his work as pastor of Hebron, Mt. Pisgah, and Mt. Nebo churches, in Madison County. He was popular with his people, and his relations with them were of the most pleasant character. His term of service was the shortest of all the twenty-one pastors who are known to have served the congregation, but there was growth during his ministry. At a protracted meeting held in the fall of 1895, he was assisted by Rev. John F. Crigler, much interest was manifested, and eight members were added to the church roll.
It was during his ministry here, that Rev. John F. Crigler, the fifth pastor to go out from this congregation, began the work of preaching the Gospel.

The question of a church cemetery was again agitated, and Hon. J. C. Utz was appointed a committee to purchase land for that purpose. But the effort again resulted in failure, and the church had no burying ground when his successor came.

The custom of taking up a basket collection at Sunday services was now introduced for the first time.


Rev. Miller preached his last sermon the third Sunday in August, 1896, and soon after returned to North Carolina, where he has since served churches in Concord, Albemarle, and China Grove. At this time he is not engaged in the work of the ministry. With the exception of a few years, he has passed his ministerial life in the North Carolina Synod, of which he was for three years the honored president.

REV. WILLIAM P. HUDDE.

The present pastor, Rev. William P. Huddle, entered upon his ministry in Madison County the third Sunday of

75. He is the son of Capt. Jason C. and M. Elizabeth Crigler, born October 13, 1869, near Brightwood, Madison County, Virginia. He received his preliminary training in the public schools and in the private schools of Prof. J. D. Fray and Rev. J. S. Moser; graduated at Roanoke College, Virginia, in 1892, after which he taught school one year. Called to the work of the ministry, he spent three years in preparation at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, graduating in 1896. The same year he was ordained, and began work as pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran church, Lutherville, Maryland, in September. In this field he is still doing efficient work. In addition to the duties of his pastoral office, he accepted the position of Professor of English Bible in Maryland College, Lutherville, Maryland. He was married, October 7, 1903, to Miss Edith Norris Wolf, eldest daughter of Rev. L. B. Wolf, D. D., President of Watts Memorial College, Guntur, India.
February, 1897. The three churches in the county of the Lutheran faith constitute his parish. He was born in Wythe County, Virginia, February 20, 1862, and is the youngest of a family of four children. His parents were Peter and Sallie Staley Huddle. He was baptized in infancy; confirmed by Rev. L. G. M. Miller, D. D., in College Church, Salem, Virginia, in his nineteenth year; received his literary education at Asbury Academy and Roanoke College, graduating in 1882; taught school in Virginia and Nebraska for three years; studied theology privately, and began the work of the ministry in the Shiloh charge, Montgomery County, Virginia, in June, 1885. He was licensed by the Synod of Southwestern Virginia the following August and ordained by the same body three years later. Three years he had charge of the Mt. Airy pastorate in Wythe County. Resigning in 1889, he attended the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg till the following spring when he accepted a call from the church at Marion, Virginia. Here he remained nearly three years, leaving in 1893 to labor in the St. Peter's charge of the North Carolina Synod. At the end of four years, his health having become somewhat impaired, he accepted a call from the Madison pastorate, entered upon this work, February 21, 1897; and has continued till the present to serve this people.

His work has extended over a period of more than ten years. His is the longest pastorate for more than fifty years. The most pleasant relations have existed between pastor and people. He has found them generous and kind-hearted, ready and willing to assist in the work of the church. There have been no great advances in the spiritual development of the people, for it is well known that they are very conservative; but the work of the church has been carried forward in a regular and orderly manner. The Gospel has been preached regularly and the sacraments administered. Owing to the scattered condition of the con-
The pastor has not been able to carry on catechetical instruction regularly. This has been done part of the time and with good results. Every fall there has been a week’s preaching; sometimes by an invited minister and frequently by the pastor himself. These meetings, conducted in an orderly manner, have proved very helpful to the people and a means by which many have been brought into the church. Ninety-six have been added to the membership.

A prosperous Sunday-school is kept up during the spring, summer, and fall, and also a Women’s Home and Foreign Missionary Society. Both are helpful factors in training and developing the young and in carrying forward the general work of the church.

There has been a decided development of the congregation along financial lines, especially for the support of the general work of the church in home and foreign lands. Beside the local and synodical work, it has contributed liberally for the Endowment Fund of the Southern Lutheran Theological Seminary at Charleston, South Carolina; for the debt on the Orphans’ Home at Salem, Virginia; for the establishment of a school in Japan; and for building churches in Norfolk, Newport News, and Atlanta.

From August 24 to 28, 1898, the Virginia Synod was held in the old church for the sixth time. There was a large attendance of ministers and laymen, and also of the people, especially on Sunday. Rev. J. A. Snyder, D. D., preached in the church at 11 a. m. and Rev. D. M. Gilbert, D. D., in the grove. In the afternoon, Dr. J. D. Dreher, President of Roanoke College, made an address to the children in the grove, and Rev. L. K. Probst, D. D., preached in the church. Rev. C. L. Brown, missionary-elect to Japan, was present and addressed the people. The synod received that hospitable entertainment for which the county has been known for years.

To one who visits this historic church for the first time, the thought that naturally arises is, "Where are the generations
now sleeping that have worshiped within its walls?'' The cemetery nearby gives no satisfactory answer. It is yet in its infancy and bears not the marks of age. No broken or falling stones, worn by the busy fingers of time, say, "Behold where they sleep their last sleep." The answer is, they rest in private burying grounds, on the hill-sides, on the mountain-sides, and in the valleys. These are to be found on almost every farm. Many rest in neglected or unknown graves. Frequently a clump of trees, or bushes in a field with no fence, or one decayed or falling, tells the passer-by, "Here rests the remains of those brave German pioneers and their children."

Strange it may seem this church had no cemetery for so many years. This seeming neglect, if neglect it be, can be accounted for partly by the fact that the ground around it was long considered unfit for burial purposes. The question of a church cemetery had often been considered. Pits had been sunk in the ground north of the church, but they were found to draw water. This was not satisfactory, and the subject was dropped for the time. Nothing was accomplished till Capt. J. C. Crigler, at a meeting of the council, September 2, 1899, offered to the congregation as a gift two acres of land, on the hill east of the White Oak Run, on the road leading to Madison, for a church cemetery. The only conditions were that it be fenced and kept up. The offer was gladly accepted, the ground was cleared, and later a substantial wire fence was put up enclosing one acre.

The first burial in it was that of Ruth Elizabeth, little daughter of Rev. W. P. and Mrs. S. C. Huddle, January 2, 1900. A few days later the body was taken up and sent to Rural Retreat for permanent burial. Mrs. John W. Hawkins, Mr. John H. Lillard, Mrs. A. E. Fray and Mr. Joseph M. Fray were the only ones afterward buried in this cemetery. After the interment of the last named, the question of removal to the church began to be agitated. This continued for some months—part wanting to remove to the
church and part wanting it to remain on the hill. In the midst of this unsettled condition of affairs Mrs. E. Belle Fray, wife of Mr. J. L. Fray, died. Her interment was made at the church, October 28, 1903. This virtually settled the question of removal.

A deed for an acre of ground was secured from Mr. H. B. Fray, February 6, 1904. The ground was enclosed by a beautiful iron fence and laid off in lots. Many of these have already been bought by the members, and the probability is that in a few years there will be few if any lots vacant and for sale. The price of the land $153, and the cost of the fence $470, have largely been paid by the sale of lots. The remainder was met by a loan of about two hundred dollars from the Church Funds. The number of lots unsold, it is hoped, will be sufficient to pay all indebtedness and create a fund, the interest of which will be sufficient to have it kept in good condition.

The bodies of those buried on the hill and some from other burying grounds have been removed to the new cemetery and a number of beautiful stones have already been erected. The ground has proved to be unusually good for burial purposes; and the general opinion is that the change has been a good one. The people see the importance of a cemetery near the church, where it will be better cared for and where they can more easily visit, when they come to worship, the resting places of those "whom they have loved long since and lost awhile."

The Endowment Fund of the congregation is now nearly eight thousand dollars. The question is often asked, "Where did this fund come from?" The basis of it is the remainder of the money collected in Europe, left after building the church, school-house, purchasing land and slaves, &c. This was increased when lands and slaves were sold. A second source was from the sale in 1856 of land patented by the church. And still a third was the surplus left over after the sale of the first parsonage farm (the "Glebe") and the
purchase of the second. All of this Fund did not come from Europe. It is clearly traceable to the three sources just mentioned.

What has become of all the money that belonged to the church, is often asked? There remains the amount already reported. Much has been given to colleges and for the erection of churches in other localities, as well as for the support of the local work. Much has been lost by bad loans—especially during the Civil War. The congregation has been a money lender for more than a hundred years, and some loss would naturally be expected. The policy of the present trustees is to lend money only on good security or on real estate secured by first mortgage. The interest is collected annually or as nearly so as possible, and it only is used for church purposes. We believe with Rev. Beale M. Schmucker, D. D., that this fund has been, to a great extent, a curse to the congregation in the past, instead of a blessing. But now it seems to be a necessity. With judicious management the present amount can be kept intact and the financial work of the church carried on successfully.


It is a sad fact that this old congregation has not always had that aggressive missionary spirit that should characterize the church of Christ. There ought to have been other churches established within its original bounds. People formerly came for miles to its services—some even from Page County, crossing the Blue Ridge at what is now Nethers' Mill. The tendency has been to contract rather than enlarge its borders. Though in justice it must be said that the German language was long a barrier between them and their English neighbors. And the transition period from German to English, as is generally the case, was attended with heavy loss.

There have been only two congregations organized from
its membership, Hopeful, in Boone County, Kentucky, and Mt. Pisgah in Madison County. But it has helped to strengthen and build up many others by the valuable members it has given them.

During its long life of nearly two centuries, its history has been a checkered one. It has had its seasons of adversity and prosperity, of decline and growth in members and spirituality. It has suffered much from the removal of members and families from its bounds; and this loss is still going on. Many while still retaining membership have contributed little towards its growth and prosperity. Though nearly a hundred have been added, there has been little numerical increase during the present pastorate, owing to heavy losses by death and removals. Enough members have left its bounds during the last ten years to form the nucleus for a good congregation, if they could have located together. But with all its losses, it is still vigorous and strong. The trials through which it has successfully passed and the great blessing it has been to its people, the community, the church of Christ in general and the world, give promise of long life and greater usefulness.

May the great Head of the church, who has tended and watered with the dews of His grace this little seed of His own planting in the borders of the wilderness, still watch over it for good and make it a greater power in the years to come in building up the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of the children of men.
PASTORS OF HEBRON CHURCH.

Rev. George Samuel Klug, 1739-1764.
Rev. John Schwarbach, 1765-1774.
Rev. Jacob Frank, 1775-1778.
Rev. William Carpenter, 1787-1813.
Rev. Michael Meyerhoefffer, 1815-1821.
Rev. William Scull, 1832-1834.
Rev. Thomas W. Miller, 1835-1847.
Rev. Samuel Allenbaugh, 1847-1849.
Rev. Alonzo P. Ludden, 1850-1856.
Rev. Wright G. Campbell, 1877-1882.
Rev. Jacob S. Moser, 1885-1888.
Rev. Bachman S. Brown, 1888-1891.
Rev. William P. Huddle, 1897.

* The church was served by an unknown minister or by Rev. Paul Henkel as supply, 1782-1785.
MEETINGS OF THE VIRGINIA SYNOD HELD IN HEBRON CHURCH.

October 11-14, 1834; May 21-24, 1838, at which time the Synod, which had held no meeting for three years, was re-organized; May 17-21, 1850; October 14-19, 1869; August 21-26, 1888; August 24-28, 1898.

SYNODICAL CONNECTIONS.

The first Lutheran Synod in America was the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, organized in St. Michael's church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 15, 1748, with six ordained ministers and an almost equal number of lay representatives from the different congregations. There were, at that time, only eleven Lutheran ministers in all the colonies.

Rev. Stoever died nine years before the organization of this body. Pastor Klug was never connected with it. Rev. Schwarbach was a member, though Hebron congregation was not during his ministry. Its formal connection with the Ministerium dates from the pastorate of Rev. Frank. It continued till the formation of the Synod of Maryland and Virginia in 1820.

From 1820 to 1829 it was connected with the Synod of Maryland and Virginia; from 1829 to the present with the Synod of Virginia.
APPENDIX I.

A SKETCH OF MT. NEBO LUTHERAN CHURCH,
ROCHELLE, MADISON COUNTY.

A few years before the breaking out of the Civil War some Lutheran families from Shenandoah and Rockingham counties crossed the Blue Ridge and settled in Madison County within a few miles of Rochelle. They were members of congregations connected with the Tennessee Synod. Before and during the war they heard no Lutheran preaching unless they attended the Hebron church. But this was some miles distant and connected with a different synod, that of Virginia.

As early as 1866, Rev. James E. Seneker of the Concordia Synod, who was then located in Augusta County at Koiner's Store, visited these scattered Lutherans and preached for them in the old Methodist church at the east end of the village of Rochelle. He found at least eight members of the church. They were Col. Noah I. Henkel, Mary M. Henkel, Samuel Tussing, Philip Lohr, Catherine Lohr, Mary Kipps, Benjamin Lowry, and Rebecca C. Sommers. He continued his work about ten years and added eleven more to this number, viz.: Mary Magdalene Tussing, Dr. George A. Sommers, George W. Kipps, Catherine Kipps, Mary Ann (Kipps) Estes, A. Rebecca (Lohr) Carpenter, Daniel Lowry, Henry Kipps, Amanda (Kipps) Hale, Mary C. Lohr, and Virginia (Lohr) Carpenter.

Rev. Seneker was succeeded by Rev. L. A. Fox, who began his work as pastor, January 7, 1877. He was then pastor of the Bethlehem church in Augusta County and lived in the parsonage near the church. He too only visited them once a month and held service. Interest in the work had grown, and there was a desire to organize a congrega-
tion. This was done on Saturday, November 2, 1878. It was effected in the Methodist church with about twenty members. Dr. Fox writes me that he thinks Rev. Seneker organized the congregation, and from the report of the President of the Tennessee Synod in November, 1877, in which he refers to the Rochelle congregation, Madison County, Virginia, formerly served by Rev. J. E. Seneker, it would seem that he is correct. But we are informed by at least two of the charter members, there was no regular organization previous to the date given in the church book. "The Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books" were adopted "as a Confessional Basis." The officers elected were Col. Noah I. Henkel, Samuel Tussing, and Philip Lohr, elders; and George W. Kipps, Daniel Lowry, and Henry Kipps, deacons. A constitution was also adopted. The congregation applied for admission and was received into the Tennessee Synod.

The next work was to build a church. The determination to build and the work of collecting funds for that purpose was begun at least as early as 1875 under the pastorate of Rev. Seneker. But it was slow and difficult work for so few members. They, however, persevered: their friends in the Valley, as well as their brethren of the Hebron church, came to their assistance financially and assured the success of their undertaking. A lot of one acre at Rochelle was given by Mary Jackson. The deed was made to Philip Lohr, Samuel Tussing, and Dr. George A. Sommers, trustees, July 13, 1878. The building committee was Col. N. I. Henkel, Philip Lohr, Samuel Tussing, Dr. G. A. Sommers and George W. Kipps. The corner-stone was laid, April 14, 1879, and the building was not completed till the following fall. The dedication ceremonies were held November 2, 1879, Rev. L. A. Fox himself preaching the sermon. The cost of the building was about twelve hundred dollars. Rev. Fox's resignation took place about the close of 1881. The growth in numbers had been slow but steady.
Rev. W. G. Campbell preached for a few months as supply, until he left the county the following May.

The third pastor was the Rev. J. N. Stirewalt. He lived in Page County, where he had charge of several churches. This compelled him to cross the Blue Ridge once a month to discharge the duties of his office. His work began in May, 1882, and continued about five years. He was followed by Rev. J. S. Moser, pastor of the Hebron church, who preached for them about a year. His salary was partly paid by the old congregation.

Rev. Bachman S. Brown of the Virginia Synod and pastor of the Hebron church also preached about one year. His successor was the Rev. J. S. Koiner of the Tennessee Synod. He was installed, June 25, 1890, by Rev. J. N. Stirewalt, though his pastorate began with March. While preaching here he was also pastor of the Mission church at Manassas, and part of the time a student of the University of Virginia. His work here closed with December, 1893.

For the last fourteen years the congregation has been served by the pastors of the Madison charge of the Virginia Synod, Revs. J. A. Flickinger, C. B. Miller, and W. P. Huddle, though all the while it has retained its connection with the Tennessee Synod. Its distance from other congregations of the same synod and its nearness to the other Lutheran churches of the county led to this change.

The congregation has had a steady but slow growth numerically. It now numbers 87 members, 46 having been added during the last ten years. The outlook for its future growth and development is good. The officers are Edgar F. Sommers, Marion G. Tussing, elders; and George W. Kipps, Daniel Lowry, and Henry Kipps, deacons. The good work done for the Master by this weak, struggling church, justifies the wisdom and faith of those who toiled and made sacrifices to establish it.
APPENDIX II.

COPIES OF DOCUMENTS OBTAINED FROM THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Since the first chapters of this book passed through the press, copies of the following documents from the Public Record Office of England, have been received, which show conclusively that the first Lutheran colonists who settled on Governor Spottswood's lands near Germanna, Virginia, arrived there in the year 1717; that the removal to their new settlement on the Robinson River and White Oak Run, in Madison County, took place in 1725; and that, as the Land Books at Richmond show, they received their lands from the Crown.


At the Council Chamber Whitehall the 13th day of February 1734 By the Right Honble The Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.

His Majesty having been pleas'd, by His Order in Council of the 12th of this instant, to refer unto this Committee the humble Petition of the Minister Elders and Members of a German Lutheran Congregation Settled in the Prince of Oranges County (formerly called Spotsylvania County) in Virginia) humbly praying, for the reasons therein contained, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to give his Royal Instructions to the Governor of the said Province of Virginia, to recommend to the Council and Assembly to renew part of an Act past in that Province in 1720, to Exempt the Petitioners from the paying of all Parish Levys,
HEBRON CHURCH.

During such time, as to His Majesty should seem meet:—The Lords of the Committee this day took the same into their Consideration, and are hereby pleased to refer the said Petition to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to Examine into the Allegation thereof, and Report their Opinion thereupon to this Committee

W. Sharpe


To the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council

The humble Petition of the Minister Elders and Members of a German Lutheran Congregation Settled in the Prince of Oranges County (formerly called Spotsylvania County) in Virginia

Sheweth

That the said Congregation consists of Sixty-two Families making in number 274 Persons.

That they came to Virginia in the year 1717 and were then Settled on some Lands belonging to Colonell Spotswood but in the year 1725 they removed forty miles further and were then seated upon lands belonging to the Crown at the very borders of the Country under the Great Ridge of Mountains where they have served as a Defence against the Indians and in which dangerous Situation they have continued ever since.

That in 1720 an Act of Assembly was past in Virginia for Erecting two new Countys called Spotsylvania and Brunswick and for granting certain Exemptions and Benefits to the Inhabitants thereof. In which Act it was enacted

1. Only twenty families came in 1717. Forty more families arrived between that year and June, 1720. It is not certain that all of them belonged to one colony; for the Records of Spotsylvania County show that Germans arrived in 1718, 1719, and 1720. The brothers, William and John Carpenter of 1721, were not numbered with the forty families.
"That if any number of Foreign Protestants shall at any time within the space of Ten Years from the first of May 1721 come to Dwell and Inhabit the said Countys of Spotsilvania and Brunswick respectively and shall keep and maintain a Minister of their Own all and every such Foreign Protestants with their and every of their Tytheable persons in their Familys shall be Exempt and Free from all Parochial dues and Charges towards the Parishes of St. George or St. Andrew for the Space of Ten Years next after their arrival or so much thereof as they shall keep and maintain such Minister of their own as aforesaid.

That your Petition being Inhabitants of the Parish of St. George they did in consequence of the above Act use their utmost Endeavours to obtain a Minister of their own Religion but could not find one that would accept of so small a living till very lately that Providence hath directed them to hear of a Divine regularly educated in one of the Academys in Germany whose heart is inclined to accept of their calling him to be their Minister.

That for want of meeting with such a Minister during the said term of ten Years they had no benefit of the Exemptions intended them by the said Act but have been obliged to pay all the Parish Levies from their first Settling to this time. And which they must even still continue to pay notwithstanding that they are now provided with a Minister in regard the said Act is now Elapsed

That as it will be impossible for this Congregation to Maintain their Minister and at the same time to pay the Parish Levies their distance from a Navigable River depriving them of all benefit of Trade And as they have always been good and faithful Subjects to the Crown of Great Britain and regularly paid all their Quit Rents and Taxes

The Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give your Royal Instructions to the Governor of Your Majesty's Province of Virginia to recommend to the Council and
HEBRON CHURCH.

Assembly to renew such part of the Act as is afore-mentioned to exempt them from the paying of all Parish Levies during such time as to Your Majesty shall seem meet which will prove a great inducement to many other German Familys to come and settle in those parts.

And your Petition shall ever pray &c.

Johannes Casparus Stoeverus
dictae Congregationis Pastor.

Michael Smith one of the Elders of the L Congregation.

Michael Hollt one of the Members of the said Congregation.

[Endorsed. Petition of the Minister Elders and Members of a German Lutheran Congregation settled in Virginia praying that the Governor of that Province may be instructed to pass a Law to exempt them from Parish Levys

R 14 Febry 1734.

[Two docquets affecting the two preceding transcripts follow]

Docquets.

Virginia—North Carolina

Humble Petition to the R. H. the Lt. C of Trade and Plantations concerning a Colony of Swissers and Germans in Virginia and North Carolina, to be settled by Mr. Ocks.

Rec'd Novr 21, 1734. S: 33.

Read } 1734

Virginia

Order of the Committee of 13th Feb'y 1734 referring to the Board the Petition of the Minister, Elders & Members of the Settlement of German Protestants in Virginia praying to be exempted from Paying Parish Taxes.

Rec'd Feb'y 18: 1734 S: 34.

Read Do. 21. 5

[These Docquets are misplaced in Vol. 20. B. T. Virginia. Record office.
At the Council Chamber Whitehall the 7th of March 1734.
By the Right Honble The Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.

The Lords of the Committee this day took into Consideration a Report made by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, upon the Petition of the Minister Elders and Members of a German Lutheran Congregation Settled in the Prince of Oranges County, formerly called Spotsylvania County in Virginia, praying for the Reasons therein contained, that His Majesty would be graciously pleas’d to Direct His Governor of Virginia to recommend to the Council and Assembly of that Province to renew such part of an Act passed in Virginia in the year 1720 "for erecting two new Counties called Spotsylvania and Brunswick and for granting certain Exemptions and Benefits to the Inhabitants thereof" whereby the Petitioners were exempted from the payment of Parochial Dues and charges towards the Parishes of St. George and St. Andrew for the space of ten years, or so much of that term as they should keep and maintain a Minister of their own: And the Lords of the Committee agreeing in opinion with the said Lords Commissioners, that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to Order His Governor of Virginia to move the Council and Assembly of that Province to renew the said exemptions granted to the Petitioners by the abovementioned Act of 1720 for the Term of ten Years longer, Do therefore hereby Order, that the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations do prepare a Draught of an Additional Instruction proper to be sent hereupon to the Governor of Virginia, and the same before this Committee.

Ja: Vernon
At the Court at St. James's the 3d day of April 1735
Present
The Kings Most Excellent Majesty in Council.
Upon reading at the Board a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council dated the 18th of last month humbly offering to His Majesty for his Royal Approbation, a Draught of an Additional Instruction prepared by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, for George Earl of Orkney His Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia in America, And in his Absence to the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander in Chief of the said Colony and Dominion for the time being, to recommend to the Council and Assembly there, to renew for the space of ten Years, that part of an Act passed in the year 1720, For erecting two new Countys called Spotsilvania and Brunswick and for granting certain Exemptions and benefits to the Inhabitants thereof—whereby the Minister Elders and Members of a German Lutheran Congregation settled in the Prince of Oranges County formerly called Spotsylvania County in the said Colony, were exempted from the payment of all Parochial Dues and Charges towards the Parishes of St. George and St. Andrew for the space of ten Years, or so much of that Term as they should keep and maintain a Minister of their own. His Majesty this day took the said Report and Draught of Additional Instruction into his Royal Consideration, and was pleased with the advice of his Privy Council to approve of the said Draught of Additional Instruction, which is hereunto annexed, and to Order, as it is hereby Ordered, that His Grace the Duke of Newcastle one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State do cause the same to be prepared for His Majesty's Royal Signature—
A true Copy
Temple Stanyan
ERRATA.

Page 9, 2d paragraph, 5th line from top, for "from 1717 to about 1720" read from 1714 to the formation of the Episcopal Parish of the same name.

Page 12, 7th line from top, for "settlement" read settlements.

Page 40, for "Swarbach," as a signature, read Schwarbach.

A recent publication, The Pennsylvania-German, Vol. XII., No. 8, to which we have had access since the first chapters of this book passed through the press, states that Rev. Anthony Jacob Henkel and not Rev. Gerhard Henkel was the founder of the family in America. Hence where the name "Gerhard" occurs read Anthony Jacob.
Reverend Huddle wrote his history of Hebron Lutheran Church according to the events which occurred during the tenure of each pastor. The ensuing information will be presented in a similar manner with more emphasis on the general history of the church than on the careers of each minister. Information included in this section was collected from historical records belonging to the church, from official minutes of the church council, from personal interviews, and from The Lutheran Church in Virginia 1717-1962 by William Edward Eisenberg.

Since the original publication of the church history, three important documents have been located. These include a four-page pamphlet written by John Caspar Stoever in 1737, and published in Hannover, Germany. This description of the congregation was written to further the appeal for funds to build the church and a school. The pamphlet, which appears as Appendix A, increases significantly the documentation of early church history. The second document is a letter of appreciation written by the congregation in 1740—after the church building was erected—to their European benefactors. It is included as Appendix B. The third is a 1776 petition to the government of the Commonwealth by the Hebron congregation. This document, which appears as Appendix C, is a plea to be released from paying taxes to the established church. It is of particular interest because it includes both a brief history of the congregation and a list of the names of the male members.

When W. P. Huddle served as pastor of Hebron, he also served Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah, the other churches in the parish. Mt. Nebo was a part of the parish from 1893 and Mt. Pisgah from 1894. There were no other Lutheran churches in any of the surrounding counties until 1959 when St. Luke’s in Culpeper was established.

Perhaps because locating accurate information about the history of the church presented such a challenge, Pastor Huddle initiated
the idea of inviting future ministers to record in a book owned by
the church, the experiences which each considered to be outstanding
during his years of service at Hebron. Three pastors who
served after Pastor Huddle continued this tradition and then it
was dropped.

W. P. Huddle served Hebron from February, 1897 until 1921. He
considered his outstanding achievement the history of the congre­
gation and its ministers which he recorded. He also felt the 1917
bicentennial observation of the founding of the congregation was
significant; to celebrate that occasion, the Virginia Synod met at
Hebron for the seventh time. The budget for 1917 included $600 as
the pastor's salary, and the topic of the program for the February
15, 1919, missionary society meeting was "Our Street Child­
ren—the Neglected Children of America." After Pastor Huddle
left Hebron, the congregation was served, on a supply basis, by
Missionary Michael Kipps.

On May 6, 1921, F. Grover Morgan became pastor of the church,
and he served until September 1, 1922. He resigned after a tenure
of only six months to return to Lenoir College, Hickory, North
Carolina. However, during his pastorate both the Luther League
and the Light Brigade were organized for the children and older
youth of the congregation.

Pastor Virgil Y. Boozer came to Hebron on June 1, 1923. It was
during the fall of 1924, that wafers were first used in the commun­
ion service. Prior to that time home-baked bread had been used. In
keeping with the new approach to communion, the Young Men's
Bible Class donated an individual-cup communion service which
was first used on Palm Sunday, 1925. The Primary Department of
the Sunday School donated at the same time walnut collection
plates. A three-section cabinet was made to house the old com­
munion set. Mr. E. A. Clore made book racks for the back of each
pew and built the baptismal font. On March 29, 1925, a constitu­
tion establishing the rules and laws for conducting the work of the
church was adopted. No earlier constitution was known to exist.
The new constitution abolished the office of elder and designated
all officers as deacons. Mr. Boozer left Hebron May 31, 1926, and
Hebron first hosted the Luther League of the Winchester Confer­
ence on June 17-18, 1926. Rev. J. B. Cassell supplied the congrega­
tion during the interim between pastors.
The chancel as it appeared in 1940. This photograph was taken by W. H. Lamb for use by *The Manassas Journal* during the bicentennial anniversary of the church.
Clarence K. Rhodes began his tenure of service with the congregation on March 1, 1928. Vacation Church School was instituted and continued until gas was rationed during World War II. In 1930 the road leading into the church was paved and the cemetery was enclosed with a stone wall. It is reported that this wall was constructed from a stone fence on a R. S. Graves Brothers field at Syria when the United States Government removed it to make a landing strip for Hoover’s Camp. It was reconstructed by Lovell Williams of Washington, Virginia. The 1930 budget totaled $2,401.25 and included $901.25 in Benevolence. Pastor Huddle’s history of the church was sold to members for $1.75 a copy and to non-members for $2.00 in 1930. On November 16, 1939, the church approved a request for a sidewalk across the parsonage property so that students could walk to Madison High School more safely. In preparation for the bicentennial celebration of the church building, much renovation to the property was undertaken. The following improvements to the church were made: electric lights and a heating plant were installed; the organ was equipped with electric blowers; the interior was replastered; the chancel was moved so that the main aisle would center the altar; and the columns were removed. The old schoolhouse was removed and replaced with a privy.

The bicentennial was celebrated on August 24, 1940, and approximately 2,000 people attended the activities. Although the church building could accommodate only 350 inside, the others outside listened to services through an amplifying system installed for the occasion. There were services on both Saturday and Sunday, and speakers included Rev. Dr. Frederick H. Knobel of New York, president of the United Lutheran Church in America; Rev. Ralph Long, D.D., executive secretary of the National Lutheran Council; Sen. Harry F. Byrd; Rev. Dr. Walter H. Greer of New York, executive secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America; Rev. C. K. Rhodes; Rev. J. J. Scherer of Richmond, president of the Synod of Virginia; Rev. Dr. A. R. Wentz, president of Gettysburg Theological Seminary; and Dr. Charles J. Smith, president of Roanoke College. The ladies of the congregation prepared 2,400 box lunches, which they served on Sunday afternoon. The celebration was covered in the national press.
The original school building before improvements were made to the church property in 1940. Local legend reports that this school was constructed on the site of the original log church.
Pastor Rhodes retired on September 30, 1945, and Pastor Turner A. Graves, Sr. accepted the call on July 1, 1947. He was a son of the congregation, born in Syria. Members of his family consider Pastor Graves to have been a Christian social worker at heart because he frequently involved himself in activities of that nature. He assisted German displaced persons to find homes and roles in America following World War II. The budget for 1948 was $3,600 and included $1,600 for the pastor’s salary and $930 for Benevolence. During the nine years Pastor Graves served Hebron, numerous events of historical significance took place. The congregation voted in 1954 to construct a parish house to be used for Sunday School, meetings, and social occasions. Mt. Pisgah congregation was dissolved October 1, 1959, and most of the members joined Hebron. A new brick parsonage in the town of Madison was completed in 1948; the old parsonage and two lots north of the new parsonage were sold.

The new parsonage was rented out because Pastor Graves had purchased his own home. Pastor Graves invited ministerial students to spend a summer working with him in an internship role. This experience provided these men with first-hand observations of the myriad duties of a parish pastor. Three of these men—John Byerley, Charles E. Spraker, and Don Yost—later served congregations in the Virginia Synod. Pastor Graves’ gentle wit, unpretentiousness, and wisdom endeared him to the members of the congregation. He tried for several years to retire, but he was persuaded to continue to serve. When he did retire on June 30, 1956, the congregation gave him a new Chevrolet sedan and some cash. He became the only pastor emeritus of Hebron, and he continued to live in the county until his death in 1975. He is buried in the church cemetery.

Glenn A. Shackelford arrived at Hebron on June 1, 1958. In his annual report for the congregational meeting in November, 1959, he stated that Hebron had 358 baptized members and 286 confirmed members. It was also in 1959 that the Parish House was completed and dedicated. Although many members made contributions toward funding this project, Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Graves, Sr. made a sizable donation toward the construction of the building. Mr. J. Holden Henshaw of the congregation was the contractor for the construction. The annual budget for 1959 was $8,733.80 which included Benevolence of $3,604 and the pastor’s salary of $2,400.
A view of the west side of the church looking across the cemetery. This was taken by W. H. Lamb in 1940. The trees surrounding the church were knocked down during a freak storm in 1968. There was no damage done to the church building during the upheaval.
The brick parsonage, built in 1948, stands just north of the fourth parsonage owned by the congregation.
Pastor Shackelford accepted another call and left Hebron August 1, 1960.

Bernard C. Troutman arrived February 15, 1961. Soon after Pastor Troutman arrived, the congregation was forced to begin a major reconstruction project on the church to repair damage caused by termites. A new foundation was laid; sills, joists, and flooring were replaced; the sacristy was enlarged; a narthex was constructed; new carpet was installed; and the building was insulated and painted. To restore the 18th century appearance, an elevated goblet-shaped pulpit, reached by circular steps, was installed. A new altar was built; the chancel wall was paneled; and a communion rail was placed around the raised chancel. The cost of this restoration was $22,000, and the work was completed under the direction of Milton Grigg, an architect from Charlottesville. The church was rededicated by Dr. J. Luther Mauney, Synod president, on May 13, 1962. Pastor Troutman continued to serve Hebron until he accepted a call to Reformation Lutheran Church, New Market, and left on May 31, 1970.

William H. Hall, III arrived in Madison on June 15, 1970, right out of seminary. The church was listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register in 1971 and on the National Register of Historic Places. During his ten-year pastorate, the church increased its property by purchasing 1.2 acres of land in 1974 from Claude L. Yowell to expand the cemetery. The joint parish of Mt. Nebo and Hebron was dissolved when Mt. Nebo became a separate congregation in 1974. Also in 1974 Dr. William E. Eisenberg translated into English the old records of the congregation which were written in German. A church seal was purchased for official use. In 1975 an electrical system was installed in the church for hearing-impaired worshippers. Pastor Hall initiated the congregational newsletter, The Dove, which continues to be published monthly. In preparation for the bicentennial celebration of the founding of the United States, the congregation published a brochure on the church’s history, since it is the only building still in existence in Madison County which predates the American Revolution. On June 20, 1976, the Blue Ridge Area Bicentennial Worship Service was held at Hebron and included a procession of banners from each participating congregation. A service was held on July 4, 1976, using the Colonial liturgy of 1748. Hebron Nursery School, for 3- and 4-year-olds, opened in the fall of 1977, and classes were held from 9 until 12 each Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The school closed in 1987.
The interior of the sanctuary after the 1962 restoration of the church to the appearance of the 1740’s.
As part of the outreach ministry of the congregation, the Parish House was used as the site for nutritional services to elderly members of the community from 1958 until 1986 when the program was moved to its own facility. A secretary was hired to handle the clerical responsibilities for the parish. In 1977, the *Lutheran Book of Worship* was first used by the congregation. James Christopher Price, a son of the congregation, was ordained at Hebron in 1979. The budget for 1980 was $45,228. Pastor Hall resigned on July 1, 1980 to accept a call to St. Paul’s Lutheran Church in Strasburg.

James E. Baseler accepted the call to Hebron and first conducted worship on March 15, 1981. The church office was moved from the parsonage to the Parish House and a telephone was installed. In 1981 a three-octave set of handbells was given to the church and a bell choir was formed. Pastor Baseler re-established the youth group in October, 1982 by forming the HEBGB’s (Hebron’s God-Blessers) for children and youth in grades 4 to 12. In 1982 board-and-batten shutters in the style used in the Colonial period were constructed for the church by Steve Hoffman, who used hand tools which have been in his family since the 1700’s. The church building was air-conditioned with funds given in memory of Mr. Jesse Blankenbaker. The Parish House continues to be used by Alcoholics Anonymous for weekly meetings. Pastor Baseler and Elizabeth B. Baseler were divorced, and later, he and Peggy S. Helsley were married at the church. Since October, 1987, Hebron, as well as other churches in the county, has been kept locked because it had become the victim of repeated vandalism.

In 1989 the congregation prepared a new constitution in accordance with its current needs as a congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. As the 250th anniversary of the church building approaches, routine maintenance of the property continues. The budget for 1990, accepted at the annual congregational meeting, was $85,231.92, which includes the pastor’s salary package of $32,355.02 and Benevolence of $14,000. This budget also included $2,600 for the purchase of a copier for the church office. The annual report lists 350 baptized members.

The congregation of Hebron has changed to meet the needs of its members and the community at large. It continues to serve as a vital Christian influence.
The ministers who have served Hebron since W. P. Huddle.

NOTES

Appendix A

Short Report of an Evangelical German Lutheran Congregation living in the American Virginia, namely, at the extreme borders of the County of Spotsylvania, prepared by John Caspar Stoever, first pastor of this congregation Hannover—printed by L. C. Holwein, 1737.

In the year 1717 a small number of Evangelical Lutheran Christians from Alsace, the Palatinate, and the neighboring districts, (whose intention it was to go to Pennsylvania) after an unfortunate voyage to the American continent, settled at the extreme borders of the province of Virginia, in the County of Spotsylvania, having undergone many hardships during the first eight years. Their number is at present 300 souls. They are now amply provided in temporal things by the Preserver of all creatures, to Whom all honor is due. Because they live fifty German miles from the ocean they are unable to dispose of their superabundant provisions, with the exception of their tobacco, which they exchange for the necessary clothing.

Although this congregation, solicitous for the salvation of their souls, made every effort to secure a pastor, and twelve years ago, by sending two of their men to Europe, intended to accomplish this, yet for full sixteen years they were compelled to be without public worship and a pastor, although they had a very great hunger for the word of grace.

At last the gracious God heard their continual prayers and selected me, unworthy servant, after receiving a call and ordination, to be their teacher and preacher. I have also begun public worship among them, in accordance with the grace granted to me by God, by teaching them and administering the sacraments. I have been satisfied with a yearly salary of 3,000 pounds of tobacco (worth about fifty-five rix dollars). But the joy over the divine worship now established, the zeal of the people in the same, the anxious fear that the light of the Gospel, kindled by the grace of God among men, might again be extinguished after my death and thus reduce them to the same former spiritual destitution, together with the earnest desire to preserve the Evangelical truth to themselves and their descendants, and the eager solicitude of that dear, but poor, congregation, all these induced me to undertake this dangerous and difficult journey in God’s name, after having
received permission from the royal governor, and taking with me an elder, Michael Schmidt, and a member of this congregation, Michael Holt, the latter returned again to Virginia from Danzig. It is our purpose to gather contributions from the Christian friends in Europe, so as to be able to continue our above-mentioned public worship, to build a church and a school and to establish a fund for the maintenance of the ministers, because this congregation is compelled to contribute its share to the support of the English minister and his services. A confirmation of all this will be found in the original documents, which I have with me from the above-mentioned governor, and the German Lutheran ministers in London. God in His abundant grace has not left my undertaking without results, but everywhere on my journey has moved many hearts to contribute liberally. Reports printed at Leipsic give an account of the liberality of the people at Hamburg, while future contributions will be recorded in the original collection book, which I have with me.

Moreover, the power of God, which controls the hearts of men, has induced a candidate of theology, Mr. George Samuel Klug, born in Elbing, to become a fellow worker in the Gospel in this congregation. He has obligated himself to this work by accepting the call extended to him and by receiving ordination through the Ministerium at Danzig, as has been confirmed by the testimonial of the aforesaid ministerium. In consequence of this he has actually started on his journey to Virginia.

But whereas, for the support of two ministers (who are needed at this distant place to maintain public worship and the school) many things are necessary so that churches and schools can be built and many other things can be secured which are necessary for the church:

Therefore, the Christian reader is requested to take to heart these needs of the church, compassionately to advance this God-pleasing undertaking, which is for the preservation and spread of the pure Evangelical doctrine in America (in the [promotion] of which every effort will be made to lead the heathen, who still walk in darkness, to Christ) and to that end to send contributions across the ocean for the quickening of the poor fellow-believers and the conversion of the heathen, in the assured confidence that, as God is earnestly invoked to reward men, He, a God rich in blessings, will graciously reward such alms according to His promise with temporal and spiritual blessings.
Letter of Thanks of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Orange County, Virginia, in America, to all our benefactors, high and low, in and outside of Germany:

The remarkable liberality to which persons of high and low birth, in Germany, Prussia and other places were impelled towards us, their poor fellow believers, in order to improve by their kind contributions our hitherto poor spiritual condition, due to the lack of the necessary temporal means, puts us and our descendants under lasting obligations to them. Reverence, love and gratitude are the feelings with which our hearts are filled towards our dearest benefactors. We remember them at all times in our daily prayers and are confident that God, Who hears when the poor call upon Him, will graciously hear our prayer, remember them in mercy and reward here temporarily, and yonder eternally the kindness shown to us, which will only redound to the advantage of His glory and His service. The Lord, Whose mercy reaches as far as the heavens, and Whose truth as far as the clouds, increase their possessions ten, yea a hundredfold! And may eternity give to them the most perfect increase of that which they have loaned to the Lord. We shall tell it to our children what the Lord has done to us through them, and they will tell it to their children so that their memory will be preserved as a continual blessing among our descendants. When at last, on the great day of resurrection, the books will be opened, the names of our most valued benefactors, whom we love heartily, revere with due reverence, and for whom we pray, will be found written in the book of life. The Lord dwelling in heaven add to our weak wishes His powerful Amen, gather us all who are separated in body into His eternal Kingdom and into the company of the most perfect and righteous spirits.

This is the wish and prayer to God of the congregation in Virginia, accepting the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

George Samuel Klug, pastor
Michael Koch
Michael Schmit
Michael Holt
Michael Klar
George Utz
APPENDIX C

CULPEPER COUNTY PETITION, 22 OCTOBER, 1776

To the Honorable, the President and Delegates of the Convention
of the Common Wealth of Virginia
The Petition of the German Congregation
of the County of Culpepper Showeth

That our Fathers who lived under an Arbitrary Prince in Germany, and .................................................................
by the Honorable William Penn Esq., Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania to settle his Province, which, with the faith they had in the Provincial Charter, given and granted from the British Crown, and that the Germans there, enjoyed freedom in the exercise of Religion as well as other ways, and that they only supported their own Church and Poor. Our Fathers ventured their Lives and Fortunes to come into a Land of Liberty (i.e.) from a European Egypt, to an American Canaan, to enjoy those Sweets of Freedom which God created for all Men. They journeyed from Germany to London, & there agreed with a Captain, to land them and their Families in Pennsylvania; but he proved false, and landed them against their will and agreement in Virginia, and sold them for Servants.

On their Arrival, the loss of their Estates, and the Snare the Captain had draged them in, was not equal with the loss they were at, in not understanding the English Tongue, which rendered it impossible to join in the Worship of God; till they were Free, and the Lord directed a Door [door] for them, where they could exercise themselves in the Christian Religion as they were taught by their Parents in Europe.

Soon after they were gathered to the Place where we now live, they concluded to erect a Church and School House. But 1st, they being just free were too[ol] poor; 2nd, the laws of the Country was against them; & 3ly, the Arbitrary Power of Bishops .........................
Prayer to God, that he would be Merciful to them, they petitioned the Governor & House of Burgesses, acquainted them with their Distress, and asked redress of a[ll] Grievance, which was so far granted that they had License to collect Money, build a Church, call a Minister, worship God in a congregation, & practice the Christian Religion as they were taught by their Parents in Europe.
Full of love and Gratitude for this advance, and trusting that the Lord would further give his Grace to this Religious design, they send Three of the Congregation to Europe, who acquainted their Brethren there, with the Mercy they received from God, through the Act of Assembly, and asked them for Assistance.

[The Reverend Friederich Ziegenhakem, Chaplain to the Royal Household in] England assisted them as much as was in his Power; sent letters in favor of them to our Brethren in Germany, which caused that they raised a tolerable Sum of German Money, of the free Gifts of the Germans and other People, with which they built a Church, School House, and purchased some land and Negroes as an Estate to the Church. But that Estate is not near sufficient to support the Church expence and Minister.

And thro' our poverty we are obliged to pay Parochial Charges, as well as Support our own Church, which still leaves many of us distressed, and as we are fellow Citizens in common, and still can not understand the English tongue, and as we now, with our fellow citizens are obliged to bleed for Freedom, and contribute our proportional part of the Expence of the War, and are not breaking from the established Church, as do the common Discenders, we humbly pray, that we may hereafter be exempted from further payment of Parochial Charges, other than Sufficient to support our own Church and Poor. And that our Ministers who we hitherto receive from the German Lutheran North-American Ministerii, under whose Direction we at present are, may have full right and Privilege in the Administration of their Office with their Brethren in Pennsylvania, or the established Church in Virginia................. Church only, and your Petitioners in Duty bound shall ever pray:——

Column 1, p. 2
1 Adam Gaar
2 Adam Wayland
3 Johannes Jaeger
4 Andreas Carpenter
5 Johannes Weber
6 Nicolaus Grickler
7 Christoph Blankenbuecher
8 Conrad Delp
9 Georg Koch

Column 1, p. 3
1 Nicholaus Wilheit
2 Johannes Carpenter
3 John Fleischman
4 Friedrich Lipp
5 John Broyl
6 Robert Fleischman
7 Georg ?Flathes?
8 Philip Jelf
9 Georg Utz
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<td>2 Henrich Christler</td>
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<td>3 Adam?—der?</td>
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<td>4 Paulus Leatherer</td>
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<td>5 John Smith</td>
<td>5 Christoph Maier, Junr.</td>
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William Peter Huddle was born in Wythe County, Virginia in 1862, was the son of Peter and Sallie Staley Huddle. He was graduated from Roanoke College in 1882. After teaching school in Virginia and Nebraska, he prepared to enter the ministry. He attended Gettysburg Theological Seminary and served congregations in Virginia and North Carolina before accepting the call to Hebron in 1897.

Pastor Huddle married Caroline Coley and the couple had five children. Two of his sons entered the Lutheran ministry.

In 1921, he accepted a call to St. Peter's, Churchville, Virginia. He served several other congregations before his death in 1939.

Margaret Grim Davis received an A.B. degree from the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1961, and a M.Ed. degree from the University of Virginia in 1987. Although a native of Washington, D.C., her family came from Shenandoah County, Virginia, and her ancestors were among the early Lutheran settlers to that region.

In 1976 she authored Madison County, Virginia—A Revised History. Mrs. Davis is a teacher in the Madison County Public School system and serves as treasurer of Hebron Lutheran Church.

She is married to Wordell J. Davis, Jr. The Davises have a son, Andrew, and a daughter, Julye.