THE SOUL OF MAGIC CITY: RELIGION IN ROANOKE, VIRGINIA, 1882-1914

By

John Wiley

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(Student's Name)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Masters of Arts in Humanities: United States History, has been approved and accepted by the following:

Dr. Penny Sanders, LPC, NCC
Assistant Vice-President of Graduate Programs

Dr. Edward R. Crowther
Chairperson of Thesis Committee

5/3/17
Date

Thesis Committee Members:

Edward R. Crowther, Ph.D.

Richard Loosbrock, Ph.D.

Charles Nicholas Saenz, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

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Historians of American religion have recently written about the existence of religious diversity, which was especially evident in the American South. Although many have tended to target their research on social issues and politics, denominational distinctiveness in theological beliefs and practices ought to be seen as yet another form of diversity. Roanoke, Virginia may not be as well known as other Southern cities, such as Richmond or Atlanta, but being birthed as a "boomtown" during the Progressive Era, it offers itself as a unique example of how the religious institutions helped shape the early growth of the city, and cyclically, how the city shaped the religious institutions as well. Protestants, Catholics, and even religious minorities had come to the "Magic City," as Roanoke was nicknamed. Many brought their religious views and denominational preferences with them, and others were eventually converted to one of the numerous religious institutions. Within this localized context, religious diversity is clearly demonstrated among the different denominations, but discrepancies and complementarities can also be seen in relation to the broader historiographical context of Southern religious history and of denominational history. Examining Roanoke's history through the lens of each denomination reveals many of the religious complexities that existed in the New South. And despite the wide variation of religious belief, most of Roanoke's residents understood religion as being an indispensable component to the social and spiritual wellbeing of their young city.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

SETTLING IN "HEBRON"

Rev. W. C. Campbell, a beloved Presbyterian pastor in Roanoke, Virginia, observed in a local real estate magazine: "Churches are always a factor of the first importance in the make-up of any community. The man who seeks a residence in a new city with his family, is attracted, not simply by its advantages as a place to secure a fortune, but he must have a place in which to rear his family. The interests of his children are paramount to every other consideration." He then concluded, "No true father in this age cares like Lot of old to pitch his tent toward Sodom."[1] Rev. Campbell was speaking to an audience that would have likely caught on to the biblical analogy. In Genesis 13, a passage from the Pentateuch, the author tells of a fateful decision between Abram (Abraham) and his nephew, Lot. Whereas Lot made the decision to settle in the seemingly prosperous city of Sodom, Abram chose to pitch his tent at a place called Hebron. Ultimately, Abram's decision proved to be much wiser, as Lot was barely rescued from the eventual destruction of Sodom. According to Rev. Campbell, Roanoke had become a "Hebron" to thousands of residents looking for a place to call home, though instead of prospering from the "oaks of Mamre," Roanoke's population largely benefited from the transportation industry.

Roanoke Historiography

Roanoke had not been the subject of much scholarly study until the last decade or so. While local authors had contributed valuable historical works since the very early years of the city's existence, professional historians had not paid much attention to the "Magic City" until the University of Tennessee Press published Rand Dotson's

meticulously researched, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912: Magic City of the New South.* Dotson's work is especially helpful in providing a scholarly overview of the first few decades of Roanoke's beginnings, with special emphases upon the economic, political, and social history of the Magic City. Dotson does occasionally discuss the work of Roanoke's churches, but his research does not greatly attempt to understand the religious complexities of the different religious institutions in a comprehensive way. Therefore, a more thorough religious history of the Magic City will not necessarily contradict Dotson's excellent contribution, but would complement his work in the political, economic, and social history of Roanoke. Likewise, John Butler's recent doctoral dissertation, "A History of Railroad Depots in Bloomington, Indiana and Roanoke, Virginia," covers some of the economic and industrial factors in Roanoke's history, but very little has been said among scholars about the religious history of the Magic City.

Urban Religious Historiography

Historians of American religion have written several excellent studies on religious institutions in individual cities. Samuel C. Shepherd Jr.'s *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900-1929* is one fine example of how religion was a major component of a Southern city. *Avenues of Faith* heavily focuses on the religious leaders of Richmond, and after researching these men and women, Shepherd concluded, "[T]hey were impressively successful in their efforts."[2] Another insightful work on urban religious history, likewise focused in the state of Virginia, is Beth Barton Schweiger's *The Gospel Working Up: Progress and the Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Virginia.* Schweiger's study is particularly useful in helping historians understand how pastors, and those training for the ministry, often sought after ministerial openings in

urban churches, rather than rural, since they usually offered greater financial incentives and an upward track towards social mobility. However, Schweiger also writes about how Virginia's religious leaders saw a rise in denominational power by the end of the nineteenth century.[3] Outside of Virginia, Allison Dorsey's *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875-1906* offers a nice balance to urban religious historiography in that she discusses black communities of faith, rather than simply white Christians or white Protestants, though Dorsey's book goes beyond religion as well. Roanoke, on the other hand, is unlike Richmond, Atlanta, and many other Southern cities in that it was founded after the Civil War and Reconstruction. The story of Roanoke's founding years, from 1882 to 1914, tell of a wide array of people who essentially built the city from the ground up, further illustrating themes developed in the current historiography. Quickly, the Magic City became a boomtown, which had many consequences for religious institutions, particularly in how they attempted to keep up with the mass flow of newcomers.

Southern Religious Historiography Trends

In 1980, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. wrote, "One of the characteristic features of the South historically has been the relative absence of diversity—ethnic, religious, ideological, political, and otherwise."[4] As the South has become more diverse, historians have also tended to look back in history to see if there was actually diversity in existence that had previously gone unnoticed. Writing in 1998, John B. Boles insisted, "The story of American religious history needs to be complexified by emphasizing within it the diversity that characterizes the religious landscape of the past."[5] In the same article, Hill also conceded that certain terms, such as "Southern evangelicalism" and the "Baptist-

Methodist hegemony," arguably "impede work that needs to be done."[6] More recently, Wayne Flynt's *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* added to an already growing historiography of Southern religious history. Flynt's thesis was simple: "southern religion is more complicated than it seems."[7] Pulitzer-prize winning historian Frances Fitzgerald agrees with Flynt, noting both change and retention in evangelicalism, and proposes that the First and Second Great Awakenings "created a marketplace of religion."[8] Donald G. Mathews has suggested that historians of religion ponder religious "varieties," which extends beyond "evangelical dominance."[9] Furthermore, as Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey have explained, "[R]eligion is everywhere in American history, but nowhere in American historiography."[10] In other words, Americans have generally been intimately concerned with religion for the country's entire existence, but until recently, historians have tended to downplay its vital nature for a variety of possible reasons. Thus, the following research will attempt to follow and contribute to two recent historiographical trends in Southern religious history by representing the religious diversity present in Roanoke in terms of the Magic City's denominational distinctives, as well as by viewing religious institutions as the social and spiritual epicenters of the city's culture.

Thesis Contributions

Rather than arranging the chapters chronologically or by social issues, they have been divided by denomination to especially highlight the individual beliefs, experiences, and practices of each denomination, to show how religious institutions distinctly helped shape Roanoke as it grew, but to also identify how the city cyclically shaped each religious institution. Each denomination is placed into the broader, historiographical

context so that the denomination's presence in Roanoke can be compared to larger, historical trends. And as Keith Harper has observed, "denominational history" matters because denominations have particular histories and relationships to the broader social culture.[11] While the amount of secondary literature pertaining to each denomination can be quite massive, efforts have been made to find the most relevant studies. Following a historical overview of the denomination's origins in Roanoke, each chapter proceeds in discussing several topics that clarify denominational attributes and distinctives. The first topic is denominationalism. Richard E. Wentz explains, "*Denominationalism* refers to the diversity of doctrine and praxis that has arisen in Protestantism since the Reformation. Behind the story of denominationalism is the struggle to achieve common purposes that transcend multiformity."[12] However, the term has become more fluid to refer to the beliefs and practices of all kinds of religious groups, which is how the term is understood in the following research.[13] Denominationalism, it could also be argued, helps explains the most important distinctives among the religious groups in Roanoke.

The New South and sectionalism encompasses the next topic of consideration in each chapter. There are a couple of areas of interest that are usually considered in this regard. Being that Virginia was one of the strongest forces in the Confederacy, the Lost Cause ideology and white identity are noticeable among several denominations. Charles Reagan Wilson is especially insightful into this topic. He stated:

> The cultural dream replaced the political dream: the South's kingdom was to be of culture, not of politics. Religion was at the heart of this dream, and the history of the attitude known as the Lost Cause was the story of the use of the past as the basis for a Southern religious-moral identity, an identity as a chosen people. The Lost Cause was therefore the story of the linking of two profound human forces, religion and history.[14]

But another element of the New South and sectionalism concerns the role and characteristics of black believers. Here again, the theme of diversity can be seen. Although many white and black congregations shared denominational perspectives, and often practices as well, the Jim Crow South ensured that the races would often be segregated. Yet, noticeable exceptions are made clear in the following research, particularly with Roanoke's Baptists and Presbyterians.

Progressivism and economics are also considered. Roanoke skyrocketed in growth shortly after its chartering, which is why it earned the nickname of the Magic City. The most visible and essentially unanimous reason for why the city was able to grow was because of the economic appeal of the railroad industry. Religious institutions, like business operators, had to do their best effort of accurate speculation for determining the future of the Magic City. Decisions were sometimes made that ended in failure, causing churches and other institutions to close down, but others proved to be quite successful. Likewise, certain religious institutions shared significant relationships with particular industries, such as Catholics and the Northerners who had come to Roanoke to work in the railroad industry. Furthermore, ideas of progressivism can relate to matters such as the social gospel and social Christianity. From John Lee Eighmy's research on religious liberalism in 1969 to Wayne Flynt's work on socially conscious Christians from many theological stripes in 2016, scholars have put much thought into the issue of the social gospel and social Christianity.[15] Flynt would even argue, "[S]outhern Protestantism developed its own full-blown Social Gospel tradition," which tended to be theologically conservative and more traditional.[16] Roanoke's Protestants from 1882 to 1914 all seemed to have fit this conservative mold that Flynt speaks of, and there were examples of social

programs instituted by churches, such as the Baptist and Lutheran orphanages, as well as the self-help program from the Presbyterians. Roanoke's Catholics would likely be considered the most "progressive" of all of the Magic City's religious institutions. Meanwhile, the dynamic of Roanoke being a boomtown also should be noted. Churches often had thousands of dollars to pay off in mortgage expenses, so they had to wrestle with financial decisions that may have impeded a greater willingness to form a greater assortment of social programs. Also, many church members and even leaders of Roanoke were members of secret societies, which essentially operated as an efficient substitute for church-sanctioned social programs. Progressivism in Roanoke was very much present, but the way it was manifested seems to have been unique for a Southern city.

The final topic covered in each chapter is gender and families. Women's history has influenced numerous historiographical fields, including Southern religious history. Lynn Lyerly has argued:

> Two terms used frequently—"church" and "ministry"—must be redefined when women are foregrounded. Churches were (and are) more than the sum of their trustees, clergy, theological discourse, and denominational bureaucracies. In almost every era, in almost every religious body in the United States, women have outnumbered men in membership and attendance at services. Women's ministries have included much work they shared with pastors, such as visiting the sick and elderly, rearing children in the faith, comforting the bereaved, helping to bring others to God, and practicing prayer. Women also led the way in interracial, charitable, reform, and children's educational work. Women's missionary societies were surely a key part of the church as well as an important ministry.[17]

In Roanoke, there is no question that women played a crucial role in the growth and outreach of their religious institutions. *The Roanoke Times* once commented, "The ladies of the different churches in Roanoke are abundant in work. They enliven the evenings by such entertainments as the men love to patronize."[18] But as the following research will show, women were much more than event coordinators. It would appear that all of

Roanoke's clergy from 1882 to 1914 were male, but many institutions had specific expectations and programs designed for men. Youth, too, were often active participants in institutional programs, but there were also variations among the different denominations. Therefore, studying gender and families adds yet another aspect of the diversity that existed in Roanoke's religious institutions.

The major Protestant denominations are sequentially examined, followed by Catholics, and then the "Others" of Roanoke, that is, the religious minorities. Protestants included the Episcopalians, Baptists, Brethren, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans. As the following chapters will attempt to explain, Roanoke's Protestants were exceptionally accommodating in their interdenominational efforts, but each were persistent in holding to and propagating their theological distinctives. Protestants were not as open to ecumenical practices with Catholics, but even then, there were plenty of instances of cordial Protestant-Catholic relations. The religious minorities that will be examined—Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese Catholics—were certainly outsiders, but some were better received than others. Every religious institution contributed to the development of Roanoke, but the Magic City also affected how each congregation and organization evolved over the founding years of 1882 to 1914. As Rev. Campbell of Roanoke inferred, the city was a "Hebron" to many. It was a religiously diverse city, but amid the complexity, there was usually a sense of respect to other denominations. Seldom would the daily newspapers fail to mention the happenings of the city's religious institutions. Its churches, synagogues, and other organizations were not just sites for a religious venue on the weekends. Throughout the years of Roanoke's founding era, they operated as the soul of Magic City.

CHAPTER 2

ROANOKE'S EPISCOPALIANS: "SPEAK TO THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL THAT THEY GO FORWARD"

Introduction

Long before the dominance of the Methodists and Baptists in the South, there was another denomination that held a religious stronghold over the region, the Church of England. Virginia's Anglicans had a history in the colony that could be traced back as far as 1607 to the settlement at Jamestown. Eventually, they would populate west of the Tidewater region and spread along the Atlantic coast. Virginia's own educational institution, the College of William & Mary, played a pivotal role in educating Southern ministers, many of whom were also Anglican. However, the American Revolution would prove to be disastrous to the perpetuity of the aforementioned Anglican dominance. Yet, many of these American Christians planned to adapt to the changing times and awkward religious relationship with England by reorganizing into the Episcopal Church. In spite of the explosion of growth in the South among revivalistic Christianity that resulted from the Second Great Awakening, a century later, as one historian notes, "[M]any Episcopalians had come to think of themselves as the religious establishment."[1] Southerners, in particular, had more than enough reasons as to why they should find a sense of security in the Episcopal Church. After all, some of the biggest figures in the Confederacy were Episcopalians, including Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. By the time that the City of Roanoke was chartered, Episcopalians had already been living in Big Lick, but like other denominations, they also experienced a great deal of growth in the latter part of the nineteenth century. True to their roots in Virginian history as

especially appealing to the gentry, Roanoke's Episcopalians were particularly impactful in cultural sophistication and Southern identity, but they were also adaptable to surrounding needs and circumstances.[2]

Episcopalian Historiography

Part of the challenge in Episcopalian historiography is that Anglicanism has tended to overshadow the history of the Episcopal Church in the United States, even though the Anglican Church in America fell apart following the Revolutionary War. The Episcopal Church possesses an important history in its own part as well. Fortunately, some historians have made excellent contributions to the history of Episcopalianism in the South, which are relevant to the study of Episcopalians in Roanoke, Virginia. Rhys Isaac's *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* is a classic text on Southern religious history, and in Virginian religious history in particular. Isaac is especially helpful in explaining the disestablishment of the Anglican Church and the reorganization into the Episcopal Church.[3] But once the Episcopal Church began, it quickly encountered a crisis of identity, with some desiring to maintain a "high church" liturgy, while others, perhaps adapting to the surrounding religious culture, tiptoed into a "low church" evangelicalism. Diana Hochstedt Butler's *Standing Against the Whirlwind* is effective in its portrayal of the evangelical influence in the Episcopal Church, which indicates that "low church" theology had an influence not only in Virginia, but also in Roanoke in particular.[4] Nevertheless, research from Thomas F. Rzeznik and Peter W. Williams have demonstrated that Episcopalians were also generally sophisticated and cultured.[5] But even these apparent privileges did not prevent Episcopalians in Roanoke from facing their share of struggles. Even still, in the words of Walter B. Posey, "[T]his transplanted

church remained close to its traditional faith and ritual," and the same was true in the Magic City.[6]

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Episcopalians

Episcopalians had held a presence in the Roanoke area well before the city was officially chartered in 1882. By 1829, two small congregations had formed, one near Tinker Creek and the other in the nearby town of Fincastle.[7] Clare White explains, "The typical pattern for the formation of Episcopalian congregations in Southwest Virginia was that a few Episcopalians would invite a minister to preach to them, then a public meeting would be held and a vestry elected, the vestry would choose a clergyman and services would be held in whatever shelter was available until a subscription was raised and a church building erected."[8] The Civil War, however, had a significant effect on the people of the Roanoke Valley, including its Episcopalians. As the country had been disunited, St. John's Episcopal Church of Tinker Creek had to join forces with St. Paul's Episcopal Church of the nearby city of Salem, until the two split back into separate congregations in 1883, just a year after the City of Roanoke was chartered.[9] For nearly a decade, St. John's would be the sole Episcopalian establishment in the city, though with congregations in neighboring towns. However, Roanoke's Episcopalians would multiply themselves into the formation of a second congregation, Christ Episcopal Church. As the latter church's historical account states: "The official organization of Christ Episcopal Church was affected on June 4, 1892, but records indicate that it was some time in the early part of 1891 when a small number of members of St. John's Church, who became the nucleus of Christ Church, had their first meeting in the Railroad Y. M. C. A., situated on Salem Avenue between Henry and Commerce Streets."[10] These two Episcopalian

churches, St. John's and Christ Episcopal, each contributed to the cultural identity of Roanoke with their own distinct denominational impact.

Denominationalism

Episcopalians certainly wanted to see their denomination succeed and grow, but they were also able to maintain a cordial relationship with other churches and local institutions. Occasionally, both St. John's and Christ Episcopal Church would even participate together in special services and events. For example, the two held "missions" services throughout an entire weekend in which both congregations joined together for participation.[11] Elsewhere, *The Roanoke Times* reported, "To day the Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches will be closed in order to allow the public to hear the baccalaureate sermon in the Lutheran Church this morning by the Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, D. D., of Brooklyn, and the address before the Y.M.C.A. of the college at 8 o'clock to night by the Rev. L. W. Seabrook, of Winchester, Va."[12] Evidently, some of Roanoke's residents did not have much of a problem moving from one church to another, even outside a particular denomination. "Professor Leary," as he was called, labored for seven years as choirmaster for St. John's Episcopal Church, but he also occupied a similar position, but in different stints, at local Presbyterian and Lutheran churches.[13] Churches were not the only institutions to have harmoniously dealt with Roanoke's Episcopalians either. Dr. Henry G. Perry of Chicago, an important Freemason, had come to town to attend a special event for the Academy of Music at a Roanoke Elk Lodge, but as a local newspaper also records, Dr. Perry preached at both St. John's Episcopal Church on Sunday morning, and then at Christ Episcopal Church in the evening.[14] In the following spring, Christ Episcopal Church also hosted the Knights of Pythias Osceola

Lodge.[15] Thus, it is clear that Roanoke's Episcopalians achieved amicable relationships with many other churches and societies, but such feelings were not universal.

As one might expect, Episcopalians have undergone controversies within its own denomination and with others. Earlier in the nineteenth century, a Virginian bishop named Richard Channing Moore had been accused of running a Methodist church due to his unconventional, and somewhat evangelical-like methods.[16] Although the Lutheran-based Roanoke College was so accommodating to Episcopalians that it hosted a seminary for the Episcopal diocese on campus later on in the nineteenth century, this partnership did not last, possibly over criticism from a Lutheran "Visitation Committee."[17] By far, however, the clash that provided the greatest amount of tension would have been in regards to the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic relationship. Oddly enough, the media seemed to be one potent source for assisting in this division. On the front page of one *Roanoke Times* newspaper, the editor included a story about a former assistant at St. John's Episcopal Church who converted to Roman Catholicism. "No cause is assigned for Mr. Locke's change of religion," the writer added.[18] Four years later, *The Roanoke Times* republished an article originally posted in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, wherein the writer, formerly an Episcopal clergyman, speaks of his disillusionment with his former church. This converted Catholic stated:

> Yes, brethren, many members of that church which calls itself the Protestant Episcopal Church fancy that they are Catholics. I honestly thought so for many years, and labored to persuade others to think so until by the grace of God I was compelled to acknowledge myself mistaken: and this is the argument that firmly convinced me: "The Church of God is a teaching church."[19]

After explaining his perceived contradictions of the Episcopal Church, with the variations of "high-churchmen," "low-churchmen," and "broad-churchmen," he concluded, "The

Catholic Church is the infallible church. She tolerates no contradiction, no hesitation."[20] On the other hand, perhaps this tolerance among Episcopalians, enabling them to adapt to social contexts, was what made them resilient in a city like Roanoke. After all, as Walter B. Posey has referred to the Protestant Episcopal Church, it was "An American Adaptation."[21]

New South and Sectionalism

Southern Episcopalians had been thoroughly acquainted with the Confederacy, providing an appeal to the Lost Cause and New South ideologies. Charles Reagan Wilson explains, "While Methodists and Baptists openly endorsed and participated in the religious atmosphere of the Lost Cause rituals, the Episcopalians played an especially prominent role in the Southern civil religion, particularly in its rituals."[22] Wilson continues, "This stemmed partly from their position in Southern society: the Episcopal church was the church of the antebellum planter class, and after the war the Episcopalians helped make the Lost Cause a defense of aristocratic values. The role played by the Episcopalians in the Lost Cause also came from their leadership role in the Confederate cause," of whom there were many.[23] Christ Episcopal Church's records state, "It is noted that, among others, General J. B. Gordon, lectured several times on the happenings during the Civil War, including in his program his experiences in the Battle of Gettysburg and his impressions on General R. E. Lee."[24] Evidently, the Lost Cause ideology was alive and well with Roanoke's Episcopalians.

Although Virginia's Episcopalians were predominantly white, and often proud Confederates, this did not prevent black Episcopalians from uniting under the same banner, though the two were also segregated. Roanoke fell within the Episcopalian

diocese that could boast of having the largest program pertaining to black Episcopalians in the entire denomination.[25] The Diocese of Southern Virginia contained two black-run congregations, both east of Roanoke, with one in Bedford and the other in Lynchburg.[26] It has been noted that the former reached its very peak in the 1890s.[27] Within a decade later, Episcopalians in Roanoke decided to take the initiative to set up a mission work in their own city. St. John's Episcopal Church hired an assistant minister, Rev. Peyton G. Craighead, to lead the charge in their mission work that would take place in the northwestern section of town.[28] According to a Diocesan report in 1909, the Church believed, "it shall be lawful to organize mission churches or congregations composed exclusively of colored people, with an annual convocation of colored ministers of the Diocese in good standing."[29] These plans came to fruition with the formation of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, quickly gaining active members with the founding of Sunday schools and women's ministries, which was led by a black minister, C.H. Harrison.[30] Unfortunately, few records of this black Episcopalian congregation can readily be found. What can be deduced from Episcopalians in Roanoke, it seems, is that Roanoke's white Episcopalians simultaneously cherished their Confederate heritage while recognizing the need to evangelize the city's black citizens, and that both were active in their faith. Wilson goes so far to say, "Despite marked evidence of sectional reconciliation, the Southern churches in 1920 remained among the South's most distinctly sectional institutions. Although Southern Episcopalians reunited with Northerners, their pastors still embodied sectional values as faithfully as preachers in the popular churches."[31] Such statements seem to embody St. John's and Christ Episcopal Church of Roanoke as well.

Progressivism and Economics

The Magic City was given its nickname due to its fast-paced growth as a boomtown. Roanoke's swift development coincided with the growing popularity of Episcopalians in the city, and it would not be too far of a stretch to consider that the former helped yield the result of the latter. At the same time, the larger context should be observed. As Katharine Brown has declared:

> The new Diocese of Southern Virginia had been formed following several years of heady economic expansion in Virginia. In the part of the state that is now the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, the traditionally Yankee ethic of business investment and industrial expansion was embraced with enthusiasm by the leaders of the New South. Railroads, coal, and industry held out the promise of a secular salvation to an underdeveloped "mountain empire." Dozens of development companies were formed to attract industry, investment capital and workers to boom towns that promised to become "the Pittsburgh of the South."[32]

Thus, Episcopalian growth was not simply confined to the City of Roanoke, but it would be fair to say that the economic changes played a significant role in attracting people to southwestern Virginia in general, and to Roanoke in particular. Indeed, the Diocese of Southern Virginia had to be split apart due to the presence of so many churches, with Roanoke ending up in the newly formed Diocese of Southwestern Virginia.[33] And yet, this narrative of economic flourishing and population growth, while true at times, does not tell the whole story.

In the early 1890s, both St. John's and Christ Episcopal Church experienced serious financial trouble. This was not entirely strange, however, since both had recently purchased new buildings right before an economic downturn that affected most of Roanoke.[34] While St. John's nearly lost its rector due to financial burdens, Christ Episcopal Church lost more than half of its communicants, over a period of just a couple of years, which nearly led to a merger between Roanoke's two Episcopal churches.[35]

Meanwhile, Christ Episcopal Church fell victim to being unable to make their mortgage payments, but despite this major loss, the new owners of the building still let the congregations continue their services.[36] In the middle of Christ Episcopal Church's many adversities, the Reverend Cleveland Hall left his position as rector in favor of another church in Danville, leaving the congregation as virtual pilgrims without a church building and without a rector.[37] As the church remained in this leaderless state, Reverend Frank Stringfellow helped fill in on pastoral duties. In June of 1895, Stringfellow preached from the book of Exodus, where it states, "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward." According to church records, "Strong enthusiasm was aroused in the hearts of the congregation, instilling into them the determination to repurchase the church property and call another rector."[38] Within four years, the church had a new rector and a building paid for in full.[39] Roanoke's Episcopalians, indeed, had moved forward.

Moving forward from economic hardships, however, was not the only sense in which Roanoke's Episcopalians progressed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Thomas F. Rzeznik, "[T]he waning of low-church evangelicalism and the rise of the Social Gospel within the Episcopal church during the late nineteenth century…caused the vision of active faith to shift from an emphasis on the cultivation of personal morality to the promotion of civic responsibility and social influence."[40] On this subject of social influence, Peter W. Williams has commented, "It would be more accurate here to speak of the Episcopal Church not only as a religious institution but as the institutional center of a broader and more diffuse elite culture," in which the Church acted as "movers and shakers on the broader cultural landscape inevitably interpenetrated on another."[41] In Roanoke, Episcopalians made attempts to influence their culture in

hosting rather sophisticated events, but their efforts spread among the working class as well.

Many of Roanoke's workers made a living by working for the railroad industry, which provided an evangelistic opportunity for local churches, an opportunity taken by the Episcopalians. Dr. Meade of St. John's Episcopal Church spoke at a special service held at the railroad Y.M.C.A. entitled, "The Gospel Train," owing to the fact that Episcopalians were more than welcoming of creative methods for extending their influence on the Magic City.[42] Bishop A.M. Randolph of the Diocese of Southern Virginia likewise stated in a sermon from Colossians chapter four:

> These constant appeals of St. Paul to Christian people to pray and to help is the assertion that there is no real distinction between what is called the secular and the religious life. I do not call you away from your work—that is sacred. To be diligent in your work is one of your highest Christian duties. Apply your religion to your work; let the spirit of your Lord and master enter into all your activities and callings.[43]

Episcopalians, then, seemed to have an emphasis on the goodness and meaningfulness of local industries, which ultimately helped Roanoke get to the financial status that it achieved. Still, Roanoke's Episcopalians were not simply of a populist persuasion. In fact, much of the denomination's influence on the culture of Roanoke was through their offerings of refined entertainment and special events. For example, in September of 1892, *The Roanoke Times* recorded one such occasion, when the Roanoke Opera House had been rented: "Arrangements have been perfected by the choir of St. John's Episcopal church, to give the musical people of Roanoke and vicinity an entertainment unusually bright and pleasing."[44] At least one other church-sponsored concert was followed by an "elaborate oyster supper."[45] Roanoke's Episcopalians, therefore, pursued multiple means in which they could leave an indelible mark on the Magic City, sometimes reaching out

to men on the railroads, but other times in planning ornate activities that would end up being the talk of the town for quite a while. While the rectors played a significant role in guiding their congregations, it is unlikely that Episcopalians would have had such a major influence on Roanoke without the vigorous work ethic of their laypeople.

Gender and Families

Men, women, and children each had roles to play in Roanoke's Episcopal churches. Although women had more organizations than men, and seemingly more of a cultural influence, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew offered men a sense of belonging by leading them in two rules: daily prayer and service opportunities.[46] Other than Sunday school, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew was the only distinct men's organization within Roanoke's Episcopalian churches.[47] Women, on the other hand, were subdivided into numerous ministry groups, though they occasionally came together for larger functions. Together, the ladies of St. John's Episcopal Church gave "Parish Tea" get-togethers, cake and ice cream socials, and a World's Fair exhibition, among other things.[48] Individual societies were likewise tremendously involved in the cultural gatherings of Roanoke. The Ladies Aid Society put together things like a "cobweb party" and fundraisers; one included the sale of "fancy work, Japanese goods, confectionary," plus activities for children at a nearby fishpond.[49] Other women's ministries included the Mite Society and the St. Agnes Guild, but in many cases, Episcopalian women led their ministries with a fundraising goal in mind—something very important in light of the financial struggles facing their churches in the 1890s.[50]

A prime target for Episcopalian outreach in Roanoke was the rising generation. Although Roanoke's Episcopalians certainly took advantage of various forms of

entertainment to reach the masses, as well as pay off some of their mortgage payments, there was a somewhat troublesome historical context in which Episcopalians lived. In 1872, Bishop Whittle of Big Lick referred to dancing as "a demoralizing dissipation, disgusting to the delicacy of a refined taste, and shocking to the sensibility of a renewed mind. This scandal is not to be tolerated in the Church of Christ."[51] At the same time, certain members of this denomination were marked with the stigma of being "Whiskeypalians" due to their less staunch views on matters of Christian behavior.[52] Thus, Episcopalians had a fine line in which they could walk. Nevertheless, Roanoke's Episcopalians sought ways in which they could win over children and youth. Plenty of the women's ministries already noted were focused on ministering to youth, but there were also events such as Friday evening bazaars as well as partnerships with the local Y.M.C.A.[53] Confirmation services were also highly regarded, so much that, according to *The Roanoke Times*, "several hundred persons [were] turned away" from entering the church due to the abundance of attendees.[54] With such enthusiasm for their youth, Roanoke's Episcopalians were investing in the future even as the present was rapidly changing in the Magic City.

Conclusion

Episcopalians occupied an important place in their part of the soul of Magic City. If the American Revolution brought forth the virtual death of Anglicanism in the United States, then one could also surmise that the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction curiously resurrected the succeeding denomination of Episcopalians. The South has long been regarded as a seedbed for evangelical denominations such as Baptists and Methodists, but lesser known is the story of the surprising revival of this non-revivalistic

group, the Episcopalians.[55] Even then, Roanoke's Episcopalians also endured a tremendous amount of adversity when the economy was unstable, proving that they were resilient and adaptive. As made clear from the historical record, this was a denomination keen on representing themselves as sophisticated yet authentically Southern. Even in efforts to pay off overhanging debts, their ministries were often quite prolific. Reverend Stringfellow's message alluded to above, "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward," provides a good summation of the Episcopalian experience during the founding years of Roanoke, particularly when the context of their struggles are considered. No matter the difficulty, Roanoke's Episcopalians were the cultural leaders of their day in the boomtown known colloquially as the Magic City.

CHAPTER 3

ROANOKE'S BAPTISTS: "THIS IS THE YEAR OF JUBILEE"

Introduction

According to local tradition, Virginians used to proclaim, "Baptists and sweet potatoes will not thrive in the Valley" of Roanoke.[1] Perhaps this casual prophecy was right about the sweet potatoes, but it vastly underestimated the potential of Baptists. Recent survey data shows that Baptists far outnumber any other religion or Christian denomination in Roanoke.[2] This popularity likewise extends to both black and white citizens of what was once called the "Magic City." The small town known as Big Lick was established shortly before the Civil War, but when officially chartered in 1874, it only had roughly 600 residents.[3] Things would soon dramatically change when, in 1881, the Norfolk and Western Railroad and Shenandoah Valley Railroad decided to make their junction point in Big Lick. This new endeavor led to a name change to Roanoke, aptly named due to its etymological roots having been derived from a Native American word for money, with an extension of territory for the town charter as well. "In the 1880s," historian Rand Dotson once stated, "no city in the South grew faster than the railroad hub of Roanoke, Virginia."[4] Yet even in 1873, Dr. Charles Lewis Cocke could say, "This is the year of Jubilee with the Baptists of Virginia" due to their century-long organized missionary presence in the state, who could "account the goodness of the Lord to his people."[5] Still, in Big Lick itself, the Baptist presence was minimal. Nevertheless, as the City of Roanoke burst in growth, as if sown by magic, Baptists, both black and white, also greatly multiplied. Baptists extended their evangelistic reach, even in a segregated

culture that distinguished between white and black Baptists. For these citizens, baptizing Roanoke was their agenda, of which they were largely successful.

Baptist Historiography

Among all Christian denominations, Baptists may be the most rigorously studied group in Southern religious historiography. Perhaps historians have found the enormous amount of diversity within Baptists appealing, especially since many Baptist churches run with considerable autonomy from other congregations, but the vast amount of Baptists is another likely cause. Many topics that will be observed from Roanoke's Baptists have been addressed on a wider perspective, including Paul Harvey's stellar work on Baptists and race, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925*, which demonstrates how white and black Baptists "profoundly influenced each other."[6] Much has been said about the denominational distinctives of Baptists, including Craig A. Sherouse's work on Baptists congresses from 1881-1913, showing the opposition of Landmarkism and the sharp segregation at the time, and Andrew Smith's research of Landmarkism and missions, which highlights the tensions at work between fundamentalists and Landmarkists over the issue of world evangelization.[7] Baptist historian, Keith Harper, has produced numerous scholarly works, including *The Quality of Mercy: Southern Baptists and Social Christianity, 1890-1920*. According to Harper, "Between 1890 and 1920, Southern Baptists displayed social concern, social action, and social ministry. They saw their primary duty as evangelism, but this did not thwart their desire to assist society's dispossessed."[8] Meanwhile, Michael J. Raley's "'On the Same Basis as the Men': The Campaign to Reinstate Women as Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention, 1885-1918" has given details of the controversies

surrounding the role of Southern Baptist women during the Progressive Era, detailing the gradual push for greater leadership opportunities.[9] Much of what has been written about in Baptist historiography on a national or statewide level can be seen in the example of Roanoke as well. However, the defining characteristic of Roanoke's Baptists would seem to be their unrelenting pursuit of baptizing converts, planting churches, and sending out missionaries. Such zeal also appears to have paid off, as Baptists would grow to become the largest denomination in the Magic City.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Baptists

Black and white Baptists had been living in what eventually became known as Roanoke City, well before the arrival of the railroads that helped build the boomtown. One man, Dr. Charles Lewis Cocke, was influential among people of both races. Although not a native to Roanoke, Dr. Cocke arrived as president at what would later be named in his honor, Hollins Institute (now Hollins University), in 1846, having previously worked at Richmond College.[10] Enon Baptist Church was formed just across from Dr. Cocke's institution in 1855. After the Civil War was over, the son of Irish Catholics and convert to the Baptist denomination, Joseph R. Harrison, answered the call to pastor at Enon, where he labored from November of 1865 to July of 1874.[11] Like many pastors at the time, Harrison divided his time with other churches as well, which still provided hardly any money in light of the postbellum economic challenges.[12] Rev. James A. Mundy came to Enon after Harrison's departure, who, along with the assistance of Dr. Cocke, helped begin another Baptist congregation in Big Lick, where Mundy would lend his time to the new church in its beginnings.[13] On May 16, 1875, under Mundy's leadership, twenty members gathered together to form Big Lick Baptist Church, which

later became First Baptist Church of Roanoke.[14] Other Roanoke congregations would be birthed from the initiation of First Baptist Church, such as Belmont Baptist Church. According to historical records, this latter establishment began from the work of a Sunday school class at First Baptist Church for the purpose of "mission work" in the southeast section of the city.[15] Thus, First Baptist Church was very much the fountainhead of white Baptist outreach in Roanoke, which also helped organize Bonsack Baptist Church in 1888, Vinton Baptist Church in 1891, and East Roanoke Baptist Church in 1893, though even First Baptist's origins can be traced back to Enon Baptist Church as well as Baptists who had already been living in Big Lick.[16]

Calvary Baptist Church was another prominent congregation started from former members of First Baptist, but unlike Belmont Baptist, Calvary Baptist was birthed as the result of a schism. When First Baptist published a book on its history in 1955, the editor stated, "At the time there was some hard feeling, but it soon passed—even the cause was forgotten."[17] That was not entirely true, as the historical record makes it clear that the disgruntled party left due to a conflict over First Baptist's plans for a new church building. However, it does seem that any lingering bitterness soon subsided. As another historian of First Baptist has detailed:

> Indeed, in the fall of 1891 when Calvary was ready to baptize its first converts, the mother church—now by obvious necessity known as First Baptist Church—offered the use of its baptistery. And if there had ever been any hard feelings, they must have vanished quickly, since for Thanksgiving 1892, the church invited the Calvary members and the Lutheran Church to join them for a special service, with the Lutheran pastor preaching the sermon.[18]

Calvary Baptist, nevertheless, encountered a schism in its own congregation in the fall of 1899, apparently over the pastor's views of "social entertainments," leading to the exodus of several members back to First Baptist, including Calvary Baptist's organist.[19] Still,

Calvary Baptist persevered and remained a prominent congregation as Roanoke itself underwent growing pains.

Black Baptists, too, have a far-reaching history that yielded fruitful results as the City of Roanoke grew. Rand Dotson helpfully noted the following about black churches in his scholarly work on Roanoke's origins:

> Roanoke's black population coalesced around a variety of indigenous institutions. Their six churches, however, were the nucleus of the community as well as the establishment that girded every African American political and social organization. All of them were in Gainesborough or in the Northeast, and most of them had originally been white sanctuaries before African American congregations purchased them in the early 1880s, after whites moved south and built new places to worship downtown.[20]

Half of Roanoke's black churches were Baptist congregations, which shows how influential the denomination was, even in the city's beginnings. As in the case of the "white" First Baptist Church, Dr. Charles Lewis Cocke played a significant role in the establishment of the "black" First Baptist Church. Dr. Cocke believed in the value of education for not just white men, as indicated by his decision to change Hollins Institute's mode of operation to become an all-women's school, but he also extended his instruction to black people as well, some still slaves before the Civil War, and former slaves after it. The black First Baptist Church officially started its first services in September of 1867, and within the first four decades, this congregation outgrew three buildings due to consistent growth.[21] There were other black Baptist churches that had deep historical roots in Roanoke, such as Ebenezer Baptist Church and Mt. Moriah Baptist Church, that likewise had connections to Dr. Cocke's ministry and went on to become self-sustaining and enduring institutions in Roanoke's communities.

High Street Baptist Church was another black congregation created in the late nineteenth century, and has held a high place in Roanoke's history since its inception. Still, the relationship between white and black Roanokers was a bit awkward, as evidenced in an article from *The Roanoke Times* about a well-attended High Street Baptist public event:

> Three thousand people, white and colored, witnessed the colored baptising which took place Sunday evening in Lick run, near Old Lick. The hills on each side of the stream were lined with a solid mass of spectators. The trees afforded fine seats for observing the ceremony, and were likewise full. Rev W. W. Brown, of the High Street Colored Baptist Church, gave a long talk on baptism and then waded waist deep into the water. Twenty-three women, "with their heads bound up in napkins," were first immersed and then followed thirteen men. After the crowd dispersed several more were baptised. [22]

The perspective presented here was obviously from that of white spectators, who held preconceived biases about the nature of black people, even going so far as to question the spiritual condition of these new converts, as the article continued, "The crowd expected to hear some grand jubilee shouting, but were disappointed. A few of the men were enthusiastic, but the others were as silent as though they had never been converted."[23] Both white and black Baptist churches, therefore, held certain things in common. Some could trace their lineage back to the influence of Dr. Cocke, though other congregations were created autonomously. Several began after the City of Roanoke was created, while earlier ones started in Big Lick or nearby regions, and likewise felt the benefits of a growing population starting in the 1880s. Both also yearned for the baptizing of Roanoke, even if mostly segregated in the Jim Crow South.

Denominationalism

Although Baptists have been known for their favorability to democratic ideals in ecclesiastical government as well as their proclivity for local church autonomy, many

congregations have also desired to be affiliated with particular associations. Since 1841, the Valley Baptist Association has maintained a network of like-minded churches in Roanoke and surrounding areas. However, the Strawberry Baptist Association goes back even further to 1776, which had reached into the Roanoke Valley in the nineteenth century. Most white Baptist congregations would join the Valley Baptist Association, but historically, the Tinker Creek Baptist Church was part of the Strawberry Baptist Association.[24] According to the Strawberry Baptist Association's records, there were 1,390 black members in 1865, but that number had dropped to just 39 by 1875.[25] Roanoke's black First Baptist Church appears to have been associated with the Strawberry Baptist Association, but was disassociated under the following terms: "This Church has by a provision of our Constitution forfeited its connection with this Association, and advise that as an Association we have nothing to do with it until it be constitutionally re-united."[26] It is possible that the Constitutional principle referred to the fact that the congregation, which was entirely black, did not have a white minister to oversee them, though the report is unclear.[27] Meanwhile, the Colored Shiloh Baptist Association grew rapidly, possessing 25,213 members by 1868. One of the founding members of this latter association, Rev. Peter Randolph, explained why most blacks wanted to form their own churches and associations:

> I think I voice the sentiment of my brethren when I say, that we chose rather to grope our way in the dark, than to have thrust upon us the kind of preachers we had had in the dark days of slavery, men who could neither sympathize with us, nor preach us the full Gospel. Besides, we knew that our white brethren denied our manhood, and with their own hands had bought and sold human flesh.[28]

The Roanoke Times reported that three black Roanoke Baptist churches, along with four other Baptist churches had gathered to examine and certify Park Street Baptist Church's

admittance into their council.[29] Thus, in Roanoke, as in other parts of Virginia, Baptist associations played a critical role in connecting churches with one another to evangelize their surrounding communities. Meanwhile, Primitive Baptists did not seem to have gained a large following in Roanoke. Raymond Barnes notes in *A History of the City of Roanoke*, "On August 21st [1908] the Pigg River Old School of Primitive Baptists held a convention in Roanoke. Sam and Dr. J. C. Hurst were prominent leaders…There were quite a number who met at Mountain Park."[30] This short-term interest did not lead to a sustainable movement, as Roanoke Baptists were generally more mission-minded and varied in theology.[31] While there was the occasional controversy between Baptists, generally Roanoke's Baptists made efforts to join forces with like-minded Christians, though distinguished by race.

Baptists were firmly committed to what they believed. Dr. Cocke once called for "aggressive methods" in missionary work in Virginia, especially in areas that had an inadequate Baptist presence, such as in mining districts.[32] However, such zeal did not seem to lead to extreme sectarian rivalries among Roanoke's churches and synagogues. Well before Roanoke was established, a Methodist pastor in Christiansburg had written a letter to the local Baptist Association, asking to "Secure the services of a Minister or Ministers of your Association for the ensuing Sabbath in my pulpit in this place, *both for the morning and evening*."[33] In 1926, the Presbyterian, Rev. W. C. Campbell, made the following appeal to potential newcomers of Roanoke in a local magazine: "The ministers of these churches are united in a Ministers' Conference composed of the pastors of the Protestant Churches of Roanoke, Vinton and Salem. This body meets regularly each month. The unity and fellowship and friendly intercourse characterizing this body of men

is often a matter of comment by strangers who join it or attend its meetings."[34] Dr. Oscar F. Flippo of First Baptist Church once lent his baptismal suit to a Methodist minister who went outside of his tradition at a rural church to perform a baptism by immersion. Pastor Flippo gave the minister a tract on his own view of baptism, but then remarked, "I told him that it contained the Scriptures he must read at the water. He was gushing in his gratitude, but I told him that I knew he would do as much for me—that he would loan me his sprinkling bowl if I should need it!"[35] Thus, Baptists seemed to have been able to balance their firmly held tenets with a spirit of cordiality.

New South & Sectionalism

The Civil War's conclusion was interpreted rather differently between white and black Baptists. Speaking of those who had lived through the Civil War, Eric Foner once wrote, "The Civil War would remain the central event of this generation's lives, creating and solidifying political loyalties, permeating the language with martial imagery (from the Salvation Army to 'captains of industry'), defining the issues, from the nation's financial system to the rights of former slaves, that would shape political debate."[36] While many Southern whites, including Virginia's Baptists such as John William Jones, appealed to the Lost Cause ideology, so as to uplift their beloved Confederates, blacks looked back to the war as a conflict over slavery, so that, as Paul Harvey has stated, "organizers of African American religious institutions used this biblical interpretation of current history—the war and Reconstruction—to galvanize support for the Republican Party."[37] Roanoke's Baptists seemed to have followed in the same pattern as fellow Southerners. However, for white Baptists, the division between the North and South was

somewhat complicated. A writer for *The Roanoke Times* summarized what Rev. J.B. Hawthorne spoke about while in Roanoke:

> The speaker said the issues of the war had been decided by the arbitrament of the sword; secession was dead; slavery was dead, both beyond the reach of any resurrecting power. No man could now seek to revive them without receiving an instant and overwhelming rebuke, and no political significance should be ascribed to the perpetuation of the Southern Baptist Convention. A consolidation of the two wings of the Baptist Church would make an unwieldly [sic] organization. Two or even three organizations could accomplish more than one.[38]

Additionally, the article continued:

> He also spoke of the grand opportunities of the new South, and declared that behind it all were the great heroes of the old South. They were mistaken, he said, who did not believe that Southern genius and energy were the dominating forces. In closing, he alluded feelingly to the negroes and said if the South did not save the negroes they would degenerate into barbarism and destroy it.[39]

Therefore, this argument implied that despite any history of sectionalist problems between the North and South, Baptists would be stronger with greater numbers. Not all Southern Baptists would have been in agreement with Rev. Hawthorne on this unification plan. Yet his later thoughts on the New South would have likely made many white Southerners proud.

Dr. Cocke, however, approached the North and South rivalry from a different angle. In 1890, he exhorted his readers in the *Religious Herald*:

> The North is fully armed and equipped for this friendly conflict—it has men of culture and men of leisure to prepare its literature—it has money; it has prestige in the publishing business; it makes and prints the best school books the world has ever seen—from its groaning presses issue the great works of all the nations of the earth, and through their agents they are quickly scatted over this land. Full well does the North know the power of literature, secular and religious, more universally that literature which reaches, by broadcast sowing, the comparatively uncultured masses, especially children. To compete with it successfully, on a field open to all, we must seek to furnish the best books, for literature is untrammeled the world over, bound by neither State lines, nor seas, nor oceans.[40]

Dr. Cocke, thus, alluded to the sectional rivalry from an evangelistic and educational standpoint that infers a Northern superiority at the time, even though he was a life-long Virginian. Writing not even a decade past Roanoke's founding, Dr. Cocke also spoke of the shift from an agrarian South to one that would be industrial in the New South:

> Those great pastorates in rural districts which once swayed the multitudes and held entire communities, high and low, to Baptist standards, have almost wholly disappeared: that peculiar social life, at once the glory and power of this Commonwealth, which in former times so marvelously contributed to the progress and permanence of our influence, has passed away, never to return: the culture and wealth of our State are now rapidly concentrating in the centres of population and business activity, while the places thus vacated become the abodes of numerous peoples, largely uncultured, to be trained in both education and religion.[41]

So, whether white Baptists reveled in the cherished memories of their Confederate fighters or simply viewed Northerners as friendly competitors in church resources, they still retained feelings of sectionalism, all while undergoing a significant change in the Southern economy and way of life. Few blacks migrated to the North for factory jobs since the railroad industry offered decent job opportunities in Roanoke, even if they were usually less ideal compared to positions offered to white workers.[42] Increasing industrialization and urbanization also helped build up Roanoke City, contributing, at least in part, to the growth of Baptist churches. Yet, the New South also provided challenges as well, for black and white residents alike.

Two of some of the greatest tragedies to ever hit Roanoke occurred in 1892 and 1893. In 1892, a white, twelve-year-old girl named Alice Perry reported that a "very black" man who "had on a light gray suit of clothes and wore rubber boots" tried to rape her.[43] This alleged man was later identified to be William Lavender, a somewhat recent newcomer to Roanoke with a problematic police record, who was imprisoned, but was

overtaken by a mob when he was being transferred, and then lynched once he had been forced to confessing his act.[44] Although William Lavender's specific religious beliefs are difficult to pinpoint in the historical record, after someone from the mob told him to say a prayer, Lavender told a man that he recognized from the mob, "You pray for me," shortly before he was killed.[45] In subsequent legal proceedings, *The Roanoke Times* reported, "[E]ven a minister of the Gospel could be found here who says he approved of lynching under some circumstances," though many others spoke very critically of the lawless mob.[46]

In September of the following year, a similar incident arose, though it ended up being even more deadly. A black man named Thomas Smith from the nearby town of Vinton was accused of beating and stealing from a white woman. Thereafter, a mob raided the prison, killed Smith, and then attempted to hang his body in Mayor Trout's yard, but was prevented from doing so due to the efforts of the Presbyterian pastor, Rev. W.C. Campbell, and Capt. Robert B Moormon. Instead, the mob burned his body before an audience of 4,000 people just beside the Roanoke River.[47] However, when the mob invaded the jail, seven of their own men were shot and killed, with others injured, which is why Ann Field Alexander once wrote, "Ironically, when white people were killed and white lives were threatened, some whites saw for the first time the problem with lynching."[48] Although these two lynching episodes—William Lavender in 1892 and Thomas Smith in 1893—were not distinctly related to the Baptists of Roanoke, they undoubtedly affected the relationship between the races, and thus, the bond between white and black Baptists. The lynching cases, however, were not the first incidents of racial division. In 1890, for example, *The Roanoke Times* reported, "In every one of the

colored churches in which services were held Sunday there was allusion made by the preachers to the murder of Mr. Massie, and in one a preacher declared his belief in the innocence of Redd and Williamson."[49] Mr. Massie was white, while Redd and Williamson were black. In the same issue, Rev. W.W. Brown of High Street Baptist Church was said to have led his congregation in a money offering for the imprisoned William Brown, a black man imprisoned on charges of arson. Rev. Brown argued that, like Redd and Williamson, Brown was innocent, yet concluded, "the law is in the hands of those whose hands they are in, and we can do nothing but pray that they may get justice."[50] Thus, one of the greatest challenges facing Roanoke's Baptists was the racial divide, even though the churches themselves steadily added new members to their congregations.

Progressivism and Economics

Despite the social unrest that occurred from lynchings in the 1890s, which coincided with momentary economic challenges, many of Roanoke's Baptists could rightfully be considered as participants in progressivism. Pastoral leadership played a significant part in this. Dr. Cocke argued in an address, "[O]f all the wants of the Baptists of Virginia at this time, that of able and properly adapted ministers is the greatest and the most pressing." He continued, "There is but one solution. We must give more money to State work; to State Missions and to Colportage."[51] Over time, as the population of Roanoke grew, and likewise the number of Baptists, churches were able to pay their pastors enough so that they no longer had to divide their time between two or more churches just to make a living. This applied to white and black Baptist churches. As the writers from *The Negro in Virginia* once stated, "preaching was the easiest road to power,

independence and a good living."[52] Pastors, in turn, also realized that there were many needs in their communities that could be met through their churches. By 1888, Southern Baptists began discussing the need for starting an orphanage in Roanoke County. Four years later, a cottage was built to serve as Roanoke's first Baptist orphanage, with other buildings soon to follow.[53] As recorded by Deedie Dent Kagey, "Expenses were assumed by contributions from churches, Sunday Schools, individuals and societies in the form of money and in-kind gifts such as food and clothing."[54] Indeed, while pastors were prominent members of society, who motivated their congregations to serve "the least of these," laymen and laywomen played a vital role in Roanoke's progressivism as well. For example, during Dr. J. Claggett Skinner's pastoral leadership at First Baptist Church, "The Young Business Men's Bible Class was felt as a vital influence for good in the whole town. Some of the men saw to it that a church bulletin was placed under the door of each hotel guest room on Saturday night."[55] The same group was known to have also visited the sick in hospitals.[56] Baptizing Roanoke included helping those believed to have been in need, and it sometimes meant participating in the political realm.

The temperance movement was significant in Roanoke. It seems, however, that there was not a unilateral viewpoint among Roanoke's Baptists concerning the consumption and sale of alcohol. Red Hill Baptist Church, a group of worshippers that formed a new church in 1870 after separating from a "union congregation" with other Christians, underwent a controversy related to alcohol shortly after it became an autonomous organization.[57] At the time, there was a small liquor company within half a mile from Red Hill Baptist Church, where some of the church members would go to have a drink. The pastor at the time, Rev. Pittard, denounced what he called "hell's half acre"

from the pulpit, causing a ruckus with those in his congregation that drank there. So contentious was this debacle that he eventually resigned.[58] Other Baptists were not afraid to get involved in favor of the temperance movement either. There was a Baptist preacher in Norfolk that delivered a controversial sermon, "What Would Jesus Do About State-wide Prohibition?," in which he sharply criticized the editor of *The Roanoke Times*, Alfred B. Williams. In it, he called Williams, "merely a paid representative of the liquor interests, who did not mind falsifying the facts" so as to boost the arguments of those in favor of Roanoke staying "wet."[59] Williams then sued this fiery preacher for $1,000 in a suit for slander. Many other Baptists were defenders of the temperance movement, so they propagated their cause by distributing anti-alcohol tracts through the mail service.[60]

Another powerful medium through which Baptists championed the temperance cause was by hosting public lectures at their churches. Calvary Baptist Church was especially steadfast in this regard, as they brought in Mr. Luther Benson, who had "no equal on the American platform," according to *The Roanoke Times*, as well as the West Virginian, Mr. S.H. Davis.[61] Rand Dotson refers to black disenfranchisement as a weakness in the temperance movement, so it is difficult to determine how much black Baptists were influential in this struggle.[62] One church or even one denomination did not make all the difference in Roanoke's push to becoming a "dry" city, but in a unity of people, as in those who were part of the Roanoke Anti-Saloon League.[63] Still, due to the significant percentage of Baptists who lived in Roanoke, it would be reasonable to conclude that Baptists played an important role in the temperance movement.

Gender & Families

Pastors are often the ones remembered in historical documents pertaining to Baptist churches. Clearly, they were highly influential in their leadership and in their achievements, so their remembrance is warranted. Still, it would be problematic in attempting to understand the Baptist experience in Roanoke from 1882-1914 without looking into the role of women and their families. As already mentioned, Sunday school classes for men operated as an avenue in which Baptist laymen could participate in outreach to their neighbors in Roanoke, and also receive biblical teaching by their leader on Sunday itself. Women, too, assembled Sunday school classes, but they were also highly successful in other organizations that they developed.[64] At First Baptist Church, their highly motivated women formed several organizations throughout the church's early history. Their church, like many others in the Roanoke Valley, possessed a Ladies Aid Society, which was highly influential in arranging social events and raising money, as well as the Elpaal Society, known as "one of the largest and most benevolent societies in the city."[65] In 1915, however, First Baptist's women's organizations all combined into the singular Woman's Missionary Union, doing away with the social programs of old to emphasize missions work and giving.[66] The building for the historically black Mt. Moriah Baptist Church was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1994, but the story of how the property was first obtained speaks volumes about the generosity of a woman recorded in history as "Mrs. Hackley." She was one of the founders of the church who fully paid for the land on which the new church building would be built in 1908.[67] Many Baptist leaders, thus, seemed to prize the ideal that, in the words of Dr. Cocke, every man *and woman* was "Christ's missionary."[68]

Roanoke's Baptists were certainly aware of the fact that if they hoped to maintain a lasting presence, then they would have to pass on their beliefs and practices to succeeding generations. Dr. Cocke's Hollins Institute for young women "was brought into existence by the pressing necessities of the times."[69] Though historically Baptist, "It was not gotten up to boom a place, or to make sale of property, to gratify sectarian pride or improve the waning congregation of some distinguished minister, nor to give position and revenue to favorite individuals. The demand for general education, and especially for teachers, both male and female, made the enterprise possible and a success from the beginning."[70] Of course, many efforts were made within local churches as well to inculcate religious instruction. First Baptist Church helped organize a Baptist Young People's Union within their congregation, whose original delegates for leadership consisted of more women than men.[71] Calvary Baptist Church hosted Leonard Gaston Broughton to deliver "practical talks" on the "ups and downs of youth."[72] High Street Baptist Church found sought multiple ways to reach African American young people, as evidenced in their plan to form an education association and in hosting a "juvenile brass band."[73] It would appear that these early Baptists successfully laid the foundation for later generations, having aggressively pursued ways to reach young converts and retain their own children in the faith.[74]

Conclusion

Roanoke rightfully earned the nickname of "Magic City" due to its fast growth in the late 1800s. It might be supposed that the primary cause for the corresponding growth in Baptist churches was simply the result of a booming population. Most assuredly, the development of Roanoke did contribute to the progress of those who wanted to baptize

Magic City. However, it could also be posited that Baptists, in turn, greatly contributed to the city's advancement, and that they were heavily responsible for winning converts. *The Roanoke Times* recorded in 1892, Rev. R.W. Brown of High Street Baptist Church "baptised 63 converts in the Old Lick Branch at Old Lick Sunday about noon."[75] In 1914, when First Baptist Church held revival services for over two weeks in October, "82 persons united with the church, with fully half coming by baptism."[76] Roanoke's Baptists, both black and white, were aggressive in their methods to establish their presence in the city, usually maintaining a positive image, despite some of the challenges they faced in a boomtown. Dr. Cocke once stated:

> Corn, wheat, and tobacco, so long the dominating interests of Virginia, have lost their place and power. The trucker and the fruitman, the machinist and the manufacturer of cotton, wood and iron, the miner and the smelter, the railroad man, the hotel keeper and his cook, the cattle man and his fine beef and mutton, the dairyman, the wholesale merchant, with his army of drummers, the school-master and the "schoolmarm," the common school and the high school, and many other businesses and professions, so long obscured and kept in abeyance in Virginia, have come to the front—come to stay and progress, and are making their power and influence felt.[77]

Roanoke's Baptists, it might be added, with their resilient historical roots, denominational cooperation, and energetic methods of ministry, had come to stay and progress in the Magic City, making their power and influence felt as well.

CHAPTER 4

ROANOKE'S BRETHREN: "THAT SOULS MAY BE SAVED"

Introduction

Roanoke City, and even the Roanoke Valley as a whole, operated as a Southern "Hebron," giving its citizens an assortment of choices for their spiritual inclinations. The same may be said about those who are referred to as the "Brethren," though as it will be shown, there are several different groups who have adopted the title of "Brethren." On his eighty fifth birthday, Elder Jonas Graybill preached a sermon in Troutville, a nearby town to Roanoke, at a Church of the Brethren congregation. In it, Graybill stated, "I heard a man tell of a good country, what fine farms it had. It was good for wheat, and all that kind of thing, but there was no church there. People do not like a place like that. But here we have a good Home and a glorious Home 'and the Spirit and the bride say Come' and I am so glad we have the privilege to call people to a place like that."[1] Many of Virginia's Brethren did indeed work on their farms, but the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought forth many changes, including the founding of the urban boomtown of Roanoke, a place where many Brethren called home. This footwashing, Anabaptist denomination was confronted with modern challenges, and in the process, some decided to tighten their stances in conservative values about their faith and practice, while others were more willing to accommodate to certain changes. However, even these changes would be interpreted differently. The Brethren of Roanoke manifested a great deal of variety in their beliefs and actions, but even their distinctions provide reminders that while religious diversity existed in the Magic City—even within the Brethren individually—the residents were also united by the core conviction that their beliefs

would ultimately bring about the greater good for the city, particularly "that souls may be saved."

Brethren Historiography

Compared to other denominations, the Church of the Brethren is one of the least studied groups in Southern religious historiography. Nevertheless, there are some rather valuable works to consider. For a basic overview of the several denominations that have adopted the name "Brethren" in their title, though less helpful in interpretation, Frank S. Mead's *Handbook of Denominations in the United States* can be beneficial, as it lists the following groups: the Church of the Brethren (Conservative Dunkers), the Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers), the Old German Baptist Brethren (Old Order Dunkers), and a couple of other Brethren groups that do not seem to have had an early influence in Roanoke.[2] In general, the following research will focus on the "Conservative Dunkers," who were better known in Roanoke simply by the name, Church of the Brethren, and the United Brethren, but other groups will also be occasionally regarded. Donald F. Durnbaugh's article, "A Study of Brethren Historiography," from the *Ashland Theological Journal*, though somewhat dated, is still one of the most helpful overviews in how early historians of Brethren have interpreted their relatively brief past. According to Durnbaugh, denominational historians have understood their past in three periods of history: (1) Colonial history from 1708 to the Revolutionary War; (2) The "period of eclipse or wilderness" from the Revolutionary War to 1850; and (3) The period of "recovery" or "renaissance" from 1850 to the present day.[3]

Durnbaugh has attempted to correct earlier views by stating, "While granting the problems that life on the frontier brought to the Brethren, there are good reasons to

believe that just as the claims for the glories of Brethren achievement in the colonial period can be shown to be overdrawn, just so can the darkness of the wilderness period be shown to be exaggerated."[4] In other words, there may just more be more complexity to the apparent peaks and valleys of Brethren success in the United States. Based on Durnbaugh's suggestions, the adjoining elder system, which merged into a circuit rider ministry, and the annual meetings helped maintain Brethren unity throughout the so-called "wilderness" time period that actually yielded growth for the denomination.[5] This argument was later reinforced by another prolific Brethren historian, Carl F. Bowman, who explained, "The tremendous pace of western expansion is reflected in the fact that by 1882 brethren west of the Alleghenies outnumbered eastern Brethren by 35,335 to 22,716."[6] Ironically enough, the year of 1882 coincides with the chartering of Roanoke, which would become a city wherein Brethren, despite having a history of generally migrating to rural communities, would also seek to keep up with the pace of a boomtown in their evangelization efforts.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Brethren

The Church of the Brethren has roots in Germany, leading back to a day in 1708 when Alexander Mack and seven other people were baptized in the Eder River. This small group did so as a separatist movement, which multiplied and then moved to the United States, with Brethren first arriving in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia as early as the 1720s.[7] According to Bowman, "By 1770 there were fifteen Brethren congregations in Pennsylvania, and even more scattered southwestward through Maryland, western Virginia, and beyond. They had grown by planting colonies and by evangelizing, being especially adept at winning converts from other German and

Anabaptist groups."[8] Brethren had migrated to Roanoke County by the 1830s, forming a congregation and meeting in a barn near Peters Creek.[9] Roger E. Sappington has noted, "As was the practice in the southern Virginia settlements, each congregation took the responsibility particularly for the county in which it was located, and in fact quite often was known by the name of its county. Thus, Peters Creek accepted the task of establishing preaching points in Roanoke County."[10] Brethren would increase in number, especially once the City of Roanoke was chartered in 1882. However, just exactly what kind of Brethren one was took on a new meaning from 1882 onward, as the Brethren underwent a massive split, dividing the denomination into three distinct groups: the Old German Baptist Brethren (Ancient Order), the Progressive Brethren, and the Church of the Brethren. Another denomination, the United Brethren Church, was also of German origin, but split off from the German Reformed Church around the time of the American Revolution, setting up a strong base in the mid-Atlantic with followers in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and eventually into Virginia as well.[11]

Denominationalism

Those within the Brethren community had to make the difficult choice of where they would fall in light of the modern context of an ever-changing America. Brethren who decided to avoid adapting as much as possible split off with the Old German Baptist Brethren. While their presence was felt in Roanoke County, those of the Ancient Order, as they regarded themselves, were especially prevalent in the neighboring Franklin County. Charles D. Thompson Jr. explained it well in his excellent treatment of the Old German Baptist Brethren:

> Railroads were becoming more common and by 1878 the first spur to serve Franklin County arrived. Also, machinery and manufacturing were beginning to

> replace hand labor in many sectors, including sawmills, textiles, and tobacco manufacture. For the first time in their history, the Brethren of Franklin County were in a position to capitalize on this economic improvement. German Baptists also faced the personal choice of whether or not to modernize.[12]

Not all Brethren felt the same way as these conservatives, having been compelled to dress like their contemporaries, form Sunday schools, and develop seminaries for educated ministers.[13] Many of these adaptable Brethren remained in what was clarified as the "Church of the Brethren" denomination, but others desired even more change, particularly in the hope of seeing more power given to local congregations over the Annual Meeting.[14] With such divisions taking place within the Brethren groups of Virginia and elsewhere, it may have seemed unlikely at the time for there to be an influential Brethren presence in the City of Roanoke as it grew from a small town to a bustling urban capital of southwestern Virginia.

Regardless of having been stretched in opposite directions, conservative and progressive, the Church of the Brethren did indeed manage to endure and even thrive in Roanoke. And yet, hope was not always brightly kindled. D. C. Moomaw of Roanoke lamented the seemingly lack of success in urban areas, at the 1888 Annual Meeting, "I felt very sad to think that our work in the cities, especially in St. Louis, has yielded such meager fruits. I do not attribute that to any defect in the management of that work, and I cannot conceive what should have been the necessity for the collapse of that work."[15] He continued in his discourse:

> It cannot occur to me that it is because of any radical defect in our doctrine; because we have all the elementary principles that were taught by the apostles. And what saddens me is this: There is no instance upon record…of the operations of the apostles, showing that they ever retired from any point where they raised the banner of the cross. When they entered into the cities, universally as far as the record informs us they succeeded in establishing churches; and we endeavor to preach the same gospel…I have been pained to learn since I came here that the

> work in Chicago is not materializing as it ought to…It seems to me we ought to succeed as the apostles did in establishing churches in the city.[16]

Brethren, however, while feeling struck down, were not destroyed. As Sappington has stated, "[T]he introduction of the new methods of evangelistic meetings in telling the old, old story contributed to the rapid growth of the church in many areas."[17] As one article from *The Roanoke Daily Times* reads:

> At the United Brethren Church last night Rev. J. D. Dunovan, of Staunton, preached an interesting sermon from Luke 16:31. There was a deep interest felt in the meeting, and while there were no converts there were a number of penitents who expressed a willingness to be saved. The house was filled to overflowing. Notice was given that the revival would continue for several days yet.[18]

Other recordings from this time period tell of the willingness from Brethren churches to also support other revival services, even ones out of state.[19] On one occasion, Rev. S. L. Rice was absent from Roanoke for a three-week-long evangelistic meeting in Fisher's Hill, Virginia, and then participated in a camp meeting before returning to his home city.[20] But even in the Magic City, the Brethren often felt the same way about potential converts, as it was once commanded of a local congregation, "[T]he Christian people are asked to pray that souls may be saved."[21] This motivation seemed to be an underlying force to the Brethren's growth in the boomtown known as Roanoke.

While it was certainly true that Brethren ambitiously pursued unconverted people, they also manifested a willingness to sustain amicable relationships with other Christians who did not necessarily espouse of the name of "Brethren." At special services, taking place at a Y.M.C.A., Rev. S. L. Rice of the United Brethren Church preached an evangelistic message, but the church also invited members of other churches to "unite in making these services a success."[22] On another occasion, Fourth Avenue Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and First Baptist Church, together with the United Brethren

Church, organized a series of revival services.[23] Although Quakers do not have identical beliefs to Brethren, a Quaker evangelist had been invited to preach at the United Brethren Church who was "highly recommended by members of his own church and ministers of other denominations."[24] One record even stated a Brethren pastor to have believed "all Christian churches agree on the vital doctrine of salvation," though this did not articulate if he meant simply Protestants, or if it included Roman Catholics, the Orthodox Church, and others such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons.[25] In most of the historical accounts of Brethren interdenominational cooperation, the United Brethren appeared to be the most forward leaning, though it could just be that more documents of their actions had been publicized.

The ecumenical history of the United Brethren Church should not, however, lead one to believe that they, or other Brethren, dismissed doctrine and other points of conviction. After all, the different streams of the Brethren had undergone serious schisms in years past. The Old German Baptist Brethren (the Ancient Order), for example, made efforts to not only separate from the "world"—non-Christian influences, trends, and practices—but they even became disillusioned by fellow Brethren who became accepting of revivalism and educational reforms. As Thompson has stated, "The treatment of the Christian faith as a matter of feeling to be gained without sacrifice, hard work, and separatism was anathema to those clinging to the Ancient Order."[26] Those within the Church of the Brethren had come to a doctrinal consensus during this time period, with the issuing of the "Brethren Card" appearing around the year 1900. This was essentially a statement of faith that covered some of the Brethren distinctives, including their view of baptism being triune—three, successive acts of immersion—and "with a forward action,"

their insistence of foot-washing as an ordinance, their consumption of the Lord's Supper "at night…at one and the same time, tarrying one for another," their greeting of one another with a holy kiss, as well as other doctrines and practices such as advocating "nonswearing" and "anti-secretism."[27] The Church of the Brethren also took their admittance to the love feast quite seriously, barring members who had been guilty of unrepentant immorality or had a grievance against another.[28] However, Roanoke's United Brethren differed from the Church of the Brethren in at least one point, namely, their stance on secret societies, with the former allowing members—including their trustee and Sunday school superintendent—to be active in such groups.[29] This flatly contradicts what Mead has stated in his description of the United Brethren, where he claimed they were forbidden to participate in such memberships, but perhaps Roanoke's United Brethren were an exception to the norm.[30] Overall, the Brethren varied from each other when it came to how interdenominational-friendly their churches would choose to operate, with the Old German Baptist Brethren being most reserved, the United Brethren being most inclusive, and the Church of the Brethren somewhere in between.

New South and Sectionalism

The Church of the Brethren was a historic "peace" church, living in a region of the country that tended to glorify the heroes of the Confederacy. Roanoke's Peters Creek Church of the Brethren, despite their anti-war tradition, was occupied by Confederate soldiers one winter, and was within a few miles of the only fighting that occurred during the Civil War in Roanoke County.[31] Sappington has described the troubling circumstance of the Brethren during the Civil War:

> Since the Brethren had always been opposed to human slavery and to military service, they found themselves in a very unpopular position in the Confederacy in

> the 1860's. Many of the young Brethren fled from the South, and on at least one occasion the leaders discussed mass migration as a last resort. However, the leaders of the governments of Virginia and of the Confederate States were willing to make enough concessions to keep the Brethren from resorting to mass migration. Thus, the Brethren in Virginia were able to survive this crisis.[32]

While not actively participating in the war, minutes from a nearby German Baptist Brethren congregation tell of a woman in their church that cared for a "sick Soldier at her house," though it did not say if the man's allegiance was with the South or North.[33] Brethren, however, did not completely separate themselves from any form of Southern identity. As one of the Brethren stated, "Now, a Virginian loves three things. He loves his religion; he loves his wife; and he loves his tobacco. Now, it is one of the first things the boys learn, and the difficulty is that the preachers cannot give advice without the applicant reminding the preachers of the old adage, 'Physician, heal thyself.'"[34] Therefore, Roanoke's Brethren had attempted to live as paradoxical people, who loved Virginia but eschewed certain ideologies often connected with Virginians.

There does not seem to have been any black Brethren congregations in Roanoke. A church from Fincastle, a town near Roanoke, reported a list of colored members in their early records, though the number dropped dramatically by 1869—presumably a result of the Civil War's aftermath.[35] However, the Brethren were involved in one of the largest racial disputes in Roanoke history. Henry Bishop's wife was allegedly beaten and robbed by Thomas Smith, a black man from Vinton who, as noted in the chapter on Roanoke's Baptists, was lynched to death by a mob. *The Roanoke Times* recorded that the Bishops were "both members of the Brethren Church and stand high in the community in which they live."[36] Thus, while Brethren were able to distinguish themselves from other Protestant denominations in the South, in terms of their participation in the Civil War,

even they could not escape the realities of a segregated and racially problematic Jim Crow South. One Brethren writer explained the history of African Americans and the Brethren Church: "The Church of the Brethren is not common in territory of the high Negro population. In sections where there are Negroes in Brethren communities the church has largely followed a hands-off policy. A few Negroes have joined the Church of the Brethren through the years. Others have asked for membership and have been rejected by our church."[37] She continued in her critical self-evaluation to state, "The progression and practice of the Church of the Brethren have been to work with the oppressed, the downtrodden, and the needy. We have always considered the sick, the ignorant and those who walk in spiritual darkness as being good fields for mission and service activity."[38] It only seemed logical that Brethren would reach out to their black neighbors as well. And yet, the Brethren seemed to be just as segregated as any other white Protestant denomination.

Progressivism and Economics

Roanoke was essentially a by-product of the New South, which included a change in economics and industry, as well as new challenges regarding social issues. For the Brethren, this transmogrification presented a potential challenge, considering they had often lived in rural areas and were not always successful in reaching urban areas. But as Sappington points out:

> In some areas, such as Harrisonburg and Roanoke, the establishment of urban congregations was relatively simple, but in other areas, such as Richmond and Norfolk, it proved to be much more difficult; obviously, one major difference was the number of strong Brethren congregations in the countryside surrounding Harrisonburg and Roanoke and the resulting presence of many ministers.[39]

Thus, the Brethren's establishment in the Roanoke Valley prior to the city's chartering very well may have helped their denomination develop strong network ties before the railroads made their way to this part of southwestern Virginia. One way in which the Brethren adapted to the New South economy and the urban environment was by developing a relationship with the local railroad industry. Upon one occasion, the railroad secretary of Shenandoah addressed the United Brethren congregation in an evening service, showing how there was no major distinction between the secular and sacred realms for many of Roanoke's Christians, who happened to also be leaders in industry.[40] Their pastor, likewise, ministered to the Junior Order of American Mechanics.[41] Regarding some of the social issues of the day, it would appear that all groups of Brethren were staunchly against the usage and especially the abusage of alcohol. Once a Church of the Brethren member had been "drunk at the Association," and in turn, he confessed his sin before others. Although he received forgiveness, another member was given an ultimatum if he did not quit his whiskey-making enterprise.[42] Meanwhile, the pastor of the United Brethren Church joined forces with the Hamner Loyal Temperance Legion to go to such lengths as providing entertainment at the "Old Opera House" in order to champion the cause of the drys during the prohibition movement.[43] Education, too, was important to the Brethren of Roanoke, except for those of the Ancient Order, so much that a group, which had been dissatisfied with Bridgewater College, a Church of the Brethren institution founded just outside of Harrisonburg, formed its own center for learning, the Botetourt Normal College.[44] On at least one occasion, Rev. S. L. Rice of the United Brethren Church led in "devotional exercises" at a Roanoke Teachers' Association meeting.[45] Clearly, the many Brethren managed to adapt to the urban culture

of Roanoke and even seemed to thrive in the face of fast-paced change, despite being conservative in their core theological roots, yet diverse among the different streams of Brethren Christianity.

Gender & Families

Although Brethren heavily relied upon the wisdom and leadership of their male elders, women and children were also vital members of their churches. The Y.P.C.U., which stood for "Young People's Christian Union," was an especially active component of the United Brethren Church. They would meet often and participate in public ministries, including the provision of entertainment.[46] Younger children of the same church had the opportunity of taking part in a "Children's Day," which consisted of "songs and declamations by the little ones of the Sabbath-school."[47] Learning congregational music, particularly by organ playing, provided another outlet for younger Brethren to be taught by those who were older, while the Old German Baptist Brethren had retained the earlier practice of avoiding musical instruments.[48] The Ladies' Aid Society was an active vessel within the United Brethren Church, which prepared events such as festivals, picnics, and oyster suppers.[49] The Church of the Brethren took longer to form an official society for women, beginning with a congregation in nearby Daleville, which created the Sister's Aid Society in March of 1908.[50] Meanwhile, the United Brethren even utilized a female choir director and supported the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[51] The exact responsibilities given to women, as well as youth and children, tended to be based on what kind of Brethren church a congregation wanted to be, from the very conservative to the social reformers. Once again, this reflects the diversity of the Brethren in Roanoke.

Conclusion

Brethren have not frequently appeared in writings of Southern religious history. This is likely due, at least in part, to the dominance of other groups, particularly the Baptists, who have similar beliefs and practices.[52] The Old German Baptist Brethren even have "Baptist" in their title. However, as the Brethren of Roanoke make clear, there is quite a bit of diversity among the different Brethren groups, which originally coincided around the time of the Magic City's beginnings as well. Clearly, more work can and ought to be done in the field of Brethren history, but at the same time, this case study of Roanoke provides one of the best possible examples for Brethren in the South. Roanoke, after all, was a brand new city, but it was also situated in an area with Brethren communities already present, though in mainly rural contexts. Although the different groups of Brethren, especially the more outgoing Church of the Brethren and United Brethren, helped shape Roanoke from its origins, it might also be supposed that the city also shaped the Brethren. Although it is true that the Church of the Brethren retained their practice of washing fellow members' feet, which was followed by a "Holy Kiss" and the shaking of hands, they adapted to a changing culture with newer forms of education, music, public gatherings, and the like.[53] The same could not be said about the Old German Baptist Brethren, who likewise tended to congregate in settings outside of the city. According to *The Roanoke Daily Times*, they were "of that class that make the best and most reliable citizens of a community. Men who love the farm and know how to run the business."[54] On the very opposite spectrum, the United Brethren were active members in Roanoke and outside of it, who likewise felt free to experiment with new methods of

outreach. Rather than being a homogenous group, the Brethren contributed in a variety of ways, as a diverse lot, to the religious makeup of Roanoke, the very soul of Magic City.

CHAPTER 5

ROANOKE'S CHRISTIAN CHURCH (DISCIPLES OF CHRIST): "NOT THE ONLY CHRISTIANS, BUT CHRISTIANS ONLY"

Introduction

In downtown Roanoke, on Church Avenue, an old church building still stands, having been erected over one hundred years earlier. For the same period of time, it has been occupied by a congregation, whose denominational origins lead back to a rural part of Kentucky in what was called the Restoration Movement, initiated by reformers who yearned for a primitive, apostolic form of Christianity, with "no creed but Christ." Although "backcountry" in the denomination's heritage, this particular congregation began in a boomtown. While striving to become a "first century" church, reminiscent of the apostles' ministries and the church life from that era, their building, gothic in style and haunting in beauty, reminds onlookers more of the Renaissance than of the Roman Empire. It was stated in a later document from this church, "[The building] is the form of a cross, and when viewed with an upturned eye, one realizes that it has the form of the bottom of a ship. The ship played a great part in Christianity—from the Disciples being fishermen, Christ preaching from the ship, all the way to Jonah and his sailing."[1] The Disciples of Christ in Roanoke were seemingly paradoxical, being ancient and modern, united and separated, anti-sectarian yet clearly distinctive, but were even black and white (though in different congregations). They made use of multiple forms of evangelization and outreach to impress upon Roanoke an indelible mark, but still, it could be argued that Roanoke's Disciples were effectively shaped by the city as well.

Christian Church Historiography

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has actually had a considerable amount of historiographical treatment despite being greatly outnumbered, in terms of adherents, by other Protestant denominations in the United States and worldwide. Although recent scholarship has added plenty of contributions to the historiography of the Christian Church, it is arguable that some of the most revolutionary works of scholarship were produced in the 1960s and 1970s. David Edwin Harrell, Jr.'s "The Agrarian Myth and the Disciples of Christ in the Nineteenth Century" as well as "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ" magnificently provide readers with a thoroughly researched historical context relevant to Southern religious history in particular. In the former article, Harrell discusses, "At the heart of the myth of the garden," or the agrarian myth, "was the conviction that rural life was superior to urban life."[2] For many in the Christian Church, Harrell demonstrates that they sought to initiate the "millennial hope" via the garden myth ideology, but in time, "The most fervent millennialists in the movement by the end of the century were the supporters of the new industrial order. Many still believed that the American farmer was a specially prepared instrument of God, but it was perfectly obvious that he was neither gaining in influence nor improving his status in society."[3] Harrell, elsewhere, delved further into this urban versus rural idea, and how it, along with class and geographical contentions, affected the schism that divided the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church) into two major factions, one conservative, leading to the "Church of Christ," and the other liberal, retaining the Disciples of Christ name.[4] As helpful as Harrell's article on sectionalism is, he also explained how Virginia was a bit of an anomaly in the South, where liberals "won virtually all of the churches," when the

conservative Churches of Christ dominated other Southern states, except for North Carolina.[5] Although Harrell did not attempt to explain this Southern liberal phenomenon in Virginia or North Carolina, the example of Roanoke during the late 1800s and early 1900s will provide a case study to better understand how the Disciples of Christ, the more liberal faction, operated in the likewise Disciples of Christ-dominated state of Virginia.

Harrell's insights on the agrarian myth and sectionalism are, however, not the only valuable contributions in the historiography of the Christian Church. Others have immensely supplied this area of American religious history. Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, both able writers and members of the Christian Church, wrote *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* in 1975, and is still one of the best general overviews of the denomination's history.[6] From the same era, Richard T. Hughes's remarkably helpful article, "From Primitive Church to Civil Religion: The Millennial Odyssey of Alexander Campbell," provides an insightful look into perhaps the best-known and most influential figure of the Disciples of Christ, particularly in his views of eschatology and in how they affected the movement he helped start. Campbell, Hughes claims, "did not base the millennium on the influence of America but rather on the success of his movement to unite Christendom through the restoration of the primitive, Apostolic church."[7] Another interesting aspect of the Christian Church's historiography is the extensive historical research that has been done in recent years, as well as several decades ago, on black Christian Church congregations and institutions. Hap Lyda's doctoral dissertation, completed in 1972, on the history of black Christian Churches through 1899 was a pioneering effort and meticulously researched. More recently, Lawrence A. Q. Burnley's *The Cost of Unity: African-*

American Agency and Education in the Christian Church, 1865-1914 has shed light on yet another important facet of the Christian Church's history, namely, education, but with a focus on black Disciples.[8] After all, as McAllister and Tucker have noted, education was one of the four "P's" that led to their growth: "Preaching, Publishing, Pedagogy (education) and the Plea."[9] Despite the variety in the historiography of the Christian Church, there is still much to be gained from evaluating Roanoke's Christian Church from 1882 to 1914.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Christian Church

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) has very strong ties to the state of Virginia. Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone had both lived in Virginia, and eventually joined forces in the Restoration Movement during the Second Great Awakening, with the former leading many Baptists to the cause, and the latter many Presbyterians.[10] The writers of *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* explain the context in Virginia rather vividly:

> The tenor of religious debate in the Old Dominion was described on all sides as a state of "Holy War." Campbell attacked the Baptists as "proscriptive, illiberal and unjust" and insisted that he would sooner send a sinner for salvation to a Muslim than a Methodist circuit rider. At the same time his Presbyterian opponents called Campbell "the curse of the West—more destructive and more injurious…than avowed Infidelity itself."[11]

The Christian Church first gained significant headway in Virginia when Alexander Campbell served as a delegate at the state's constitutional convention in 1829. Although Campbell was apparently not very successful in his political goals during the convention, McAllister and Tucker note the following: "While in Richmond for the constitutional convention Campbell did not neglect his preaching. He preached every Sunday in one of the churches of the city with many of his fellow delegates in attendance…The seeds of

future Disciples congregations in Virginia were sown as Campbell gained wider recognition."[12] The Christian Church continued to grow in Virginia throughout the nineteenth century, both black and white adherents, with many being converted from Baptist churches.[13]

Although the Civil War certainly caused disastrous economic effects in many Christian Churches, these ills were merely temporary. One historian of Virginia's Disciples has made the intriguing comment, "The deplorable conditions seem to have turned the minds of the population to religion." He defended this proposition by explaining, "Between the surrender in April, and November 1865, Chester Bullard baptized five hundred persons in Southwest Virginia, and about the same number of converts were secured in Eastern Virginia: approximately a ten percent increase in the State membership during the first seven months of peace."[14] Furthermore, this growth in Virginia was accompanied by changes within the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) denomination. Virginia's Disciples seemed to shy away from their anti-sectarian viewpoints, pastoral leadership became modernized in the use of certain titles such as "Reverend," instruments were starting to be incorporated into the worship services, and the Virginia Christian Missionary Society now acted as a centralized organization for evangelism, all of which pointed to the reality that Virginia's Christian Church was aligning more so with the liberal stream, as opposed to the dominant conservative stream found in the rest of the South.[15] A much more difficult question, however, is *why* this was so. As Harrell noted, "Southern preachers frequently linked their economic opinions with conservative theology in condemning such 'liberal innovations' as instrumental music and missionary societies," but this conservative wing within the Disciples movement was

also quite suspect of urban churches.[16] This would obviously pose a problem for Disciples in a city such as Roanoke, but as said before, Virginia's Christian Church did not subscribe to these conservative ideologies. Perhaps it was because of the respectability of another Virginian city, Richmond, which proved that religious fervor could exist in an urban setting, or maybe they simply saw modern advances in the New South as the way forward for a war-torn state, and that adaptability in the religious sphere was not much different. Regardless, the Christian Church in Virginia was surging in growth by the time that Roanoke was chartered.

In the Antebellum Era in Virginia, many congregations of Disciples included both black and white members, perhaps even a majority.[17] This was true of a congregation in the nearby Botetourt County, which, in 1845, began with ten white and eleven black members.[18] Burnley explains what happened after the war:

> The creation of many black Disciples Sunday schools resulted from the desire of both whites and Blacks to have separate places to teach and worship. In 1867, the General Cooperation of Christian Churches in Virginia passed a resolution calling for "all congregations to organize separate Sunday schools for their Black members." Many of these Sunday schools laid the foundation for what would eventually become congregations.[19]

There does not appear to have been a considerable presence of Disciples in Roanoke City, white or black, at its very inception in 1882. However, by the turn of the century, two important Christian Church congregations would emerge, one white and the other black. Fourth Avenue Christian Church (white) would become the first Disciples congregation in Roanoke City, having been founded 1888, and in 1904, this "mother church" planted Belmont Christian Church following a successful tent meeting in the southeastern part of the city.[20] Ninth Avenue Christian Church became the first black Disciples congregation in Roanoke City, which was "started by nine men and three

women who had migrated to Roanoke City and found no disciple church for fellowship and worship."[21] Fourth Avenue Christian Church made it clear from the beginning that they were "not the only Christians, but Christians only."[22] This statement can only be best understood when one is aware of the denominational identity of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), especially as manifested in Roanoke, Virginia.

Denominationalism

Early leaders in the Restoration Movement may have cringed at the thought of having followers in what could be identified as a "denomination," yet that is exactly what happened with the Christian Church. Although members from other Protestant denominations converted to the Christian Church, especially former Presbyterians due to Barton W. Stone's influence, Baptist converts were especially prevalent in Virginia. Ironically, there were even post-war talks between the Disciples and Baptists of possibly reuniting, but the two could not find enough common ground regarding distinctive views of baptism to join forces.[23] Had this division between Disciples and Baptists never occurred in the Second Great Awakening, then it is quite likely that the Baptist presence in the South would have been even more dominant.[24] Nevertheless, while the denominational split remained in Roanoke throughout the founding years (and to the present), animosity between the two groups was not necessarily evident. The Disciples of Christ often participated in inter-denominational gatherings and events, particularly with Baptists. First Baptist Church and Fourth Avenue Christian Church held joint services, and the Disciples likewise had a variety of preachers to speak, including ones from Baptist, Brethren, and Methodist backgrounds.[25] It was said during one revival, "Christian people irrespective of church affiliation are helping in this meeting."[26] A later

report also said about that same series of meetings, which describes the historic essence of the Christian Church: "Much good is being done in these meetings, in that the simple gospel is being proclaimed, Christ, and not theology, what inspired men have said, and not man-made systems and creeds."[27] Complimentary remarks from the Fourth Avenue Christian Church after one of its pastors resigned further explains the anti-creedal, pro-apostolic view of Christianity that could be found among Roanoke's Disciples, as it referred to him as "one whose labors to restore primitive Christianity have been abundantly crowned with success."[28] Thus, the Christian Church certainly maintained a flexible, but legitimate, denominational form in Roanoke.

The Christian Church did have somewhat of a late start in Roanoke, but it grew fast, partly, it could be argued, due to their methods of outreach. Revival meetings seemed to be some of the most potent forms of connecting with an ever-growing boomtown, and they happened frequently but also were creative in format. For example, one evangelist, Rev. G. P. Rutledge, who was the "State Evangelist" and the "State superintendent" of the Christian Endeavor Society for the Disciples in Virginia, would have a "question box" that contained "hard questions" for him to answer before the crowd of people.[29] Additionally, Rev. Kimmel, pastor of Fourth Avenue Christian Church, made several efforts to be part of the community. As pastors from other denominations had done, he too made efforts to speak to the railroad department at the Y.M.C.A.[30] The same pastor was likewise heavily involved with the "Odd Fellows of Roanoke," a secret society, and delivered a special sermon to this group at his church. He is recorded to have said the following:

> Wherever want and miser are, there the Odd Fellows are expected to render assistance, irrespective of every claim except that of humanity. Our great order is

> a moral and social educator, teaching these principles in their lodge meetings. They are spread broadcast without regard for lodge affiliations. The object of an Encampment of Odd Fellows is to visit the sick; to bury the dead; to relieve the distressed; to educate the orphans. But this is not all. Who can measure the widespread educative influence of Odd Fellowship in teaching the true fraternal relations of man to man? This order has done and is doing a work in elevating the human race to a higher and nobler life that the world overlooks. Thousands of men have been brought to a life which finds expression in caring for the sick and afflicted who would have continued in selfishness but for their connection with our order.[31]

Not only did he praise the Odd Fellows, it would also seem that by the first-person pronoun usage—"our"—Rev. Kimmel was also a member. On a later occasion, he stated to the same group, "Wherever any human being, of whatever nationality or clime under heaven needs your help there you will find your neighbor. The future of civilization rests in a proper conception of this Christlike principle."[32] Publishing, furthermore, was a vital aspect of the Christian Church's history, and it was arguably one of the most significant causes for the liberal and conservative split.[33] In Roanoke, the Fourth Avenue Christian Church even attempted to propagate their ideas via the *Christian Weekly*, a church-run newspaper, but this apparently only lasted for "one or two issues" in 1903 due to a lack of resources.[34] Seemingly absent from Roanoke's Disciples was a staunch millennialism view of the end times, formerly insisted by Alexander Campbell.[35] Perhaps the urban setting in Roanoke, versus the rural, revivalistic origins of the Stone-Campbell movement, encouraged Magic City's Disciples to be more "this worldly" as they looked around and saw businesses being built from the ground up and consequently, more opportunities to reach newcomers to the city with their anti-creedal, primitive gospel.

New South and Sectionalism

Although the Disciples proclaimed what they called an apostolic religion, some of the earliest leaders were undeniably Southern in not just geographical upbringing, but in

ideological concerns as well. Harrell even states, "Alexander Campbell and other early church leaders were almost unanimously racists…The theme of Anglo-Saxon Protestant millennialism persisted throughout the century."[36] Campbell was recorded to have said the following:

> Hence we strongly affirm the conviction, that for the sake of these, and in honor of those who, by Bible-translation, Bible-distribution, in all lands and languages, missionary enterprise, missionary zeal, and missionary success in the cause of human advancement and human redemption, the Anglo-Saxon tongue will ultimately triumph. The Lord almighty, who has now girdled the earth from east to west with the Anglo-Saxon people, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, sciences, learning and civilization, by giving a colossal power and grandeur to Great Britain and the United States over the continents and oceans of the earth, will continue to extend that power and magnificence until they spread from north to south, as they have already from east to west, until, in one vernacular, in one language and with one consent they shall, in loud acclaim and in hallowed concert, raise their joyful and grateful anthem, pealing over all lands and from shore to shore, from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth. Then will "they hang their trumpet in the hall, and study war no more." Peace and universal amity will reign triumphant. For over all the earth there will be but one Lord, one faith, one hope and one language.[37]

At the same time, many Disciples were zealously against slavery, which caused severe contentions between Northern and Southern Disciples.[38] Sectionalist wounds did not heal after the war either. Black Disciples, however, encountered a different future than white members. As Hap Lyda has demonstrated:

> Since the Christian Church advocated the principle of the autonomy of local churches, Black congregations were encouraged to do all they could at the local level; they did carry out many effective activities. At the national level, however, they were unable either to gain administrative authority within the denomination or to structure themselves in order to achieve self-determination outside the denomination.[39]

Nevertheless, due to the intrinsic principle within the Christian Church of putting unity over creed and denomination, black Disciples did not break away.[40] Ninth Avenue Christian Church, Roanoke's sole black Disciples congregation in the founding era,

formed over a decade later than Fourth Avenue Christian Church, and there is not evidence that the two churches fellowshipped with one another. But it does appear that they shared many of the same methods for evangelizing and training converts, since both incorporated Sunday schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, Missionary Societies, and other similar ministries.[41] This resembles the findings in Paul Harvey's work on Baptists in the South, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925*, which stated that white and black Baptists "profoundly influenced each other," even while remaining segregated.[42] It would seem that the Christian Church, at least in Magic City, went and did likewise.

Progressivism and Economics

In contrast to Disciples in many other parts of the South, the Christian Church in Roanoke found their distinctive calls for a primitive, apostolic Christianity to be compatible with the hopes of an industrialized, increasingly urban, and progressive economy. Both black and white congregations experienced growth during their first few decades of existence.[43] One possible contributing factor concerned the way in which the Disciples spoke to the special interests of Roanoke's residents. Special discourses were presented, one being "to school teachers and scholars who are attending the public and other schools of the city," another about "God and the Cuban war," and yet another was even titled, "Why industries don't come to Roanoke and why they don't stay."[44] The pastor of Fourth Avenue Christian Church also addressed, "Work and Wages, or the Oppression of the Poor in Roanoke."[45] Jobs and poverty were not the only apparent concerns addressed, as a special sermon was once preached to the city's policemen, wherein the pastor directly stated:

> Roanoke is not a wicked city in an extreme sense. There are more law-abiding church going citizens in our city than any other of an equal population I have ever visited. The morality of the city is away above the average. The religious sentiment of our community is best understood by the fact that 37 per cent. Of the people are members of the different churches. Yet there is a greater amount of evil in our city than there ought to be, which could be greatly lessened if the laws were more strictly enforced. Now I would respectfully call attention of our city officials to the law, section 3828 of the code of Virginia, concerning the sale of liquor to minors, which I have reason to believe is being systematically violated in our city. Also the recent instance where the keeper of a social barroom was arrested for selling liquor on election day against which there is a severe State law, who was only fined a small amount for the State and city when he should have been bound over for trial in court. The defiance of law is probably greater in the gambling evil than any other crime. Public morality is menaced by gambling in all its various forms. Race track, pool room, policy, bucket shop, poker, progressive euchre, progressive whist, faro, raffles lotteries, all of which are against the laws of Virginia and the United States. See code of Virginia, sections 3815 to 1827. Police officers of the city of Roanoke, the laws must be enforced.[46]

Politics were not off the table either. Hon. Hale Johnson, the vice presidential candidate for the Prohibition Party, gave an address to Fourth Avenue Christian Church on a Sunday morning in 1896.[47] However, not all Disciples agreed to the ways in which temperance should be attained in Virginia. At a local convention meeting, a Disciples minister from Pulaski, Virginia argued, "[T]he suppression of the liquor traffic was the most important missionary work that could be done," but Roanoke's C.S. Long, as well as others, opposed such a motion.[48] To be "not the only Christians, but Christians only" evidently gave Disciples room to disagree with one another on important issues pertaining to the New South. In Roanoke, at least, such questions were frequently discussed, arguably to the Christian Church's own benefit by attracting those deeply involved in Magic City's affairs.

Gender & Families

Numerically speaking, the Christian Church appealed to not just the working adults and businessmen in the New South's Magic City, but to youth and families as well.

Often, Disciples operated rather autonomously in their local churches, but through the conduit of societies. The Christian Endeavor Society was of great interest to Roanoke's young people, black or white, which helped assimilate young people into ministries for "a deepening and broadening of spiritual life."[49] However, the Christian Church implemented measures to not simply get involved in the "spiritual lives" of Roanoke's young people, but also their "social lives." Fourth Avenue Christian Church organized a "necktie party," where, "A large number of young ladies have been invited and all who attend will make two neckties, one of which will be placed in a box and the other kept. The boxes are all put together and the gentlemen will draw a tie and the young lady having a corresponding one will have lunch with him."[50] When the Ladies' Aid Society of the same church prepared a lawn party, "decorated with Japanese lanterns" and accompanied by refreshments, it was recorded in the *The Roanoke Times*, "A most enjoyable evening is assured all who attend, as several of the prettiest young ladies in the city will be in attendance."[51] Aside from playing "matchmaker," the ladies also put on a musicale, and allegedly, "It was the verdict of every one present that this was one of the most enjoyable entertainments of the kind, ever given in the city."[52] The sexes were sometimes divided for prayer meetings, and were also individually addressed during the preaching—which included topics of marriage, ethics, and divorce.[53] Sunday schools, too, were a vital part of the Christian Church's influence in Roanoke, especially pertaining to the young people of the church. As recorded in Fourth Avenue Christian Church's *Minutes*:

> The Sunday School has taken special offerings for missions on Children's Day each year since the inauguration of that day in the life of the church, and this has been supplemented by a Birthday Box in which each member desiring to do so, would deposit one penny for each year of his, or her age, the Sunday following

> the birthday. The amount thus raised was used to augment the offerings for foreign missions on Children's Day.[54]

Overall, being "not the only Christians, but Christians only," Roanoke's Disciples of Christ nevertheless employed multiple strategies to lead men, women, and young people to a faith based on very old beliefs and practices.

Conclusion

Historians of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) have given a variety of historical treatments, especially highlighting the theological distinctives of some of the founders and early leaders of the movement in the nineteenth century. However, the one point that seems the most striking about Roanoke's Disciples is the complex relationship between their primitive and progressive ideas. One document referred to the precursor group that helped start Fourth Avenue Christian Church by saying, "some members of the communion known as Disciples of Christ…came seeking their fortune in the thriving little town of Roanoke, that was then developing into an important railroad and trading center."[55] Altogether, they vigorously pursued new converts in modern methods of revivalism and social interaction, but they also preserved their strong belief of prioritizing an apostolic form of Christianity. Perhaps it could even be said that, in some ways, the Christian Church of Roanoke epitomized the complex nature of the New South, when traditions, including earnest religious beliefs, intersected with the modern age. Roanoke was a product of the New South, and its residents were reliant upon the success of the Magic City. Similarly, Roanoke's Disciples were quite willing to adapt to the new era, even though others, those that have been labeled by historians as "conservatives" in the Christian Church, were not as accommodating. But then again, these others did not live in the Magic City of the New South.

CHAPTER 6

ROANOKE'S METHODISTS: "IN THIS EFFORT TO SAVE SOULS"

Introduction

"It is a dangerous thing for a church to grow faster in members than [how] she organizes those members into living factors," a Methodist leader once warned in Roanoke.[1] Most churches, both then and today, would love to have to deal with a problem of overly fast growth compared to a stagnant or declining membership. Yet, for a church like Greene Memorial Methodist Church, swift expansion was a reality that needed to be handled carefully. Far outpacing most churches in Roanoke, Greene Memorial reached a peak in membership during the founding era in 1908 with an astounding 1,504 worshipers having joined as members.[2] Membership slightly declined in succeeding years, probably due to other church plants that began from the initiative of Greene Memorial members, but then experienced another resurgence in the 1920s.[3] Methodists, in Roanoke and beyond, have traditionally been a missions-minded people, whether involving themselves in local areas or worldwide, so perhaps this is one reason why a small dissent movement that began from John Wesley turned into one of the largest denominations in the world in just a matter of decades. As one Methodist preacher declared in Roanoke, "Do you ask me for John Wesley's monument? I point to no marble slab; but look to the north, look to the south, look to the east, look to the west, look at America, look into China, Japan, darkest Africa and the isles of the sea—there it is."[4] The world was Wesley's parish, and thus, Roanoke too posed an opportunity for his Methodist successors to win converts "in this effort to save souls."

Methodist Historiography

Methodist historiography, like that of the Baptists, is quite enormous in depth. Of course, Methodists and Baptists alike experienced massive growth as a result of the Second Great Awakening, leading to what has sometimes been referred to as the "Bible Belt" in the South. Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* highlighted this evangelical phenomenon, but as Heyrman noted, "[B]y the most generous estimate, less than one-fifth of all southern whites over the age of sixteen and fewer than one-tenth of all African Americans had joined Baptist, Methodist or Presbyterian churches by the 1810s."[5] She continued in saying, "There was, then, nothing inevitable about the triumph of evangelicalism in the South. In fact, reimagining it as a religious movement that faltered at first by failing to compel the loyalties of ordinary men and women raises the question of how—and how completely—it later succeeded."[6] With the Methodists not having as great of competition as the Baptists did among the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church), the nineteenth century proved especially successful in terms of church growth. Heyrman explained this unsuspecting growth as having resulted, at least partially, in the following way:

> [E]vangelicalism has never been a static, monolithic structure of belief and that its adherents have never been an undifferentiated mass…In their late-eighteenth-century incarnation, such evangelical fellowships indeed did hold forth to southern society's most subordinated groups—the poor, the young, the female, the black—the prospect of greater freedom and fulfillment. On the other hand, during the early nineteenth century the same churches retreated from those promises of liberation and invested their energies in upholding the equality and honor of all white men.[7]

The writers of *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth* have also asserted an interpretation regarding the triumphs of Baptists and Methodists: "At the time of the first census in 1790, there were reportedly 20,000 Baptists and 18,000 Methodists in the state; by 1830

each group had more than doubled in size. The growth of these two denominations was due, in part, to their pursuit of black congregants."[8] But the biracial pursuit was not the only thing working for these aforementioned denominations. The authors further stated:

> As a result of revivals in the 1820s and 1830s, Methodists surpassed all of their rivals, making up at least 40 percent of all the churchgoers in the Old Dominion by the mid-nineteenth century. Methodists not only were more numerous than Baptists but also were more evenly spread across the commonwealth, being particularly strong in the Southside and most popular in the Trans-Allegheny region.[9]

Methodism, as it will be shown, spread even to the southwestern Virginian boomtown of the Magic City once the city was chartered, and then grew immensely during the founding years.

Roanoke's Methodists. however, ought to be understood in a greater historiographical context than simply the "Bible Belt" phenomenon and Virginian Methodist expansion, since church growth is only part of the story. Race and social issues were also important matters in the history of Methodism, particularly in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Both black and white Methodists endeavored to potentially win converts and train their own members, and each found much success in the South. Unlike other denominations that became segregated by race after the Civil War, the African Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in the Antebellum Era, which preceded the Northern and Southern split of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844.[10] In 1923, writing for the *Journal of Negro History*, Joseph C. Hartzell explained, "The great mass of Negro Christians in the United States will continue to prefer churches made up of their own race. This is natural and on the whole the best for many reasons. On the other hand, the door of every church of Christ should be open for all."[11] And if white Methodists dissented from the mainstream opinion of African Americans deserving

greater justice, "It was dangerous," according to Henry Y. Warnock, "if their views ran counter to the dominant thought of their community."[12] In Roanoke, too, Methodists certainly gained many adherents to their denomination, with multiple churches being started by each race, but little interaction between white and black Methodists seems to have existed.

Wayne Flynt's recently published *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* covers a variety of topics, but is particularly helpful in Southern Methodism, and especially in Alabama. Methodists, Flynt tells his readers, gradually incorporated multiple methods to usher in progressive reforms, yet were more populous in rural areas, and predominantly in poor regions.[13] Despite their forward thinking, Flynt writes, "Most Methodists and Baptists at the turn of the century feared the city and believed it corrupted morals and loosened family ties…Among people directly affected by urbanization, attitudes began to change rapidly after 1900."[14] Apparently, these attitude changes were rather fast, as John Lee Eighmy, in his discussion of Southern religious liberalism, has stated, "The Methodists were the most receptive to the Protestant social awakening."[15] While the meaning of the term "social gospel" is debatable, Methodists throughout the South seemed to have been welcoming of efforts not distinctly linked to efforts of conversion, and very much so in nearby Richmond.[16] However, at least in the time period discussed in this research, efforts of mass evangelism and training in denominational teaching appeared to have been more concerning to Magic City's early Methodists, as the following research will attempt to argue.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Methodists

Black and white Methodist churches had already been established in preexisting towns by the time of Roanoke City's establishment in 1882. By 1883, Roanoke already had two black Methodist churches, St. Paul's Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church, with each first meeting in homes before finding their own houses of worship.[17] White Methodist churches, likewise, quickly made use of their already-present congregations in the Roanoke Valley. Even though the railroads brought in more people than ever to southwestern Virginia, it could also be said that Methodists were simply continuing in their fervent methods of evangelism. As the writer of Greene Memorial Methodist Church's published history posited in regards to early Methodism in a nearby county, "It was a common saying around here on cold, bleak winter days: 'There's nobody out today but the crows and the Methodist Circuit Riders.'"[18] When Roanoke City was chartered, "[M]any young people had been drawn from rural sections of Roanoke and adjacent counties to serve the needs of the new railroad junction," and many brought their Methodism with them.[19] Methodism grew rapidly, just as the city added citizens by the thousands, and with these changes, Methodists also developed their own distinctives in the Magic City.

Denominationalism

Reminiscent of John Wesley and Francis Asbury of earlier years, Magic City's Methodists propagated their faith with energetic zeal, though the thousands of miles of horseback riding was noticeably absent in an immobile place like a city.[20] Revival meetings, in particular, offered some of the most potent methods of winning converts to Methodism. On one occasion, for example, an astounding fifty-six people were converted

at just one of the Methodist churches.[21] These meetings were planned, but often open to a prolonged timeframe. And it was not simply white Methodists who orchestrated these revival services either. In the summer of 1896, black Methodists had originally planned for a ten-day revival, yet it ended up lasting three weeks.[22] Preaching, too, evidently remained a highly prized aspect of the Methodist religious experience in Roanoke. When Dr. J. J. Tiger, a book editor for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, came to Greene Memorial Methodist Church in Roanoke, it was noted about the long-winded preacher, "For nearly two hours the people who were compelled to stand eagerly drank in every word that fell from his lips. At times his voice resembled the roll of distant thunder, and then it came down as soft and plaintive as a child's."[23] Likewise, Bishop W. J. Gaines of the A.M.E. denomination preached a sermon in Roanoke, in which, "For fifty minutes he swayed the great congregation at will, delivering a most powerful sermon all aglow with the love of Jesus, while from hundreds of eyes flowed tears as rain falling from the skies."[24] Despite the continued spirit of revivalism and determined preaching among white and black Methodists alike, some were critical in their self-evaluations. A writer from Danville proclaimed, "Let the old-time doctrine be preached, experienced, urged constantly, anywhere, everywhere, and soon our pulpits would flame with the old-time fire. Our altars would be crowded with penitents and the glory of the latter day Methodism would rival that of the early church."[25] Allegedly, "The class meeting would take the place of the card table, ballroom and theatre, and our prayer meetings would rebound with the hallelujahs of praise." For many Methodists, seeing the Magic City's residents experience revivalistic conversions was a worthy goal to be accomplished, and

it often included utilizing the resources and cooperation of other Protestant denominations as well.

Roanoke's Methodists certainly possessed their fair share of denominational distinctives, but they were often quite willing to partner with other churches that emphasized a gospel that remedied a repentant sinner. One series of revival meetings used the advertisement, "All Christian people, regardless of denomination, are invited to join in this effort to save souls."[26] Another series was more specific, and involved Lee Street Methodist Church and Roanoke's United Brethren Church.[27] In regular services as well, many Methodists would accommodate to even preachers of a different theological persuasion. A Quaker evangelist, for example, once filled the role of preaching at an evening service.[28] The Magic City's Methodists would sometimes hold union services that brought multiple Methodists churches together, including for revival meetings, and other times several different denominations would unite with the Methodists, such as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Presbyterians.[29] Members of secret societies, too, were not strangers to the Methodists. One report noted a "Rev. Locke" from the Masonic Lodge as having preached at St. James Methodist Church in Roanoke, while a pastor from nearby Vinton preached a "special sermon" to Osceola Lodge No. 47.[30] Indeed, Methodists chased after every opportunity "in this effort to save souls."

While Methodists manifested an interdenominational spirit in Roanoke, they still retained their core values and beliefs as Methodists. Doctrinally, Methodist preachers were adamant about their denomination's distinctives. For example, Rev. H. I. Stevens of St. James Methodist Church argues, "The fact is, every one who believes in the Bible must believe in entire sanctification, for it is as plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures as

any other doctrine which the Christian believes."[31] Strictness, likewise, was not an unusual trait among the clergy, even if the younger generation did not always follow. Whereas many of Roanoke's residents took part in enjoying the city's own version of the "World Fair," G. T. D. Collins of St. James Methodist Church preached the message, "Why the World's Fair Should Not be Opened on Sunday."[32] The history of Fairview Methodist Church recorded a rather striking example as well:

> Nieces of George Trout remember the stern view held by ministers of this era concerning such frivolities as dancing and partying. In return for the use of their uncle's home for their frequent parties the girls offered to clean his house. He was a bachelor, and found this a fair exchange. The girls were very active in the church youth program and once held a party for the home church group, plus Reverend Jordan and his wife, at their uncle's home. After refreshments were served the Jordans took their leave.[33]

Rev. Jordan found out that the young girls had a "foot-stomping good time," filled with dancing and a hired string quartet of black musicians. The reverend then told the uncle, "[H]e would work it (the devil) out of them."[34] Black Methodists, meanwhile, were also adamantly cautious regarding lifestyle choices. Bishop Gaines of the A.M.E. Church "served notice on candidates that he would ordain no man minister who drank whiskey, chewed tobacco or smoked cigarettes."[35] Methodists, therefore, white and black, were indeed grounded in a faith that had boundaries within its own denomination.

Methodists in the United States also viewed education as an opportunity to propagate its denominational distinctives. In Roanoke, the role of white Methodist higher education took on an anti-Catholic, anti-Northern, pugnacious tone. In 1890, Roanoke's Methodist Episcopal Church, South, hosted an audience at the city's opera house to address the possibility of opening a Methodist institution for higher education, which included the chancellor of Grant University, Rev. Dr. J. C. Spence, who purportedly "was

in thorough sympathy with the people and their educational advancement."[36] *The Roanoke Daily Times* recorded the following:

> The great Catholic church had made a wonderful bound in the cause of [C]hristianity, and in order to keep up with that church it was necessary for all the Protestant denominations to stand together. The South was eminently [P]rotestant because the purest native American, and the time might come when the North would have to appeal to the South to aid her in putting down the anarchical tendencies already taking root there. Higher education, he said makes leadership; the cultured brain leads, and the quality of the brain in the South is as good as that of any country in the world. The leading men all over the South are demanding a higher education and they will not be satisfied until the public school system of this section is equal to if not better than that of the North. At first the progress was slow; but we are gaining all the time; twenty-five years ago we were the poorest people in the world but it is changed now.[37]

Evidently, Methodism and Southern heritage could not be easily distinguished, and to ensure the longevity of Methodism, or at least Protestantism, was of critical importance. Thus, white Methodists seemed to believe that the South was counting on them to fulfill the promises of the New South. Black Methodists, meanwhile, appeared to be more concerned with education as being the vehicle for upward mobility and advancement, but with a heavy responsibility of setting a respectable standard, since "the eyes of the citizens of our country are turned toward us."[38] Both, however, could not deny the power of education in the Magic City and beyond "in this effort to save souls."

New South and Sectionalism

Methodism is a denomination deeply rooted in Southern history and sectionalism. One branch of Methodism, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in its very name, signified a religious body that had been birthed in the Antebellum Era over views of slavery. Taking place in 1844, this split had fixed a chasm between the Northern and Southern denominations of the Methodist Episcopal Church. According to Frank S. Mead, "It was a split that concerned neither doctrine nor polity," but was "purely political

and social."[39] Southern Methodism, however, was highly popular among black and white believers alike, though the two were mostly segregated as well. Nevertheless, there was at least a little commingling. *The Roanoke Times* shared an example of this, but with a striking cause for such temporary unity. The report stated, "Rev. G. G. Jamison, presiding elder of Richmond district of the African Methodist Church, will preach to-night at Bethel Church at 7 o'clock, and will probably have many white people to hear him, as he was once the property of M. P. Frantz, of Salem."[40] Race relations were seemingly just as uncomfortable for Methodists as any other group during especially troubling times, such as when a "Mr. Massie" was murdered, with the two prime suspects being black residents. At that time, a black Methodist minister of Roanoke declared, "It is not yet known who the parties are that committed the awful murder of last week, but I believe they will be, and ought to be, found out and brought to justice."[41] He likewise confidently stated, "I know that these men who committed this murder cannot rest after their deed."[42] Meanwhile, views of white Methodists towards other races, ethnicities, and nationalities were sometimes a bit unrestrained. Evangelist Sam Jones came to Roanoke with the belligerent message:

> These galvanized foreigners, are doing as much harm in the United States as these galvanized sinners are doing in the church. I am not down on foreigners. Don't mistake me. If the right kind of a foreigner comes along there is no one more willing to extend the hand of welcome to him than Sam Jones, and if he is not the right kind of somebody I tell him to fix himself for my foot…I am against the foreigners like I am against the church members. If they are not the right sort they are better out of this country and out of the church.[43]

Certainly, not all white Methodists were quite as forceful, but it goes to show that while black and white Methodists were prevalent in Roanoke, they did not subscribe to social issues in unison like they did their doctrine.[44]

Progressivism and Economics

Roanoke's Methodists certainly had come a long way from earlier years in terms of advancement and urbanization, with one of its churches, Fairview Methodist Church, known to have originally made the plea, "Oh Lord, take us out of the woods, away from the snakes and lizards!"[45] Meanwhile, as Roanoke exploded in growth, Greene Memorial Methodist Church proclaimed itself the church of the "Radiant Heart at the Heart of the City."[46] There, it was noted, that the Fishburn Memorial Chimes, having been installed in 1901, "became a chime whose music rang out over the city glorious hymns of the gospel."[47] Although cities may have troubled Methodists earlier in the nineteenth century, this denomination obviously benefited from the fast growth and the numerous church plants that were accomplished in just a couple of decades, thanks in large part to the development of the railroad industry. Likewise, Methodists sought ways to engage the community, including those who labored in the business of transportation. On one occasion, an engineer from Altoona, Pennsylvania conducted not only a men's meeting at an off-site location, but later in the day he gave a "gospel address to railroad men and their families" at Lee Street Methodist Church.[48] Another of Roanoke's Methodists would host members of the Railroad Men's Christian Association.[49] Indeed, urban life was often a friend rather than foe for Methodists "in this effort to save souls."

Although Roanoke's Methodists were certainly not the only ones in the city trying to buttress the cause of the Temperance Movement, they contributed greater effort than perhaps any of the other denominations. When the evangelist Sam Jones came to Magic City, part of the proceeds of funds raised went to help Belmont Methodist Church, but also to what was known as the Houston Institute, which took part in "the cure of

impoverished inebriates."[50] This same evangelist also argued, "If there is a crowd on earth that ought to fight whiskey its [sic] the women. Why don't you do it, old sister?"[51] One of Roanoke's own Methodist preachers had even singled out the mayor and made the following observations:

> If you ask Mayor Trout he will tell you that the police do drink whiskey and he is going to discharge one on the evidence given before the grand jury. I was given to understand that the jury would only investigate the violations of the liquor law and didn't place in their hands the evidence of the whiskey drinking police. If the officers had been as active last Monday in enforcing the law as they were in trying to down the preacher that immoral exhibition for men only would have been suppressed. I congratulate the mayor, the citizens and the W. C. T. U., that hereafter the police force will be run on temperance regulations.[52]

He concluded, "While some of them laughed and [criticized] my sermon the devil laughed at what a scene he had created."[53] The W. C. T. U. played a pivotal role in Roanoke's Methodist churches, which had even invited the state organizer to lecture.[54] In terms of the "social gospel," Roanoke's Methodists did not seem to go as in depth in social programs for physical betterment as other areas of the South, but one step did include the jettisoning of alcoholic beverages.

Roanoke's Methodists also viewed education as a valuable component to their ministries. Both white and black Methodists utilized educational endeavors for their own purposes, but each also seemed to appropriate education for distinct interests. Black Methodists looked to education as a public service, in that they cooperated with the city itself to accommodate to growing numbers of pupils and a lack of space. The basement of one black Methodist church in Roanoke was used for "school purposes."[55] Because black Methodists offered their facilities as a venue for education, "Every colored child in Roanoke who wants to go to school will have school room provided," *The Roanoke Times* reported.[56] Black Methodists, though not headquartered in Roanoke, also pursued

educational matters with the propagation of two literary publications, the *Christian Recorder* and *Church Review*.[57] White Methodists in Roanoke, however, did not incorporate education in their churches in the same way as black Methodists. As already noted, education among white Methodists seemed to act as a safeguard against the dominance of Roman Catholicism in the South. Perhaps surprisingly, "As late as 1927 only 4 per cent of the Southern Methodist clergy were seminary graduates, only 11 per cent had college degrees, and approximately 32 per cent had no schooling beyond the elementary level."[58] Still, it was Sunday schools that fulfilled the most significant burden for educating laypeople, not necessarily in reading comprehension and grammar for personal betterment, but for religious instruction "in this effort to save souls."[59]

Gender & Families

Out of all the Protestant denominations in Roanoke, the Methodists may have been the most determined to draw in and utilize young people in their churches. As their churches multiplied, Methodists also sought to unite in ways that would feasibly extend their outreach. As one local pastor informed other churches in a multi-congregational gathering for the Epworth League, "We have met together to devise plans of co-operation; we need to combine our forces and bring them together in order to accomplish our great aim."[60] This institution, the Epworth League, was a very potent force for many Methodist churches in Roanoke. In fact, Lee Street Methodist Church's Epworth League published a monthly paper that was "devoted to the interests of the church and the organization."[61] Young people themselves organized their own ministries to even younger children. As one report noted, "The young folks of the Methodist Church will also make merry with an egg hunt on Monday evening in the Nugent woods. The child

who sells the most tickets will be presented with a handsome doll."[62] Beside the Epworth League, some Methodist churches maintained a Juvenile Aid Society, which would often plan events and offer special performances to raise money.[63] Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts were even found at Fairview Methodist Church shortly after the start of World War I, though they were originally birthed out of a Sunday school class.[64] Black Methodists seemed to specialize in musical concerts, whether they were hosted at their own churches or at an opera house.[65] Perhaps one of the reasons why the Methodist church surged in growth during the founding era of the Magic City is that young people were adequately supported and given responsibilities "in this effort to save souls."

Women, too, played a crucial role in Roanoke's Methodist churches. Catherine Davis Morgan's *United Methodist Women in Virginia: 1784-1984* provides a nice overview of how the roles of women have greatly changed in the Methodist church during its existence in the Old Dominion. At the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church and upon the organizing of the Virginia Conference, women were "ignored," Morgan stated.[66] However, Morgan also clarified a momentous turning point in stating, "Women's participation in class meetings and revivals represented change from past Protestant experience," and, "The freedom given women at camp meetings was unprecedented."[67] Roanoke's Methodists, despite the urban context, entertained numerous revivals, and were right in the middle of a transformative time period in Methodist history concerning the ordination of women. Furthermore, Methodist women had comparatively more vocal roles than other Protestants, whether white or black. One Sunday, "Madam Young" of Louisiana, who was a "celebrated colored evangelist," preached at a morning service in one of Roanoke's A.M.E. churches.[68] Lee Street

Methodist Church, a white congregation, contemplated the admittance of women as lay delegates to the General Conference.[69] Even the socially strict evangelist Sam Jones believed in female preachers, and concluded, "[A] woman ought to do anything she pleases, except to be a father of a family."[70] Like other denominations, women in Methodism were greatly involved in missions and fundraising. The motto of the Woman's Missionary Council in 1910 stated, "Grow we must, even if we outgrow all that we love."[71] Such words helpfully summarize the explosive growth of the Methodists in Roanoke, which was affected, at least in part, by Methodist women.

Conclusion

Methodist historians have written on a wide array of topics, from Methodism's origins to recent events. However, the case of Roanoke offers an important view of a denomination that originally thrived in rural areas, largely due to the relentless preachers who traversed thousands of miles, but adapted to an urban center of a totally different kind of transportation, namely, the railroads. Both Methodists and Roanoke City share this common denominator of transportation. As the historical record shows, Roanoke's white Methodists were supremely concerned with the spiritual condition of people, even if that meant joining with others of somewhat different theological beliefs, so as long as they were not Roman Catholic. Partly, this pro-Protestantism stemmed from a sectionalist view, which is not terribly surprising due to the Antebellum Era split within the Methodist Episcopal Church. Black congregations, likewise, were thoroughly Methodist through and through, but the anti-Catholic sentiment was not necessarily detectable. Overall, Roanoke's Methodists had a mission to win converts, and they largely succeeded from 1882 to 1914 "in this effort to save souls" in the Magic City.

CHAPTER 7

ROANOKE'S PRESBYTERIANS: "LET US CROSS THE RIVER AND REST IN THE SHADE OF THE TREES"

Introduction

In 1905, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, under the direction of Rev. L. L. Downing, erected their persistently famous Stonewall Jackson memorial window. Each Sunday, Fifth Avenue's pastor still preaches from the pulpit with this picturesque image in the background, denoting the phrase, "Let Us Cross the River and Rest in the Shade of the Trees." General Jackson was, of course, well known for his devout Presbyterian faith. What may be most surprising to those unfamiliar with Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, however, is that it is a historically black congregation. As a local historian has explained:

> It was to Gen. Jackson that Downing imputed his conversion to Christ. In the presence of a large gathering of white and colored people to witness the dedication, the Rev. Downing commented that had the cause for which Jackson fought been the victor, slavery doubtlessly would have continued, but he counseled the negroes "to be as chivalrous and as honest as they were in the days of slavery and to uplift themselves. Those who really wanted to get ahead would find the white man his best friend. There was no reason why the races could not work in harmony."[1]

In Roanoke, Presbyterians did indeed, at times, work together in racial harmony, but the two main goals that have consistently appeared in the historical record included evangelization and education, but one did not seem to exist without the other.

Presbyterian Historiography

Presbyterians have traditionally been a well-educated people, and thus often rich in traceable, written sources, but it would seem that the level of interest among scholars of Southern religious history is not nearly as high as other Protestant denominations, such as Baptists and Methodists, two groups that have often been the sole proprietors of the

term "evangelical." Wayne Flynt has recently argued that not only do Baptists and Methodists deserve this title, but also Presbyterians. He concluded about early twentieth century, Southern Presbyterians, "The evangelical thrust of the church" was their "obvious and the highest priority."[2] However, part of Flynt's contribution to Presbyterian historiography is the inclusion of the Social Gospel in the history of Presbyterianism in the American South. Flynt's work shows special interest in one man, Walter Lingle, but he attempted to show issues such as child labor as having been of great concern to more than just Lingle, a Presbyterian leader that arrived at Union Seminary in Richmond by 1911.[3] Shortly before Lingle's entrance into the Old Dominion, Flynt states that Presbyterians "had clearly opted for a mixture of spiritual and educational salvation."[4] Other writers of Presbyterian history have not been so interested in such themes, however. Don K. Clements, speaking about much broader chronological implications, has been especially critical of those who adopted a more progressive stance to Presbyterianism. He stated:

> The Southern Church saw herself as holding the Old School position, which gave rise to the Southern Presbyterian distinctives. With the passing of the first generation of leaders, the Southern Church was unable to replace them with men of equal soundness and stature. The result is that the Southern Church lasted as a sound denomination for seventy or eighty years, and then was taken over by the liberals in the church. This was done very largely through the capturing of the educational agencies of the church, the seminaries, the colleges, the publications and literature.[5]

Still, others, including Darryl G. Hart, have suggested that historians ought to focus more on the contention of church "union" versus denominational localism as a "more fruitful way" of understanding Presbyterian history in the twentieth century, instead of a simple liberal versus evangelical division.[6] Likewise, William Harrison Taylor has concluded that the "interdenominational journey" in the United States had first risen during the

French and Indian War.[7] And thus, issues of the Social Gospel, conservatism versus liberalism, and interdenominationalism, also known as ecumenism, will all be considered in this chapter regarding Roanoke's Presbyterians.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Presbyterians

Virginia's religious history is often told in regards to the Anglican domination of colonial America, which was disastrously disrupted by the American Revolution and then replaced by the twin forces of Baptists and Methodists in the wake of the Second Great Awakening. Presbyterians, however, deserve to have a place of their own in Virginia's religious history. Before the American Revolution, Virginius Dabney explains, "The coming of the Scotch-Irish to Virginia in great numbers brought into sharp focus the issue of religious freedom. They were nearly all Presbyterians, and there arose at once the question of their relationship to the Established Church."[8] Presbyterians established themselves through a series of revivals, having migrated into the "Presbyterian Valley," more commonly known as the Shenandoah Valley, and eventually to the Roanoke Valley as well.[9] One Presbyterian writer nevertheless later explained, "Despite the fact that the Presbyterian Church of the South was marked with the revivalism of the New Side, there was a failure to follow-up the gains of the first awakening. One of the major problems lay in the fact that the Presbyterian Church required a highly educated ministry, and there was a dearth of institutions in the South for such preparation."[10] This favorability of an educated clergy and congregation among Presbyterians would be persistent for decades thereafter. By 1850, they were known as the "intellectuals of Virginia Protestantism."[11] When the Civil War began, two healthy Presbyterian churches had already been in

existence in the Roanoke Valley, one in Roanoke, and another in the nearby town of Salem, though there had been a Presbyterian presence for decades.[12]

Just a matter of months before Roanoke City was chartered, arguably the most important clergyman ever to minister in a church in the Magic City had arrived at First Presbyterian Church, Rev. William Creighton Campbell. When Campbell first arrived, they first boasted a modest membership of 76 faithful congregants, but he would go on to serve at this church for fifty-five years, which included his time as "pastor emeritus," along with witnessing an incredible growth to as many as 1,118 members.[13] Evidently, Campbell had wise foresight, having left a church in Harper's Ferry after just a couple of years, as *The Roanoke Times* stated, "After satisfying himself that the town of Big Lick would probably become a place of some importance he accepted its call and was ordained its pastor in 1881."[14] Both parents had historic lineage back to the Colonial Era in Northern Virginia. He said in his fortieth anniversary address, "That tinge in my blood possibly accounts for the protracted stay I have made in this place."[15] Campbell's perpetuity as pastor provided stability to Roanoke's Presbyterians as the city exploded in growth, and quickly, other congregations were planted.

While Rev. W. C. Campbell's place in Roanoke's history is undoubtedly significant, other Presbyterian churches and their ministers are worthy of attention as well, including the often-overlooked black Presbyterians.[16] James H. Smylie helpfully explains the origins of black Presbyterian church governance:

> In 1874, the CPC formed the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church (later the Second Cumberland Presbyterian Church). The PCUS was not too successful in its efforts, although it proclaimed that all God's children belong around the Lord's Table as members of one family. The denomination organized the Afro-American Presbyterian, in 1898, which later became the Snedecor Memorial Synod with four presbyteries.[17]

Rev. David Blaine, a black Presbyterian minister of a struggling Lynchburg church, wrote to Rev. W. C. Campbell in 1886, "There is a real need for speedily building up a church for the negroes in Roanoke. Earnest efforts must be made."[18] Soon, black Presbyterians formally organized Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, and swiftly made plans to start their own educational institution. In the founding era of Roanoke City, First Presbyterian Church and Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church were uncommonly close in correspondence and friendship. Early on, Rev. W. C. Campbell was urged "to use his influence in securing a principal for the colored school in Roanoke."[19] Speaking on behalf of the Board of Freedmen, Edward P. Cowan stated in a letter to Rev. Campbell, "Their hesitation about taking hold of the 'little struggling colored church in Roanoke' is the fear that the field was a hard and almost hopeless one. Membership was so small and slowly increasing and they thought about abandoning the field."[20] The hope was that "the congregation will take Campbell's council, encouragement, and support to grow and last."[21] This "little struggling colored church in Roanoke" would beat the odds and endure the toughest of hardships, including devastating financial difficulties and personal tragedies, to become one of the Magic City's most important Presbyterian congregations.

Denominationalism

Baptists as well as Methodists, and perhaps Disciples of Christ also, are often alluded to as denominations closely associated with the Second Great Awakening. And yet, some of the most prolific ministers during that religious phenomenon were Presbyterians, including James McGready and Charles Finney.[22] Instead of camp meetings in New York or Kentucky, Roanoke's Presbyterians referred to their evangelistic events as "protracted meetings." Sometimes Roanoke's Presbyterians would

travel to other churches, but other times they were the hosts.[23] At Second Presbyterian Church, it was recorded, "There has been no marked outpouring of the Spirit, yet He has been present to comfort, strengthen and encourage his people."[24] Revivalism could be seen among white and black Presbyterians alike. Upon one occasion, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church held a protracted meeting "as long as practicable."[25] However, most of Roanoke's Presbyterian ministers were probably not keen on emotionalism, but as it was said of Rev. W. C. Campbell, "As a minister, he sincerely believed that one should be converted and dedicated to a better life by gentle Christ-like persuasion rather than sensationalism, pulpit-pounding and harsh words."[26] Amicability, likewise, could be found between Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations as well.

Much has been written about Presbyterians and their relationship with other Protestants. Wayne Flynt has argued, "Virtually all of the animosities, disagreements, and ideological divisions within the PCUS focused finally on one issue: ecumenism."[27] Presbyterians in Roanoke, meanwhile, did not seem concerned about their intimate associations with a wide range of Protestants in the Magic City during the founding era. At a session of the Synod of Virginia, for example, pastors from a Baptist, Methodist, and Lutheran churches attended, along with Rev. R. R. Twine of the "colored Presbyterian Church," Fifth Avenue Presbyterian of Roanoke.[28] Missions work, especially among women's organizations, would often include partnerships with other denominations.[29] Even preaching at the numerous Presbyterian congregations would occasionally include a guest minister from a different denomination.[30] And of course, Presbyterians seemed to also have very strong ties to one another. While Rev. W. C. Campbell was a greatly respected minister in Roanoke City, his own brother, Rev. H. C. V. Campbell, pastored a

Presbyterian church in nearby Salem, bringing unity to the neighboring cities.[31] Beyond family ties, Presbyterian churches in Roanoke cooperated with one another to spread their faith, many of which were started due to the determination and church-planting strategies of First Presbyterian Church. Some sustained themselves for many decades, while others failed to live up to expectations. Bethany Presbyterian Church, for example, was started in 1884, where "[s]ome of the most prominent citizens built homes."[32] This prime location acted as a double-edged sword in another way, however. As an early historian of Roanoke's Presbyterians stated, "For several years this was one of the largest and best Sunday Schools in the city; during eight years over 1,000 pupils were enrolled. However the population around the chapel was cosmopolitan and transient, with the result that many of the additions to the organization were not permanent."[33] Norwich Presbyterian Church had also been handpicked for its allegedly ideal location, but contrary to the predictions of early city planners, this mission of First Presbyterian Church also failed. Still, most Presbyterian churches did succeed in lasting well into the twentieth century, making failure the exception rather than the norm.

New South and Sectionalism

Roanoke's Presbyterians possessed probably the most extraordinary characteristics out of all of the city's denominations and religious institutions in regards to race relations. It is clear that Roanoke's black and white Presbyterians had frequent interaction, particularly between Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church and First Presbyterian Church. *The Roanoke Daily Times* once recorded, "The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church was the scene of a wedding, which for the social standing of the contracting parties and the beauty and impressiveness of the ceremony, runs no risk of being

excelled."[34] At this celebratory occasion, a black church leader and lawyer, J. Riley Dungee, married his bride, where, according to the newspaper, "Many white people were present."[35] Rev. W. C. Campbell, more than once, preached at Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, and even participated in the ordination of elders and deacons.[36] In 1895, a particularly harsh year for Fifth Avenue, when the congregation was encouraged by the Board of Freedmen to endure as "good soldiers of the Cross" in light of financial burdens that included debt, Rev. W. C. Campbell stepped in on behalf of his church, stating, "[I]f they could get about $300 to meet the smaller accounts and complete the church building, they would be able to manage the balance. It would not meet all their indebtedness, but it would satisfy creditors that they could work along and get extensions from others."[37] In return, the pastor of Fifth Avenue was quite grateful to the reverend and his "efforts to them and to the cause."[38] Ultimately, Presbyterians, whether or black or white, did seem to unite in "the cause" of evangelization, and cooperated with one another much more than any other denomination in Magic City.

While more collaborative than other Christians in Roanoke between the races, Roanoke's Presbyterians likewise retained somewhat odd characteristics. Though deeply involved in the well being of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Rev. W. C. Campbell presented messages that seemed to be relevant to the Anglo-Saxon heritage to his own congregation at times. According to *The Roanoke Daily Times*, "The subject of his discourse was the possibilities and probabilities of our country. He first considered the possibilities of the Anglo-Saxon race; second the probabilities of its future home; third, the possibilities of that home, and lastly, the agencies at work to impress it for good, namely, education and [C]hristianity."[39] Rev. Campbell also concluded, "[T]he race here

is likely to produce the highest type of character physically and intellectually, especially since the two dominant ideas, liberty and christainity [sic], have a fuller development in this country than elsewhere."[40] Elsewhere, Rev. Campbell predicted, "[I]n the course of time there would be a wonderful exodus of negroes from Christian America to 'Darkest Africa,' which would result both in the settlement of the race question in America and the evangelization of Africa."[41] Once, a guest preacher had delivered a sermon at First Presbyterian Church to Confederate veterans, and ended the message, having "illustrated the Christian character of Stonewall Jackson" and "closing with an earnest appeal to the veterans to trust in the Saviour whom Jackson followed, and be ready when their call comes to 'cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees' with their great leader."[42] Stonewall Jackson was not simply a model Christian to Roanoke's white Presbyterians, however, as already discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Undoubtedly, white and black Presbyterians were far from social equals in the Jim Crow South, but being that Presbyterianism as a whole had placed such a high regard on education, whites seemed to be more favorable to black Presbyterians of Roanoke, likely due to the steadfast views espoused by black Presbyterians that education would ultimately lead to progress, both of their race and of Christianity.

Progressivism and Economics

Presbyterians, to a certain extent, bear a long history of progressivism in that they have long cherished education. In the Antebellum Era, Presbyterians were caught in a conundrum regarding the education of slaves, and some even clandestinely broke the laws of the day, since such legislation clearly contradicted their own principles of good evangelization and discipleship.[43] In post-Reconstruction Virginia, however, the

importance of education was propagated among Presbyterians unhinged, which was true to those black or white. First Presbyterian Church led the way in raising funds for those to be educated for the ministry.[44] White Presbyterians would have to travel outside of Roanoke for post-secondary education, unless they attended the Lutheran-based Roanoke College, but black Presbyterians could attend Roanoke's own Davis Industrial College, which opened its doors in 1893 "for the education of colored men and women."[45] The college faced severe difficulties in 1894, when, after battling a "severe illness" for two weeks, Rev. Joseph Lee Spurlarke, the college president and pastor of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, tragically died. *The Salem Times-Register* had only laudable things to say about this highly educated minister:

> About two years ago he returned here to establish in Roanoke a Presbyterian church for his race, and was then made president of Davis College. In manners, character and education Rev. Joseph Spurlarke was a model man, and in his every day walk a pure hearted Christian, doing all that he could to elevate his race. Had he been spared his life work would have been in this direction, and it will be hard to fill his place. Those among whom he so faithfully labored should ponder the lesson be inculcated and imitate his shining virtues.[46]

Education, while prioritized to those in the ministry as essential, also seemed to be viewed as a direct cause to morally upright behavior, and thus, respectable citizens of the Magic City. Therefore, education yielded not only Christianizing benefits, but also domestic results that could ensure a more successful society in the New South.

Education, while on the forefront of many Presbyterian minds, was not the only aspect of progressivism in Roanoke. First Presbyterian Church created the Self Help Society, "an organization to help the poor."[47] From a broader American perspective, Smylie noted, "Presbyterians supported a number of social causes—the protection of Sunday as a day of rest for all, as well as prohibition of alcoholic beverages for the health

of the whole society. Presbyterians also expanded their Sunday schools…[and] developed urban evangelism, following a Chicago shoe salesman and revivalist, Dwight L. Moody."[48] Presbyterians were also denoted as "industrial statesmen" during the Gilded Age for their entrepreneurship.[49] But one of the most concerning matters to many of Roanoke's Presbyterians, sometimes requiring church discipline, would have been the temperance movement. Dr. James Arthur, pastor of Second Presbyterian Church for a short time, was the subject of such debate. A local church historian explained, "It stemmed from the fact that, on that date, Arthur galloped, out of control of his horse, through the streets of Roanoke. This was in violation of a city ordinance against fast riding. Arthur explained that his horse had shied at some unascertainable cause and had become unmanageable. Gossip spread that he was intoxicated."[50] Though never declared guilty in Roanoke, the Montgomery Presbytery suspended him from the ministry on account of "drinking alcohol and of falsehood in denying the same."[51] First Presbyterian Church even hosted the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, which ran under the slogan, "The Rights of the People vs. the Privileges of the Saloon."[52] Evidently, Presbyterians believed they were in a battle against immorality and unbecoming behavior, which could only be thwarted by evangelization and good education, the twin powers for making good Americans. Flynt has written, "[Presbyterians] were not cultural pluralists, but 'missionaries for the American way.' They desired to convert Catholic immigrants not only to Protestantism but into proper Americans like themselves."[53] An essential means to accomplish their goals included the zealous activity of women and young people as well.

Gender & Families

Women played an important role in Presbyterian churches, most notably in their services for helping the poor and in the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Similar to the ecumenical nature in cooperating for larger church events and programs, Presbyterian women would sometimes join forces with other denominations for their ministries.[54] But even when they worked independently, there appears to have been noted controversies in the late nineteenth century regarding the roles of women in the church. A woman named Anna M. M. Sultz once wrote to Rev. Campbell with the hope of enlisting the National Organizer of the W.C.T.U. to come speak in Roanoke and in providing proper housing for a night. She even contended in her letter, "Whatever the prejudices of your people may be against woman's work, or our organization, I only ask you to *hear* her. I feel sure that the result will be, as in Mississippi last winter; a breaking down of prejudice, and a general endorsement of our work."[55] Based on the eventual partnerships that First Presbyterian made with those involved in the temperance movement, it would seem that Rev. Campbell, and other Presbyterians in Roanoke, did indeed hear the voices of these women.

Catechizing youth had been an enforced practice for Presbyterians, which would coincide with their urging of education. Completion of the catechism in Roanoke was even newsworthy at the time.[56] Second Presbyterian Church, though sometimes overshadowed by the powerful presence of First Presbyterian, nevertheless had plenty to say about youth in their church. Early on in their history, they formed multiple organizations, including the Young Peoples' Society of Christian Education, the Willing Workers, and the Little Lights.[57] Second Presbyterian reported in 1904, "It is a cause of

congratulation that the young men of our community have been attracted to our altars."[58] Although little is available in the historical record concerning black Presbyterians in Roanoke, it would seem that the initiation of Davis Industrial College acted as an incentive for training up young people in the Presbyterian way.[59] Once again, it is clear that Roanoke's Presbyterians implemented various ways deemed necessary that could promote both religious impartation and education, which started with their youth.

Conclusion

The point that Presbyterians advocated an educated clergy and congregation is not a new interpretation. Thus, Roanoke's Presbyterians seem to have been consistent with a broad and global institution. Nevertheless, historians do not seem to be so sure regarding the role of the social gospel among Southern Presbyterians. According to John Lee Eighmy, "Typical was the address of the [Presbyterian] church's social mission delivered in 1911 on the occasion of the denomination's fiftieth anniversary. The statement opened with a pointed attack on the theological errors in the social gospel. The second half of the same address, in a complete turn about, lauded social uplift and faulted the church for not leading in such movements!"[60] And yet, more recently, Wayne Flynt has attempted to argue that Presbyterians were more open to social gospel ideals than Eighmy, or even the renowned Presbyterian historian, Ernest Trice Thompson.[61] The case study of Roanoke seems to imply that qualities sometimes connected with the social gospel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were actually rooted in the history of the denomination. It was only natural for Presbyterians to continue in their programs to benefit society, with education topping the list of priorities. At the same time, they also seemed open to some change, as evidenced by the gradual acceptance of "woman's

work" in the temperance movement. Overall, Roanoke's Presbyterians sought to preserve the soul of Magic City by retaining their long-held convictions of evangelization and education, applicable to both black and white residents alike.

CHAPTER 8

ROANOKE'S LUTHERANS: "YET IN GOD'S OWN WAY AND TIME"

Introduction

When the Glade Creek Lutheran Church of Botetourt County formed its own church in Antebellum Virginia, the small group united under the following resolution: "We the undersigned members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church being desirous that the doctrine of Christ as held and taught by the immortal Luther be taught among us and our children to the welfare of our souls, and being desirous of having the Word of Life statedly preached to us and the holy Sacrament administered."[1] During this time period in Virginia, one historian of Lutheran history has argued concerning the early attempts at uniting under a singular synod called the Special Conference, "Had these forty-eight congregations been cared for more adequately, the story of the Lutheran Church in Virginia from this date onward would have been altogether different."[2] Perhaps when Roanoke City was chartered in 1882, the Lutherans could have had somewhat of a religious monopoly, if what this historian says is true. Also speaking of historical contingency, the historical account of Roanoke's St. Mark's Lutheran Church stated, "The story of this church is one of continued hard luck and straitened circumstances."[3] Despite so much hypothetical talk, Roanoke's Lutherans actually have quite a remarkable legacy in both the history of the Magic City and in Southern Lutheranism. While Roanoke's Lutherans may not have grown in number as other denominations in the city, such as Baptists, Methodists, or Presbyterians, they occupy a critical part of the soul of Magic City. Combining social institutions with local church resources, orphans were cared for, young people, both male and female, were educated, and perhaps most

influential of all, outsiders, including Northerners, were enticed to join in on the prospects of the Magic City boomtown, thanks to the Lutheran, business savvy social elites.

Lutheran Historiography

Some of the most notable features of Lutheran historiography would have to include the incalculable studies done on Martin Luther himself, referred to as "their immortal leader" by a local writer in 1910, but in reference to Lutheranism in North America, immigration has generally been meticulously discussed.[4] This focus on German and Scandinavian immigrants among American historians is not a new interest either.[5] Mark Granquist's *Lutherans in America*, however, is a very recent, scholarly, and comprehensive contribution to Lutheran historiography in a field that is somewhat bare and could use more historical consideration. Granquist's observations on the latter part of the nineteenth century are especially relevant, as he states, "Lutherans also struggled to define what it meant to be both Lutheran and America, and since they came up with divergent answers, they argued and divided and united. What impresses most about this period is the sheer energy and faith evidenced by these American Lutherans, a restless and inventive lot. These traits would only be multiplied in the decades to come."[6] At a more local level, William Edward Eisenberg's works, which include *The Lutheran Church in Virginia, 1717-1962* and *The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942*, are quite helpful. Whereas some of the most popular themes in Lutheran historiography have been immigration and hardship, the story of Roanoke's Lutherans from 1882 to 1914 presents a rather different image of this denomination.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Lutherans

The first Lutherans to step foot on Virginia soil were far from affluent. Arriving in 1717, the first Lutherans were composed of twenty German families who would become indentured servants of Governor Alexander Spotswood.[7] Other Virginian Lutherans settled along the Rapidan River, and then numerous families from Pennsylvania settled in the Shenandoah Valley a couple of decades thereafter.[8] According to the writers of *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, "The closely knit German communities in the middle Valley were known for their careful and industrious farming habits, distinctive barns, log homes, and Lutheran churches."[9] Soon after the American Revolution, a Lutheran minister named J. G. Butler participated in "pioneer missionary" endeavors in what is now Roanoke, having planted his "headquarters" in nearby Botetourt, and "with all the energies of an ardent soul, he was constantly prosecuting missionary operations into districts lying far beyond, often making appointments a year in advance and never failing to meet them."[10] As the nation began to face bitter tensions over sectionalism in the Antebellum Era, Lutherans tried to disregard the issue of slavery, though eventually they too were divided.[11] When the Civil War finally came to a close, Lutherans that had lived in the Roanoke Valley interpreted the great conflict as a sign of God's will. Rev. Shickel of Botetourt declared, "During the past year the war, from which we suffered so much, closed. Though we failed to secure our independence, our prayers have been answered, if not in form, in spirit. The great Prince of Peace has once more restored to us a cessation of hostilities as a nation, if not in the way we looked, hoped and prayed for; yet in God's own way and time."[12] In 1875, towards the end of Reconstruction, there were about 600,000 Lutherans, but by 1900, Lutherans made an

astonishing leap to roughly 2,175,000 baptized believers, making Lutherans the third largest Protestant group in the nation, with only Baptists and Methodists ahead of them.[13] It was during this time of astounding growth that Roanoke was chartered and earned the nickname of "Magic City" for its own phenomenal, fast-paced expansion, but owes a large amount of gratitude to the Lutherans who helped shape it.

Denominationalism

By the beginning of the twentieth century, it has been said, "American Lutherans were clustered mainly along ethnic lines and formed into a dozen major denominations, with another dozen or so smaller synods."[14] Even though this may have been the national standard, it should not lead one to believe that Roanoke's Lutherans were necessarily reclusive and opposed to cooperation with other denominations. Once, Lutherans held a "reformation service" together with Methodists, which offered a program of special music and an address on "Martin Luther as a Man," inferring that both denominations could appreciate the forefather of Lutheranism.[15] Presbyterians, likewise, united with Lutherans, particularly through ministering to youth with their Christian Endeavor Societies of Roanoke.[16] At a Y.M.C.A. meeting in nearby Salem, combining the denominations of Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Methodists, it was considered, "[T]hat as it was the belief of many of the Christian workers of Salem that the Holy Spirit was working in the hearts of many of its young people it had been decided to hold union meetings every night in the Presbyterian Church," but these church leaders also attempted to recruit "any others whom they could get to assist."[17] Lutherans once hosted the Roanoke County Bible Society, which included an address by a Methodist minister, but an advertisement also noted, "Members of the other churches and all who are interested

in the work are invited to attend."[18] Therefore, it may be concluded that Roanoke's Lutherans were open to other Protestant denominations for events deemed expedient to the progress of Christianity.

Roanoke's Lutherans not only cooperated with fellow Protestants, but also seemed to have been influenced by some of the practices of Southern religion. One of the most notable features would be their acceptance of revival meetings, even though other groups, such as Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ, have often been connected to this practice. Considering that Lutherans had adopted other methods for converting and informing others, especially via catechism, Lutherans who were in favor of holding revivals needed to provide justification. One local Lutheran explained:

> While we heartily believe that the method of catechization as a means of bringing the young into the Church, customary in our church, and used almost exclusively in the fatherland, is the very best method obtainable so far as this method is applicable to present conditions in this country. But in this section of the country our pastorates are generally large and our membership very much scattered—some families living as far as eight and ten miles from the church. This fact makes it practically impossible for many of our children to attend catechetical instructions. Furthermore, our pastorates have, generally speaking, from four to eight congregations, several miles distant from the parsonage and each other. Pastors with such large fields cannot give efficient catechetical instruction.[19]

Thus, the Lutherans, particularly in the years leading up to the founding of Roanoke City, decided to "fight fire with fire" and advocated a combined method based on necessity, but were still undoubtedly influenced by the religious landscape as well.[20]

New South and Sectionalism

Lutherans were impacted by Southern culture in regards to religious customs, but in ideology as well. Some anti-slavery sentiment existed among Lutherans in the Roanoke Valley during the Antebellum Era, as one congregation's local history explained, "One family well established in Roanoke County, owners of a fine home, a

grist mill, sawmill and splendid farming land, gave it all up and moved to the Indiana Territory for this reason."[21] White and black Lutherans worshipped together in nearby Botetourt County before the Civil War, but the relationship dramatically changed in post-bellum Virginia.[22] As Granquist articulates, "Now that African American Lutherans were free citizens, southern white Lutherans were unsure how to relate to them. Lacking clear directions, southern white Lutherans talked about the issue and studied it occasionally, but in the main did nothing."[23] Based on no evidence existing for a black Lutheran congregation in Roanoke during the founding era, it would seem that the national phenomenon Granquist has written about was concurrent with how Lutherans in the Roanoke Valley acted. White Lutherans, however, were very much involved in the progression towards a "New South." Roanoke College operated as a driving force for such energies. In 1882, Rev. Washington Gladden of Illinois made the following observations about his impressions of the students at this Lutheran-based institution of higher education:

> In the baker's dozen of speeches by these young men in the contest for the prize medal in oratory, and on the Commencement stage, there was a revelation of the temper of the New South that bodes nothing but good to the section and the whole nation. Without exception, the speeches were brave, manly, forward-looking. The fact that a new day had come to the South was the undertone of all this young thinking; and it was evident enough that these hopeful fellows were ready to spring to the front of the new movement, and make the most of its opportunities…On the whole, I was greatly pleased with the indications given by the young men of this College, representing several different states of the public sentiment at the South.[24]

Clearly, Lutherans found the advocacies of the New South to be an appealing incentive for more prosperous times to a denomination that had felt its fair share of hardships in the past, which seemed to connect to their pro-Southern sentiments as well.

Progressivism and Economics

There was a national trend among Lutherans to not simply multiply congregations, but also to provide resources and other forms of assistance that went beyond spiritual care. Throughout the United States, "Lutherans also continued and accelerated their institution-building, establishing and expanding schools, colleges, and theological seminaries, as well as social-service institutions such as hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages, and agencies to serve immigrants, seamen, and those with physical and mental disabilities."[25] In Roanoke, while many Protestant congregations devoted a great deal of financial resources on erecting larger buildings for growing congregations, as well as allocating resources towards the planting of new churches, Lutherans utilized their assets in such a way that would distinguish Lutherans from others as being closest to possessing a "social gospel" mentality than any other Protestant denomination in the Magic City. Two institutions in particular are of precise interest, Roanoke College and the Lutheran orphanage, later called the South View Orphan Home. According to a U.S. Bureau of Education report in 1888, "Although remaining under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, [Roanoke College] has always been conducted in a most catholic spirit, and has largely drawn both its students and its support from non-Lutheran sources. About two-thirds of its present constituency come from other denominations."[26] With a student body from a variety of theological perspectives, many leaders within Roanoke College nevertheless agreed with this following address from a Lutheran minister:

> The great work done by Roanoke for our Church is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to enlarge upon it here. It may be said again, however, that both the Faculty and the Trustees desire that the College should fulfill its special mission for the Lutheran Church, while doing also a general work for the cause of

> Christian education. What the College does for the Church must depend mainly on the number of students sent it from our congregations and especially on the number of candidates for the ministry…The Church that fails today to educate its young people need not be surprised to find itself a declining and even a dying Church in the future.[27]

Thus, Roanoke College served directly for the betterment of Lutheranism, but even as a "general work" of inculcating young minds, regardless of the form of Christianity some espoused.

Although Roanoke College had its origins stemming from the Antebellum Era, the local ministry to orphans began organically in the early part of the founding of Roanoke City. Originally, the Lutheran minister, Rev. S. McClanahan, started this work by simply taking in a few orphaned children into his home, with the assistance of St. Mark's Lutheran Church of Roanoke. According to *The Roanoke Daily Times*, "The children [had] been trained in industry, neatness and piety."[28] Over time, the orphanage evolved and expanded its capabilities. For example, the aforementioned newspaper report noted, "One of the conditions of admission has hitherto required that the children 'should be healthy, sound in body and mind, and free from all physical deformity.' In accordance with what seemed to be a general wish of the church, this regulation was modified, so that the home is now 'open to infirm children when their reception will not necessitate the employment of additional help in the way of nurses.'"[29] Evidently, the orphanage also succeeded in not only providing social aid to parentless children, but also in spiritual care, as many children were baptized into the Lutheran church.[30] *The Roanoke Times* spoke amicably of the orphanage's successes, "This is a silent commentary on the noble work done by these humane institutions."[31] Roanoke's Lutherans offered some of the most progressive plans out of all of Roanoke's religious denominations, most notably

through higher education and orphan care, but they also occupied some of the highest of positions in the founding of the Magic City.

Lutherans never dominated Roanoke in terms of how many churches they helped start or in how many people that converted to Lutheranism, but it is clear that some of the most influential citizens were Lutherans. Rand Dotson, an expert in Roanoke's early history, but especially its economic founding, explained:

> Although scores of Roanoke businessmen were responsible for the city's industrial boom, Big Lick natives Henry Shaver Trout and Peyton Leftwich Terry were the principal natives behind the development. Trout and Terry were not only dedicated and noteworthy boosters, they also managed several of the city's most important businesses and played instrumental roles in convincing dozens of northern industries to move to Roanoke.[32]

Boosterism played a remarkably important role in the growth of the Magic City, with Trout and Terry being unparalleled in influence. Dotson continued to state:

> In 1883, the two men joined Frederick Kimball in organizing the Roanoke Association for the Exhibition of Livestock. Later in the year, Terry founded the Roanoke Trust, Loan & Safe Deposit Company and moved the business into the ground floor rooms of the railroad office building. By 1886, the Clark firm had appointed Trout to the board of directors of the Roanoke Land & Improvement Company. It also made him a director of its Pocahontas Coal Company. Trout and Terry had helped organize the Roanoke & Southern Railroad that same year, and in 1888, Trout became president of the line. Both men were active in St. Mark's Lutheran Church, and eventually both helped found the Peoples Perpetual Loan & Building Association, the West End Land Company, the Crystal Springs Land Company, and the William Watts Camp of Confederate Veterans. By 1890, Terry was president of both the Roanoke Development Company and the Times Publishing Company, owner of *The Roanoke Times*, as well as vice-president of former Governor Fitz Lee's Iron Belt Building & Loan Association.[33]

Becoming a Lutheran "On profession of faith" in 1875, Henry S. Trout served as mayor of Roanoke from 1892-1894, and remained active in St. Mark's Lutheran Church, even publicly addressing the church while mayor.[34] With some of the most important people in boosterism and politics, Roanoke's Lutherans composed several of the city's elites,

marking a stark contrast with the nature of how Lutherans have generally been understood in the United States. Though Lutherans in America have often faced financial challenges, ministerial shortages, and social marginalization due to their immigration background, the Magic City was essentially built on the ideas and efforts of several Lutherans.

Gender & Families

Although many Lutheran men have been noted for their achievements in Roanoke's history, Lutheran women and children also occupied significant roles. As already noted, Lutherans made compromises in their traditional form of catechizing young people by permitting protracted meetings. Additional reasoning from Lutherans about this combination of catechism and revivalism ought to be noted. One historian explained, "[N]early all the other denominations operating in this territory resort to revivals to bring the people into the church, and if we discard entirely such efforts and depend exclusively upon catechization, we will find to our sorrow and chagrin, as we have in many instances heretofore, that many of our brightest and most promising boys and girls will be swept into other communions."[35] In a report to the Virginia Synod in 1906, a reverend lamented, "The younger generation, seeking the business centers, and finding no church of their feathers, were often absorbed into other denominations [or] fell into the ranks of the great unchurched multitude."[36] Although the orphanage provided substantial care to children, and Roanoke College helped educate young adults, the Christian Endeavor Societies among Lutheran churches provided needed opportunities for ministry of those who were still youths. The Endeavorers were likewise expanded their communication to other denominations, as one speaker noted:

> I know no people with whom I feel more at home than I do with Endeavorers. When we meet as we do to-night we forget denominational lines. The man who reads his Bible every day, and who daily petitions the throne of grace is my brother, and therefore I am at home tonight, particularly so after the cordial greeting to which we have all listened, and the numerous evidences of your love and good will shown on the walls of this beautiful house of worship. We bring you greeting in the name of Christ, and we want to thank you for the welcome you have so cordially given us in His name.[37]

While less is spoken about women in local records than most denominations, it is certainly noteworthy that the Lutheran desire to spread their influence through education extended to not simply men, but to women as well. After Marion College had to close its doors, agreements were made in 1911 to reopen the Lutheran institution near Roanoke College in Salem, where it would be renamed Roanoke Woman's College.[38] Although much work was accomplished in and through Roanoke's Lutheran churches, there was also considerable cooperation among congregations and Lutheran-based institutions, including their ministries to youth and women.

Conclusion

In 1890, *The Roanoke Daily Times* issued a report that may have seemed alarming to many Lutherans. After discussing the vast increase in American Lutherans, stated to have been the result of mass European immigration, the writer said:

> [T]his great increase has also been attended by enormous losses, as the Lutheran population has been Americanized; in the transition from a foreign language to English, hundreds of thousand have been diverted into other churches, or been turned aside to the world. Many of the most efficient ministers and most prominent, zealous, wealthy and influential members of other denominations are of Lutheran origin.[39]

Despite being fewer in number, Roanoke's Lutherans managed to hold on to several prominent figures that helped build the boomtown of Magic City. And while the historiography of Lutherans has often pointed to immigration as the defining story of

Lutheranism in the United States, the Lutherans that have been depicted in Roanoke City did not seem to uphold an urgent desire to cling on to their European ancestry. In fact, due to the strong presence of Lutherans already existing in the Roanoke Valley prior to chartering of Roanoke City, it may be more appropriate to say that many of Roanoke's Lutherans were the indigenous people, rather than the immigrants, welcoming outsiders to build a city with them in the New South. Prioritizing social development via partnerships with Lutheran-based institutions, they tended to have a socially conscious form of Christianity. Though considerate of the physical and intellectual well being of others, Roanoke's Lutherans believed in the power of institutions, which, in turn, they hoped would yield spiritual dividends throughout the growth of the Magic City.

CHAPTER 9

ROANOKE'S CATHOLICS: "I WILL WORK HEART AND SOUL TO FURTHER IT"

Introduction

While the New Testament does not record much specifically about the life of the Apostle Andrew, the brother of the better-known Simon Peter, in John 6:8, he is recorded to have asked Jesus while surrounded by a crowd of thousands, "There is a boy here who has five barley loaves and two fish. But what are they among so many people?"[1] Ironically, Roanoke's sole Catholic congregation during the founding era of Magic City was named after Saint Andrew. This church was birthed in the midst of a boomtown's beginnings, and within its first decade, St. Andrew's Catholic Church of Roanoke felt similar tensions about the needs of the surrounding community. Though there were some churches that targeted the felt needs of the less affluent citizens, most congregations were literally brand new, and thus, resources were often allocated to the construction of new church buildings. Roanoke's Catholics took a different route in the founding years of the Magic City. Rather than planting churches in different parts of the city, they built up a strong Catholic base around the area of St. Andrew's, conveniently located just north of important sites such as Hotel Roanoke, the Roanoke Machine Works, and the railroad station.[2] As the city rapidly grew, the Apostle Andrew's question could have been asked yet again, "But what are they among so many people?" Soon, the citizens of Roanoke would understand that their Catholic neighbors pursued not only the spiritual wellbeing of others, but also their physical needs. And while they may have been outsiders, compared to the Protestants of the city who composed a majority of the religious population, Roanoke's Catholics, "among so many people," possessed major roles in the

city's development: economically via industry, charitably through giving, and spiritually with their historic faith.

Catholic Historiography

Roman Catholics have long been the largest religious denomination in the United States, though Protestants, taken as a whole, do outnumber Catholics considerably. Nevertheless, Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey contend, "[D]espite much recent work on the topic, Catholicism remains the most understudied tradition in American history, particularly in work that engages Catholicism with the greater story of American history."[3] Schultz and Harvey suggest that Christine Heyrman's *Southern Cross*, which especially focuses on Methodism as the key to understanding American religious history in the nineteenth century, may not be wholly accurate. Instead, they suggest the nineteenth century to have been the "Catholic century."[4] Fortunately, some writers have indeed discussed American Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Andrew Stern's "Southern Harmony: Catholic-Protestant Relations in the Antebellum South" sheds some light on this apparently overlooked topic, and made the intriguing conclusion: "More often than not, Protestants supported Catholics, particularly in building churches and schools. Catholics reciprocated when they could."[5] Despite the opposition Catholics sometimes felt from "Know-Nothing" politicians, Stern considers the commonly held Catholic view of opposing the abolition of slaves, even if many did not view slavery as a "positive good," and in how "Catholics clustered in the urban economic, cultural, and political centers, and, in those places, they made a difference, working alongside Protestants to build southern society."[6] Though as Marty McMahone explains, Catholics fought for educational principles in public schools, which, in turn, seemed to also affect

Baptists and their views of religious toleration, moving toward "institutional and pluralistic separationist perspectives."[7] It was into the early twentieth century, according to Samuel S. Hill, Jr., that Catholics received the greatest of threats to their Southern inclusion. He states, "One's perplexity over anti-Catholic bias is further strengthened by the recognition that the most intense period of hostility was 1900-1920, when the South's version of Know-Nothingism erupted, a period singularly notable for the absence of Catholic migration into the South or Catholic growth either by size or influence."[8] Historians, therefore, have chronologically discussed some modern developments in American Catholicism, despite the call for more thorough investigation.

Additionally, some excellent topical treatments can be found in Roman Catholic historiography that are especially relevant to Southern Catholic history in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. Thomas E. Woods Jr.'s concise work, *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals & the Progressive Era*, fills the void of researching the "intellectual battles" during the Progressive Era, in which he found a great deal of disagreement among Catholic thinkers as to precisely how the Church ought to proceed in a modern America, though they certainly retained Catholic unity and theological distinctives.[9] Meanwhile, Thomas Haddox's *Fears and Fascinations: Representing Catholicism in the American South* covers the literary depictions of Catholics. Speaking of the nature of "southernness" and Catholicism, he writes, "Certain styles and characterizations of both may come into being, flourish for a time, disappear, and reappear, but their variety precludes any stable definition of either term in the larger American cultural arena."[10] Furthermore, *Black and Catholic*, edited by James T. Phelps, provides a very enriching study of how African Americans have often been overlooked in

Catholic historiography, supplying reasons for why curriculum of Catholic history ought to be revised in light of newly considered experiences and accomplishments of black Catholics.[11] All of these contributions to Catholic historiography, and others, lead to the point that American Catholics are more complicated than perhaps expected. Thus, the study of Roanoke's Catholics offers a valuable case study in an otherwise varied historiographical field.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's Catholics

According to an author of a short treatment of Catholicism in the western part of Old Dominion, "The early history of the Catholic Church in Virginia is similar to the early history of the Church in Rome, for Virginia, like most English colonies, was not given to the toleration of Catholicism."[12] Jesuits clandestinely crossed over into the state from Maryland, and then with more religious freedom in the Antebellum Era, Catholic missionaries made efforts to expand across Virginia, though often with minimal impact.[13] By the middle of the nineteenth century, Catholicism started to grow at a much higher rate, particularly in western Virginia, as a result of a successful railroad industry, though perhaps also in part to the advising of Bishop James Whelan, who "cited good land at low prices, the small slave population, and the efforts to give spiritual attention to all families settling not too far from the residence of the clergyman."[14] Roanoke simply followed suit to the larger context of what was happening with Catholics in the state of Virginia.

On September 22, 1879, the Bishop of Richmond, Rev. J. J. Keane, called Father John William Lynch to an assignment in Lexington, but Lynch's territory also included an extraordinarily large domain, including the counties of Alleghany, Bath, Botetourt, Craig, and Roanoke.[15] At his appointment, Big Lick had only one person that confessed

to being Catholic.[16] The growth of Roanoke's Catholics was fully dependent on the influx of newcomers, and on November 19, 1882, Father Lynch administered Mass in a Shenandoah Valley Railroad passenger coach.[17] It is, therefore, quite extraordinary that this congregation had such humble beginnings, when roughly 250 people joined the congregation by 1885, and in 1902, St. Andrew's Catholic Church erected one of the most recognizable and picturesque buildings in all of the Magic City, which remains the congregation's church building to the present day.[18] Architectural scholars, W. L. Whitwell and Lee W. Winborne, stated in 1982, "Architecturally, St. Andrew's ranks as one of the largest and finest examples of High Victorian Gothic style in Virginia."[19] The congregation likewise declared upon the building's dedication, "The contrast between the green leaves and the colors of the church make a picture poem."[20] Its yellow brick was selected to "resist the dirt and grime of a railroad town," which is one very simple example of how Roanoke and the city's Catholics share an intertwined history of faith and railroads.[21]

Denominationalism

Roanoke's Catholics stand apart from most religious denominations in the city by the simple fact that they were not Protestants, and thus, often separated from the interdenominational meetings and events. The Roanoke Ministers' Conference, for example, only included those of Protestant affiliation.[22] And yet, when Father Lynch of St. Andrew's Catholic Church made the abrupt decision to resign from his office in Roanoke, a later church historian posited, "Roanokers of all denominations and walks of life were saddened by the news," which included members from white and black Protestants.[23] The same writer also suggested, "Father Lynch was truly ecumenical long

before it was fashionable."[24] According to the church's own statements, "Nowhere do Protestant and Catholic dwell together in more perfect amity than in Roanoke. This is due more to the personality of Father Lynch than to anything other; but a substantial aid in the work has been given by the Guilt of Our Lady of Ransom," a group that spread Catholic literature in an effort to dispel anti-Catholic myths.[25] Perhaps what best describes the interdenominational relationship between Protestants and Catholics is that the two offered respect to one another, while remaining separated on grounds of theological conviction.

While matters of faith were dividing between Protestants and Catholics, social events at St. Andrew's likely also provided reasons for division. One practice eschewed by most of Roanoke's Protestants, but embraced by the city's Catholics, was dancing. Often utilized to raise funds, these dances, which were sometimes combined with other special attractions, drew in dozens of people, and lasted for hours into the late evening and early morning—a practice many Protestant leaders would anathematize.[26] There were, however, plenty of social events that even a Protestant may not have been able to pass up, showing that St. Andrew's was more than willing to adopt new activities in the modern age, if it meant extending their outreach in the boomtown of Magic City. From beautiful oil paintings in honor of Good Friday, to picnics accompanied by orchestral music, to strawberry festivals, and many other events, it was clear that this historic faith was very much interested in appealing to a modern, industrialized city.[27] As Roanoke celebrated its Decennial, St. Andrew's prepared one of its most extravagant events. As *The Roanoke Times* recorded, "The thousands of visitors who had taken positions on the hills in the vicinity of St. Andrew's beheld one of the most beautiful displays of fireworks ever witnessed."[28] Roanoke's Catholics, though distinct from Protestants in religious and

some social customs, were an active force in the community, with their church numbering nearly 1,300 people by 1902 and their school operating with almost 400 students.[29] Perhaps the steady and impressive growth resulted from the relentless action undertaken by the Magic City's Catholics, but another factor would have to include the demographics of people who came to Roanoke to find their "Hebron."

New South and Sectionalism

Although Roanoke was geographically a Southern city, housing many residents proud of their Confederate heritage and Southern culture, it was also, according to a railroad executive, "More of a Yankee town than any other in the state."[30] And based on the findings of Rand Dotson, St. Andrew's attracted many of these Yankees.[31] Yet, it was not just Northerners that came to St. Andrew's. Evidently, the church boasted minorities, including "Miss Annie Guran," a Syrian lady, and a Native American, "Brother M. B. Gallagher," of the Pocahontas Tribe No. 16, who was buried at the church's cemetery upon his death.[32] Roanoke did not have a black congregation until the inception of St. Gerard's Catholic Church in 1946, but the African American community, particularly those in the neighboring Gainsboro district, held St. Andrew's in high regard, especially Father Lynch. When much of the city's residents were in dire straits in 1893, it was recorded:

> Father Lynch then went to prominent men of the city and told them in his own emphatic but brotherly manner that something had to be done. He was promised help but upon him devolved the duty of visitation. He went among the sufferers and administered to their wants, securing food for the needy and work for those able to do it. He obtained grants of timber from farmers near the city and the wood cut and hauled to the city by negroes. With this they kept body and soul together and survived the winter. The older colored resident have never forgotten those days. Father Lynch to them was the dearest of friends and his leaving brought sad and bitter protest from them.[33]

Such activity points to Roanoke's Catholics as being a bit more progressive than many Southern churches, both in race relations and in actions of social welfare.

Progressivism and Economics

Roanoke's Catholics were quite active and did attract many job seekers from the North, but they also grew in number by welcoming some of the city's most vulnerable citizens: the orphans and the poor. The orphanage, known as the St. Vincent Home, opened for ministry in 1893, ideally timed, as this was the same year of the great financial crisis that would hit Roanoke.[34] St. Andrew's made great efforts to provide the orphans with physical, social, and spiritual resources, often taking the money from their many events to apply towards the orphanage. As one newspaper story said:

> In this reign of feasts and flowers, there has been no prettier festival than the one given 'for sweet charity' at Saint Andrew's Hall last night to raise funds to make needed improvements and changes in St. Andrew's Orphanage, that noble institution which is a monument to the liberality and Christian charity of the church that erected it and an honor to the city in which it stands.[35]

Father Lynch took the offensive in seeking out those in poverty, rather than waiting for the impoverished to arrive before the congregation, and told the local newspaper, "You can put me down as saying that I will do everything in my power [to seek out the poor]. I have been out today on the same errand and I am satisfied that with systematic work the object can be made of great benefit to the needy of our city, and I will work heart and soul to further it."[36] Whereas Roanoke's Catholics generally avoided secret societies, many were active in a Catholic version of them, such as the Catholic Knights of America and the Catholic Benevolent League, both of which were organized in order to provide affordable life insurance to its members.[37] Aside from offering help to those in need, whether children or adults, Roanoke's Catholics likewise had a vital partnership with one

of the most important local businesses, the Roanoke Machine Works. Not only did the business employ many Catholics, but it also provided resources to the church's benefit. Right before Christmas in 1895, the company, in coordination with some of the most "prominent Catholics of this city," presented a 1,100-pound bell as a gift for St. Andrew's.[38] The Roanoke Machine Works even possessed its own orchestra, which would frequently provide music to the church for Sunday services or special events.[39] St. Andrew's Catholic Church, therefore, provided many services to the larger community and partnered with others to establish itself as one of the most significant entities in all of the Magic City.

Gender & Families

Roanoke's Catholicism might be best described as "holistic," not in a medical sense, but in the way that St. Andrew's utilized various means to serve a wide array of people: the young and old, the rich and poor, men and women. For males, Roanoke's Catholics did place an emphasis on manliness. From a young age, they guided many of their boys in the St. Andrew's Cadets program. With the purpose of "providing training that would carry them through life," and initiated by students of the church's parochial school, the St. Andrew's historian noted, "Captain Harry Howell, a former drill master in the English army, then employed in the Roanoke Machine Works, offered his services to Father Lynch to drill the Cadets."[40] William McCauley, author of one of the earliest books on Roanoke's history, spoke of Father Lynch, "With an energy rather whetted than daunted by the apparently insurmountable hopelessness of his task, he set to work manfully to overcome difficulties which would have prostrated another less indefatigable."[41] Meanwhile, Father Lynch himself, at a member's funeral, "[S]poke of

the Christian virtues and manly integrity of the deceased."[42] Thus, Roanoke's Catholics believed their men ought to have manifested a spirit of resilience, and even a willingness to fight militarily, if such a call would be necessary.

St. Andrew's women, referred to as the "gentler sex" by the church, likewise possessed distinct roles in this large and energetic church.[43] The importance of Catholic women in American history has recently been more noticeable to historians.[44] While Catholic women generally proclaimed themselves as distinct from the "New Woman" mentality on a national level, adjustments were being made in Catholicism on a broad, intellectual level in ideas, as Thomas E. Woods Jr. has explained, and in the way Catholic women could serve and function in this historic faith, as Kathleen Sprows Cummings has argued.[45] Though Roanoke's women did serve in traditional roles, as educators, orphan caregivers, and event administrators, it could also be argued that St. Andrew's women were most responsible for the progress of the church in creating a distinctively Catholic culture within the community. *The Roanoke Times* gave an insightful overview of the instruction given to St. Andrew's parochial students:

> The course of study embraces the latest and most scientific methods in preparatory and academic courses. Rebecca S. Pollard's synthetic system of spelling and reading has been adopted. Its simplicity and perfection is universally acknowledged and wonderful progress is made by the pupils. Vocal and instrumental music are given special attention, piano, organ and all the string instruments including violin, guitar and zither being taught. A class in Pernin's phonography with typewriter is presided over by a competent teacher. To needle-work in all its varieties, special attention is given, assuring the pupil not only education and polish, but practical knowledge. Grace and physical perfection is cultivated by daily exercises in calisthenics, ring drill and quadrille exercise.[46]

McCauley said of this instruction, "Collaterally the first item of importance after the church proper comes the teaching of the young folks."[47] As Roanoke's Catholics built up

their influence within the Magic City, they were largely known for their acts of charity and their education of young people, both of which were largely headed by women.

Conclusion

Out of all of Roanoke's religious groups, its Catholics stand apart from others in how they created a distinct community within the city as a whole. Part of this dealt with the fact that only one Catholic church existed in Roanoke during the founding era, which made St. Andrew's Catholic Church the *de facto* capital of this community within the Magic City. Furthermore, since the Roanoke Machine Works employed so many Catholics, many laypeople labored with fellow congregants every day of the workweek. Conversely, Protestant leaders could not conscientiously permit Father Lynch, or his successor, to unite with them in the ministers' conference or in special gatherings. Regardless, St. Andrew's grew to become a respected, though distinct, religious institution of Magic City. Various treatments of Roman Catholicism in the American South, or in the country as a whole, have come up with numerous conclusions about Catholicism's identity. Roanoke's Catholics may not contradict much of the secondary literature available, but complements it in showing how Catholics in the Magic City took a noticeable approach in this boomtown regarding its prospects of growth and outreach. Rather than spreading thin to the nooks and crannies of the city, Roanoke's Catholics largely stayed together geographically and ecclesiastically. Catholics mostly settled in one part of their "Hebron," but this strong sense of unity also may have provided the impetus needed for them to flourish in the Magic City.

CHAPTER 10

ROANOKE'S "OTHERS": "TO HAVE A BUSINESS, MAKE A HOME, AND RAISE A FAMILY"

Introduction

In 1905, a group of Reform Jews had asked the people of Roanoke for contributions to help build their new synagogue, Temple Emanuel. A local historian explained, however, "[F]or in truth Jews had assisted in building every church built in Roanoke."[1] Jews and Christians of Roanoke, of course, did not share between the two religions what they deemed to be essential theological truths, but it would bee hard, if not downright irresponsible, to write about Roanoke's religious institutions without also observing the impact of the city's Jews. Moreover, Jews were not the only religious minorities that ought to be evaluated. Despite having a fairly weak presence in the Roanoke Valley during the founding era of the Magic City, Mormons were sometimes the subject of much controversy and religious debate. Furthermore, although the Lebanese do not seem to have been given much attention in the historiography of American religion, or even in the historiography of the American South, their presence in Roanoke also played a pivotal role, both in the economic development and in the religious makeup of the city. While the sheer number of Protestants and Catholics in Roanoke during the founding era greatly outnumbered the religious minorities, the Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese have their own stories to tell. But even though they may be grouped as "religious minorities" or "Others," each has a history that is distinct from the rest. While Jews adapted most effectively into the culture of Roanoke, Mormons were most hindered, and the Lebanese were somewhere in between in terms of receptivity.

Overall, the history of Roanoke's "Others" reveals how religion, when combined with social concerns such as business and personal values, played a major role for the religious minorities as they contributed their part to the soul of the Magic City.

Historiography of the Religious "Others"

Historians of American religion have focused a great amount of attention in highlighting the diversity that has existed in religious institutions, whether in the South or elsewhere.[2] While there are certainly plenty of nuances to consider from the largest of Protestant denominations, and even in Roman Catholicism, often the religious minorities get left off of the history books since their numbers, in terms of population, usually are minimal compared to the larger groups. Thus, both primary and secondary sources can be difficult to acquire. Nevertheless, the study of religious minorities is a profitable and necessary endeavor in order to understand the religious landscape of a given culture. Recently, Donald G. Mathews has stated in *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture*, "We are reminded of other religious moods than evangelical Protestantism before revival."[3] He then went on to define the term "Others," as indicated in the book's subtitle, as connoting "difference (both addressed and ignored), possibility, and God," though often in regards to race.[4] While studying the impact of race in religion is vital, it can also be suggested that historians should channel some energy to the study of religious minority groups, whether pertaining to nationality and ethnicity, or groups such as Mormons, who were often in history misunderstood, at best, or literally harassed, at worst. Fortunately, as Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey have noted, the study of Judaism and Mormonism, "two outsider religions," has become a trend in recent religious historiography.[5]

Despite the fewer adherents that have existed among religious minorities, this trend of the study of "outsider religions" has yielded some excellent historiographical contributions. Abraham J. Peck's "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South" in *Modern Judaism* is especially relevant in providing a context for Roanoke's Jewish population. Peck explains regarding these Southern Jews, "They called themselves Anglo-Normans, rather than Anglo-Saxons, thus ensuring for themselves a revered, if entirely fictitious, connection to the genuine aristocratic Englishmen who now became their forefathers."[6] Evidently, according to Peck, "This status, they hoped, would allow them to gain acceptance among their non-Jewish peers as 'southern gentlemen,' and would open the doors to full religious and economic tolerance."[7] The social and economic situation gradually progressed for Southern Jews until the aftermath of the Civil War instituted a massive regression in these respects, spurring on anti-Semitism in some, though not all, regions in the South.[8] Samuel S. Hill, Jr., however, has demonstrated how more moderate views of religious toleration among the Jews existed in the South. He stated, "By and large the Jewish presence has been tolerated; but an authentic pluralism would have generated some kind of dialogue. Also, a condescending spirit has been evident in the way in which the social majority has regarded Jews as quaint, as curiosities, as delightful intruders."[9] Mormon history has also been given tremendous scholarly treatment as of late. Patrick Q. Mason's *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* shows just how far some Southerners went to curtail the growth of what can be called an authentically American-formed religion. The reasoning of those who distrusted Mormonism often did so on grounds of preventing polygamy, which had been linked to Mormon beliefs even past the

Postbellum Era.[10] In Roanoke as well, similar themes found in the broad range of historiography regarding religious minorities can be seen. But fresh understandings of what it meant to be in a religious minority group—Jews, Mormons, Lebanese Catholics, and others—in a boomtown can also be evident.

Historical Origins of Roanoke's "Others"

Roanoke's religious minorities all had slightly different paths in how they eventually arrived in the Magic City and the surrounding Roanoke Valley. As noted above, Jews in the South sometimes faced bitter antagonism, even violence from the Ku Klux Klan in some regions. However, Virginians tended to be much more accommodating. In Petersburg, for example, "Christian friends" aided their Jewish neighbors by helping them build the city's first synagogue.[11] By 1889, there were eighteen Jewish families that helped organize the first Hebrew congregation, and then at the turn of the century, over forty Jewish families had come to the Magic City.[12] Many had left Europe and come to America, having lived in New York City, or more often in Baltimore, before traveling south via railroad to Roanoke in order to hopefully set up a successful business in the boomtown.[13] Mormons were another religious minority that attempted to integrate into the Roanoke Valley, though attained much less success. For two decades leading up to the birth of the Magic City, Mormons had been trying to win converts via missionary work in the more mountainous regions of Roanoke County.[14] Enduring a rugged environment, Mormons gained their first converts by 1888, and attempted to spread into neighboring Salem, before finally reaching Roanoke City with a viable congregation shortly before World War II.[15] During the founding era, however, many of Roanoke's residents seemed to oppose this unfamiliar religious institution.

There were several small religious institutions that had formed churches and organizations in Roanoke by the end of the founding era, but the Lebanese Catholics, sometimes dubbed as "Syrians" by locals, were one of the most persistent and intriguing groups.[16] According to a local Lebanese historian, "From tiny seedlings tucked in cedar cones, mighty Cedars of Lebanon grow, and so it is with St. Elias Maronite Catholic Church."[17] The Lebanese had been under Turkish rule during the founding era, and counted the cost of fleeing their homeland, ironically not far north of the original "Hebron," to migrate to America, where it was hoped they could find freedom and a better life.[18] When these Lebanese immigrants arrived at Ellis Island, and at the recommendation of officials, many headed to where railroads would take them, whether shipping ports, or in the case of Roanoke to industrial cities.[19] When letters were sent back to Lebanon, the Lebanese recipients would possibly have read, "Roanoke is like Lebanon—a beautiful valley surrounded by mountains."[20] Although the Lebanese faced discrimination and financial challenges, in comparison to Ottoman rule, the Magic City was their "Hebron."

Denominationalism

Roanoke's Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese each possessed religious distinctions pertaining to their own followers. Although the Jewish population may not have reached the dominance of some Baptist or Presbyterian churches in Roanoke, Magic City's Jews eventually underwent a schism that would divide them into two groups. This split occurred in 1902, when those who wished to retain a more conservative form of Judaism adopted the name, Beth Jacob, and later renamed Beth Israel, while those who preferred "reform" Judaism created Temple Emanuel, with most of latter group being from

Germany.[21] Regardless, both conservative and reform Jews practiced their faith with diligence. Many of Roanoke's Jews owned personal businesses, but would close for special days, such as Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, for a full twenty-four hours.[22] Many Jewish families clustered together in the same communities, perhaps to form a societal bond, but the location of these neighborhoods is even more telling. According to a local historian of the Jewish population, Roanoke's Jews wanted to live near their synagogue "so they would not have to ride on the Sabbath."[23] Steadfast in convictions over particular forms of Judaism, members of Beth Israel and Temple Emanuel helped created a rather prolific Jewish community in the Magic City.

Although Roanoke might have been viewed as a "Hebron" to numerous religious groups during the founding era, Mormons seemed to have faced unparalleled opposition in the Roanoke Valley. When Mormons held a state conference at a church in Roanoke County, between Salem and Bent Mountain, there were about 200 people that attended, but as *The Roanoke Daily Times* reported, "Constable Blackwell was on hand to prevent any rioting or trouble."[24] While this was unusual for a religious event in Roanoke, such measures were not taken without a precipitated influence. Shortly before the conference, a noteworthy scuffle occurred between a Protestant Christian minister, Rev. B. H. McPherson, and a small group of Mormons. After witnessing the proselytizing efforts of Mormons for months, McPherson, an outspoken critic of Mormonism, entered an afternoon Mormon meeting at a small, union church. It was recorded, "Just before the services were to commence, two of the mountaineers in sympathy with the Mormons, entered the church, which is a union one, and forcibly ejected Mr. McPherson, being prevented from seriously injuring him only by the interference of the Mormon elder."[25]

Later on in that same summer, a correspondent in Salem lamented regarding the region of Back Creek, further west of Roanoke, "We are sorry to write that the Mormons are meeting with some success here."[26] The following year, Mormons made more attempts to gain a hearing in Salem, once preaching at the town hall. Interestingly, out of all possible criticisms, *The Roanoke Times* noted that the people of Salem were not sympathetic to Mormonism's "theory of salvation."[27] And yet, a striking report came from the small town of Independence, several miles southwest of Roanoke, that "the doctrines supported by them were quite similar to those held by the Primitive Baptist Church."[28] That same Primitive Baptist Church had even hosted the small group of Mormons, which was truly uncommon.[29] Overall, in the eyes of many of Roanoke's citizens, Mormons held peculiar beliefs, which seemed to stymie Mormon growth during the founding era due to the social pushback.

Roanoke's Lebanese Catholics shared nearly identical theological views with fellow members of St. Andrew's Catholic Church, but there are also distinct denominational features to consider, particularly in regards to their ethnic identity. The Lebanese attended the liturgies at St. Andrew's during the founding years of the Magic City, but there are also records of early Lebanese modes of Catholicism. St. Andrew's archives included records from 1913 regarding baptisms of Lebanese Catholics, written in Arabic by one of the great early leaders of the Lebanese Catholics, the "missionary priest," Father Rabil.[30] Born in Lebanon, Father Rabil first ministered in Goldboro, North Carolina, before coming to Roanoke, where he was then asked to establish a Maronite Catholic Church in 1916.[31] Totaling about 250 people at that time, the Lebanese Catholics had a sizeable group to come out of St. Andrew's.[32] As Maronites, they possess

a unique historical lineage that leads back to Saint Maron as their patron saint, a Syriac Christian whose followers settled in Lebanon.[33] Somewhat monastic in focus, the Maronite Catholics of Roanoke were similar to other religious minorities, in that they were ethnically distinct from the majority of Roanoke's population, and not completely identical to Catholics of St. Andrew's either. They were, to put the matter plainly, "Others."

New South and Sectionalism

The Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese of Roanoke faced a challenging social context in the New South, in light of a sectionalist history. Peck has stated, "In the South, the growth of B'nai B'rith, whose humanitarian characteristics emerged after the Civil War as a kind of 'secular synagogue,' allowed Jewish lodges in nearly every southern Jewish community to offer Jews an alternative to synagogue affiliation and active religious observance."[34] However, Beth Israel's chapter of B'nai B'rith was not organized until 1923.[35] Thus, Roanoke's Jews likely found greater acceptance into the New South by integrating into the boomtown's identity of being a center for business. Mormons, however, are often known for their prominence in the American West rather than the South, and as the Southern Mormon historiography has elsewhere shown, very few Protestants and Catholics were willing to tolerate them. Rev. W. Y. Quisenberry, a Baptist missionary in Tennessee, spoke at a Richmond meeting to warn fellow members of his denomination, "[Mormons] were men of consecration, taste, culture, and energy and were making large inroads into the Baptist ranks."[36] Evidently, these Mormons possessed qualities that even Southern Baptists could concede as appealing. Rather than traveling from the American West, the Lebanese had come from the opposite direction,

crossing the Atlantic to set up a new life. Having "just enough English to do business and 'get by,'" the Arabic-speaking Lebanese were far from being stereotypical Southerners.[37] Nevertheless, many brought their families with them, so while their children knew Arabic as well, the second generation of immigrants became more accustomed to a bilingual lifestyle of also learning English.[38] Furthermore, Roanoke's Lebanese lived in poorer areas, and often in black neighborhoods.[39] In the Jim Crow South, Lebanese were often told their skin was too "dark," and thus, were often marginalized and disallowed from certain venues, similarly to African Americans.[40] Later into the twentieth century, one Lebanese recollected, "We also rode at the back of the bus."[41] The religious minorities of Roanoke—Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese Catholics—had come from different parts to take up residence in the Magic City. Jews and Lebanese, though marginalized in many ways, tended to find acceptance among the Protestant majority more successfully than the Mormons, who generally did not offer much of an economic contribution to the boomtown, focusing almost solely on missions work. Meanwhile, the Jews and Lebanese helped shape the business culture and success of the city.

Progressivism and Economics

That Jewish businesses opened up in Roanoke was not necessarily unusual for a Southern city. According to Peck, "[B]y 1880 no town or village was without a Jewish business."[42] By observing the early history of the Jews in Roanoke, Peck's supposition can be substantiated with greater specificity. Rather than focusing on one type of industry, as many Catholics tended to work for the Roanoke Machine Works and the railroad industry, Roanoke's Jews made their livings from a variety of businesses.[43] Some worked in real estate, which included the successful, Phoenix Land Company.[44] This

company "also formed the Crescent Club and held an elaborate opening with a grand inaugural ball in upstairs rooms on Campbell Avenue."[45] Many other Jews owned storefront shops. Along one street alone, there were six shops owned by Jews which, according to one writer, "They had to have…open before the N&W employees went to work, in case they needed some clothing, and then the weekends when the farmers would come in, they would stay open until after the farmers sold their wares and were ready to leave, then they would come shopping late at night on Saturday night."[46] Stores ranged from selling clothing, to jewelry, as well as to soda, ice cream, and cigar shops.[47] Likewise, while members of Beth Israel and Temple Emanuel would attend separate synagogues, they would often mingle together at these many shops, free from any sense of division.[48] Roanoke's Jews, therefore, were directly responsible for numerous businesses, which supplied the growing population of the Magic City with many resources, and often thrived while doing so.

Mormons had a tough time at making inroads into the urban areas of the Roanoke Valley, and thus, were often scattered in rural regions away from many of the larger industries. However, *The Roanoke Daily Times* recorded a time of when "Eliason, the Mormon Wizard," an illusionist, came to the Magic City. Despite a dismally small crowd, the newspaper proudly announced, "The show was a clever one from beginning to finish, and deserved a full house. To the lovers of the mysterious and the occult there was enough in the five act performance of last night to have pleased the most fastidious."[49] The reviewer then concluded, "That the performance Eliason gives is a thoroughly first-class one is evident from the fact that he plays a return date this week in the city of Richmond."[50] In general, though, Mormons had centered their activities strictly on

religious interests in missionary work. Being that the Magic City was a boomtown, perhaps Roanoke's citizens would have been more keen on accepting this religious minority group had they attempted to establish businesses in addition to churches. At the same time, Mormons would possibly have been pushed away before they could start due to the ambivalence many prejudicially possessed against them.

The Lebanese, meanwhile, followed a route similar to the Jews of Roanoke in establishing businesses to enable their livelihood and to gain credibility among the Southern Americans in the Magic City. The Roanoke Fruit & Produce Company was one of the most prolific Lebanese businesses. Established in 1910 by Melhem Najjum's family, and still retained by the same family to the time of this writing, it has been one of the most recognizable businesses in Roanoke for over a century. According to a writer from *The Roanoke Times*, "[Melhem Najjum] had pride in his work, and he was not a quitter. The Najjums have always been able to fall back on that same pride, not to mention generations of experience."[51] The historian of St. Elias Maronite Church also wrote, "Early Lebanese immigrants brought excellent work ethics with them to the United States. Some continued working as they did in their homeland, while others diversified. They were peddlers, taking their wares to outlying areas; they also opened dry good stores, and confectioneries. Some took jobs in industry. They worked and lived close, each being supportive of the other."[52] World War I was accompanied by a famine in Lebanon, and to counteract their homeland's great distresses, some of Roanoke's Lebanese formed committees to assist the Lebanese back in their original home country, which was supplemented by the resources of "other citizens of Roanoke."[53] Thus, while Roanoke served as a "Hebron" to the Lebanese and offered the hope of potentially

successful business operations, they were still sometimes seen as "Others" from a distant land.

Gender & Families

When migrants had come to Roanoke, whether Jewish, Lebanese, or otherwise, many arrived to the Magic City with their families. Genealogical lineage was not simply a matter of importance to the generations of the Hebrew patriarchs, as much of the records for Roanoke's Jews are based around family names, such as the Rosenbergs, Schlossbergs, and Weinsteins.[54] As the old proverb declared, "A good name is to be chosen rather than great riches."[55] Mormons, meanwhile, faced a lot of opposition on the basis of family identity. In particular, Roanoke's residents were guilty of hysteria when it came to the alleged rampancy of polygamy, despite no evidence existing that would suggest the Mormons in Roanoke were polygamous.[56] One writer warned his fellow Virginians in reference to the Mormons in Utah, "[T]he women converts are married to elders, who, in most cases have three or four wives already, and if they offer the slightest resistance they are flogged or otherwise punished until they submit."[57] Although the Lebanese may not have been as antagonized as the Mormons, they certainly were viewed with suspicion, both men and women. Out of all the historical contributions the Lebanese made, the conflicts between the "Syrians" were often the most highlighted. As one writer recorded, "Now and then fights broke out, usually between expatriates and different villages. Men and women joined battle but most of it consisted of violent expletives and ferocious gestures."[58] For most of Roanoke's Lebanese population, however, such an extreme instance was hardly the norm. Mostly, the Lebanese had come to Roanoke "to have a business, make a home, and raise a family," as well as to find religious freedom.[59]

The Magic City was a "Hebron" for many families, including some religious minorities, even if it was not necessarily a utopia and free from prejudice.

Conclusion

Roanoke's Jews, Mormons, and Lebanese undoubtedly faced greater obstacles than Protestants and most Catholics in establishing themselves in the Magic City. While the study of religious minorities could certainly attract more attention from historians, the example of Roanoke offers some valuable insights. First of all, not all religious minorities were treated with equal receptiveness. The Jews seemed to receive the warmest accommodations, which stands in stark contrast with other parts of the South, where Jews were sometimes even acted against violently. Meanwhile, the Lebanese Catholics were much more frequently criticized and viewed with wariness, but still managed to find moderate acceptance in Roanoke, especially as their businesses succeeded. However, the Mormons were by far the most unwelcomed religious minority. Secondly, the correlation between Roanoke as a boomtown and the attraction to the Jews and Lebanese, who were mostly immigrants, stands in noticeable contrast with the Mormons, who were mostly, if not entirely, born and raised in the United States. Even in a Southern city, among the religious minorities, it was immigrants that stood a better chance at gaining credibility among the people of Roanoke. One of the most important reasons that this seemed to be the case centered on the power of religion in Roanoke during the founding years, that although Jews and Lebanese Catholics were tolerable, Mormonism never could find a hearing. And thus, the power of religion among minority groups likewise demonstrates the axiological nature of the soul of the Magic City.

CONCLUSION

Although similarities can be found among some of the different religious institutions of Roanoke from 1882 to 1914, when each denomination's history is analyzed, complexity and diversity are clearly evident. Episcopalians, with their two main congregations, have a history that highlights an attitude of cultural sophistication, but also struggle. Like the children of Israel, they were exhorted to "go forward." Baptists possessed a zealous spirit to, quite literally, baptize the Magic City. In due time, their efforts were rewarded, leading to their eventual religious dominance. Roanoke's Brethren displayed quite a bit of variety within their own history, from the ultra strict, Old German Baptist Brethren, to the accommodatingly modern United Brethren, with the Church of the Brethren somewhere in between. The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) of Roanoke manifested an intriguingly paradoxical history of being ancient, yet modern; anti-creedal, yet distinctive in beliefs; biracial, yet segregated. Putting aside the traveling ministries of Francis Asbury's era, Methodists made every effort to "save souls" in the Magic City. Education and evangelism resonated most effectively with Presbyterians, both black and white, who retained the closest ties between the races compared to any other denomination in Roanoke. Lutherans may not have had the most adherents or congregations in the Magic City, and unlike their national trends of consisting of many immigrants, it was the Lutherans that retained a strong, local, and elite presence in the community. Catholics concentrated themselves mainly in one region of Roanoke, which allowed them to create a distinct culture and form powerful, social bonds. Roanoke's "Others" experienced challenges unique to each religious minority group, but likewise, each also made particular contributions to the growth of the Magic City, with some being

more successful than others. Undoubtedly, much more could be said regarding the different religious institutions of Roanoke, and in how they exemplify complexity and diversity. But suffice it to say that religion in Roanoke during the founding era of the Magic City was not homogenous.

When a large portion of Roanoke's Protestant pastors met for a minister's conference, one of the clergymen issued the following prayer:

> That all in authority may recognize their responsibility to God; that laws may be enforced; that class and race antipathies and persecutions may cease; that the liquor, opium and slave traffic may be abolished; that drunkenness, impurity and gambling may cease; that the relations of capital and labor may be brought under the law of Christ; that the "making haste to be rich" and the love of luxury may be arrested; that all needed reforms may be advanced; that the Columbian Exposition may be sanctified to the promotion of the Kingdom of Christ.[1]

Roanoke's Protestant ministers would likely have been able to say "amen" to these pleas for God's supplication. But when they returned back to their own pulpits, there is little doubt that each pastor would lead their congregation in a way unique to their denominations. Roanoke's Catholics and "Others" were obviously distinct in that they did not share the same foundational tenets of Protestantism, but socially, they also demonstrated uniqueness in the Magic City. Perhaps scholars will continue the discussion of denominational distinctiveness and its impact in the growth and formation of Southern cities, particularly in comparison to other boomtowns, whether in the Progressive Era or from another time period. Roanoke's religious institutions, whether Protestants, Catholics, or "Others," from 1882 to 1914 had contributed in powerful and particular ways to the growth and development of the boomtown. Indeed, they helped lead the way in the social makeup of Roanoke as they operated as the soul of Magic City. The

denominations made the boomtown a Hebron of hope and assurance in a time of bewildering change.

APPENDIX

List of Roanoke City Churches (1915)

Source information: the following chart was based on the information given in the Roanoke City Directory of 1915.[1] This list does *not* include the churches from Roanoke County, nor surrounding towns, which have been cited in this research.

Baptists [14][2]	Belmont, Calvary, First (colored), First (white), High Street, Hill Street, Jefferson Street, Jerusalem, Maple Street, Melrose, Mt. Zion, Primitive (colored), Primitive (white), Sweet Union
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) [2]	First Christian Church, Church of Christ (colored)
Episcopalians [2]	Christ Episcopal, St. John's
Brethren [3]	Church of the Brethren (Roanoke), United Brethren (Hott Bishop Memorial), Progressive Brethren
Jews [2]	Beth Israel, Temple Emanuel
Lutherans [1]	St. Mark's
Methodists [11]	Belmont, First, Grace, Greene Memorial, Melrose, Mt. Olivet, Mt. Zion AME, St. Luke's, St. Paul's, Trinity, West End
Presbyterians [5]	Fifth Avenue, First, St. Paul's Reformed, Second, West End
Catholics [1]	St. Andrew's
"Undenominational" [6]	Apostolic Holiness, Christian Science Society, Church of God and Saints of Christ, Pentecost of the Holiness Church, Salvation Army, Union Gospel Mission

NOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

[1] Rev. W. C. Campbell, "The Churches of Roanoke" in *The Virginia Realtor* (The Virginia Real Estate Association), September 1926, 23.

[2] Samuel C. Shepherd Jr., *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900-1929* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2001), 2.

[3] See especially Beth Barton Schweiger, *The Gospel Working Up: Progress and the Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 177-178.

[4] Samuel S. Hill, Jr., "The Strange Case of Religious Pluralism in the South" *The Bulletin of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion* 4:2 (July 1980), 18.

[5] John B. Boles in "Forum: Southern Religion" *Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture* 8:2 (Summer 1998), 177.

[6] Samuel S. Hill, Jr. in Ibid., 158.

[7] Wayne Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2016), 7.

[8] Frances Fitzgerald, *The Evangelicals: The Struggle to Shape America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2017), 3.

[9] Donald G. Mathews, "'We Have Left Undone Those Things Which We Ought to Have Done': Southern Religious History in Retrospect and Prospect" *Church History* 67:2 (June 1998), 317.

[10] Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey, "Everywhere and Nowhere: Recent Trends in American Religious History and Historiography." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 78:1 (March 2010), 130.

[11] Keith Harper, ed., *American Denominational History: Perspectives of the Past, Prospects for the Future* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 4.

[12] Richard E. Wentz, "Denominationalism" in Gary Laderman and Luis León, eds., *Religion and American Cultures: An Encyclopedia of Traditions, Diversity, and Popular Expressions, Volume 1* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2003), 321.

[13] Ibid., 323.

[14] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 1.

[15] John Lee Eighmy, "Religious Liberalism in the South During the Progressive Era" *Church History* 38:3 (September 1969), 359-372; Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century*, 55-56. See also Dewey W. Grantham, "The Contours of Southern Progressivism." *The American Historical Review* 86:5 (December 1981), 1035-1059.

[16] Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century*, 56.

[17] Lynn Lyerly, "Women and Southern Religion" in Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 248.

[18] *The Roanoke Times*, November 8, 1891, 3.

Chapter 2

[1] Thomas F. Rzeznik, "'Representatives of All That is Noble': The Rise of the Episcopal Establishment in Early-Twentieth-Century Philadelphia" *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 19:1 (Winter 2009), 89.

[2] On the Episcopal Church's appeal to the gentry, see Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade, *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 197.

[3] Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 279.

[4] Diana Hochstedt Butler, *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 233-234.

[5] Thomas F. Rzeznik, "'Representatives of All That is Noble': The Rise of the Episcopal Establishment in Early-Twentieth-Century Philadelphia;" Peter W. Williams, "The Gospel of Wealth and the Gospel of Art: Episcopalians and Cultural Philanthropy from the Gilded Age to the Depression" *Anglican and Episcopal History* 75:2 (June 2006).

[6] Walter B. Posey, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation" *The Journal of Southern History* 25:1 (February 1959), 30.

[7] Clare White, *St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia* (Roanoke: St. John's Episcopal Church, 1992), 1-2.

[8] Ibid.,16.

[9] Quoted in Ibid., 54.

[10] Christ Episcopal Church, *Golden Jubilee: 1892-1942* (Roanoke: Christ Episcopal Church, 1942), 1.

[11] *The Roanoke Times*, June 26, 1897, 5.

[12] *The Roanoke Times*, June 13, 1897, 2.

[13] This choirmaster's name was Peter C. Leary. White, *St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia*, 104-105; *The Roanoke Times*, December 30, 1892, 2.

[14] *The Roanoke Times*, November 29, 1893, 4.

[15] *The Roanoke Times*, April 22, 1894, 4.

[16] Walter B. Posey, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation," 15-16.

[17] Mark F. Miller, *"Dear Old Roanoke": A Sesquicentennial Portrait, 1842-1992* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1992), 89.

[18] *The Roanoke Times*, February 25, 1893, 1.

[19] *The Roanoke Times*, February 7, 1897, 3.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Posey, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation," 30.

[22] Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), 35.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Christ Episcopal Church, *Golden Jubilee*, 6.

[25] Katharine L. Brown, *Hills of the Lord* (Roanoke: The Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, 1979), 98.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] White, *St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia*, 109.

[29] Quoted in Ibid., 110.

[30] Ibid. Another mission congregation had also been founded—St. Peter's Chapel—but it struggled to make ends meet. See Ibid., 109-110.

[31] Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920*), 161.

[32] Katharine L. Brown, *Hills of the Lord*, 87.

[33] Ibid., 108.

[34] White, *St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia*, 80.

[35] After these troublesome years, Dr. Meade of St. John's did resign in 1899, but not before leading the church through many of its major economic strains. Ibid., 83-86, 90.

[36] Christ Episcopal Church, *Golden Jubilee: 1892-1942*, 4.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 4-6.

[39] Ibid., 6.

[40] Rzeznik, "'Representatives of All That is Noble': The Rise of the Episcopal Establishment in Early-Twentieth-Century Philadelphia," 76.

[41] Williams, "The Gospel of Wealth and the Gospel of Art: Episcopalians and Cultural Philanthropy from the Gilded Age to the Depression," 220.

[42] *The Roanoke Times*, April 29, 1894, 4.

[43] *The Roanoke Times*, March 28, 1893, 1.

[44] *The Roanoke Times*, September 11, 1892, 4.

[45] *The Roanoke Times*, January 28, 1894, 4.

[46] Brown, *Hills of the Lord*, 96.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *The Roanoke Times*, February 1, 1898, 4; August 15, 1897, 5; October 5, 1893, 8.

[49] *The Roanoke Times*, May 19, 1897, 5; March 24, 1893, 5.

[50] *The Roanoke Times*, June 15, 1897, 5; November 15, 1891, 4.

[51] Quoted in White, *St. John's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia*, 48.

[52] Williams, "The Gospel of Wealth and the Gospel of Art: Episcopalians and Cultural Philanthropy from the Gilded Age to the Depression," 222.

[53] *The Roanoke Times*, March 1, 1891, 4; May 17, 1891, 2.

[54] *The Roanoke Times*, March 23, 1897, 5.

[55] See also Posey, "The Protestant Episcopal Church: An American Adaptation," 19.

Chapter 3

[1] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, Printers, 1955), 1.

[2] "Roanoke city, Virginia (VA) Religion Statistics Profile – Roanoke." City-Data.com. Accessed July 25, 2016 http://www.city-data.com/county/religion/Roanoke-city-VA.html.

[3] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 7.

[4] Rand Dotson, *Magic City of the New South: Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), xv.

[5] Charles Lewis Cocke, "To the Ladies of the Valley Association," August 14, 1873. "Writings (Series IV)." Baptist Associations & Organizations, Box List. Hollins University Wyndham Robertson Library.

[6] Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 12. See also Paul Harvey, "The Ideal of Professionalism and the White Southern Baptist Ministry, 1870-1920" *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 5:1 (Winter 1995), 99-123.

[7] Craig A. Sherouse, "Toward a Twentieth-Century Baptist Identity in North America: Insights from the Baptist Congresses, 1881-1913" *Baptist History & Heritage* 47:3 (Fall 2012), 76-90. Andrew Smith, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: H. Boyce Taylor, Faith Missions, and the Relationship Between Landmarkism and Fundamentalism in Southern Baptist Life" *Baptist History & Heritage* 49:3 (Fall 2014), 102-109.

[8] Keith Harper, *The Quality of Mercy: Southern Baptists and Social Christianity, 1890-1920* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996), 11.

[9] J. Michael Raley, "'On the Same Basis as the Men': The Campaign to Reinstate Women as Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention, 1885-1918," *Journal of Southern Religion* 7 (2004).

[10] "Charles Lewis Cocke" (1846). *Hollins University Presidents.* Paper 1. Accessed July 26, 2016. http://digitalcommons.hollins.edu/presidents/1.

[11] George Braxton Taylor, *Virginia Baptist Ministers, Fourth Series* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Company, Inc., 1913), 402.

[12] Ibid.

[13] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 3-4.

[14] Fred Anderson, *Across the Years: A History of the First Baptist Church of Roanoke, Virginia, 1875-2000* (Roanoke: First Baptist Church of Roanoke, Virginia, 2000), 17.

[15] Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke* (Radford: Commonwealth Press, 1968), 366-367; William McCauley, *History of Roanoke County, Salem, Roanoke City Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1902), 257.

[16] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 13.

[17] Ibid., 11.

[18] Anderson, *Across the Years*, 34.

[19] Ibid., 50-51.

[20] Dotson, Magic City of the New South, 111.

[21] Reginald Shareef, *The Roanoke Valley's African American Heritage: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1996), 74-75.

[22] *The Roanoke Times* (November 10, 1891), 3.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Anderson, *Across the Years*, 5-8.

[25] Strawberry Baptist Association, *The Early Trails of the Baptists: A History of the Strawberry Baptist Association, 1776-1976* (Bedford: Strawberry Baptist Association, 1976), 58.

[26] Anderson, *Across the Years*, 14.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Peter Randolph, *From Slave Cabin to the Pulpit: The Autobiography of Rev. Peter Randolph* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1893), 96.

[29] *The Roanoke Times* (August 2, 1892), 6. Later, Park Street Baptist Church was renamed Hill Street Baptist Church.

[30] Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 451.

[31] Primitive Baptists seemed to have gained a greater following in nearby Franklin County.

[32] Charles Lewis Cocke, "To the Baptists of Virginia." "Writings (Series IV)." Baptist Associations & Organizations, Box List. Hollins University Wyndham Robertson Library, 2.

[33] The original, hand-written note underlined the phrase, "both for the morning and evening," but was changed in the quoted text to italics for stylistic reasons. Charles Lewis Cocke, "Letter form Christiansburg Methodist Church Asking For a Baptist Minister." "Writings (Series IV)." Baptist Associations & Organizations, Box List. Hollins University Wyndham Robertson Library.

[34] W. C. Campbell, "The Churches of Roanoke" in *The Virginia Realtor* (The Virginia Real Estate Association), September 1926, 23.

[35] Quoted in Anderson, *Across the Years*, 40.

[36] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), 34.

[37] Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 11-12.

[38] *The Roanoke Times* (May 14, 1895), 1.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Charles Lewis Cocke, "Here I Stand" *Religious Herald* 63:27 (July 3, 1890).

[41] Charles Lewis Cocke, "To Baptist Laymen" *Religious Herald* 63:12 (March 20, 1890).

[42] Shareef, *The Roanoke Valley's African American Heritage*, 11.

[43] "Brutal Attempt of a Negro," *The Roanoke Times* (February 10, 1892), 1.

[44] Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912*, 242; *The Roanoke Times* (February 13, 1892), 1.

[45] Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 246.

[46] *The Roanoke Times* (February 19, 1892), 1.

[47] "Peace and Quiet Restored After a Horrible Deed Was Done," *The Roanoke Times* (September 22, 1893), 1.

[48] Ann Field Alexander, "'Like an Evil Wind': The Roanoke Riot of 1893 and the Lynching of Thomas Smith," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 100:2 (April 1992), 174.

[49] "Views of Colored Ministers," *The Roanoke Times* (December 30, 1890), 5.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Charles Lewis Cocke, *The Duties and Responsibilities of Young Baptist Laymen: An Address, Delivered at the Late Meeting of the Baptist Laymen's Union of Virginia, Held in Suffolk, February 8th, 1888* (Lynchburg: Liggan & Holt, Steam Power Printers, 1888), 7.

[52] Virginia Writers' Project, *The Negro in Virginia* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1994), 278.

[53] High Street Baptist Church attempted to organize the Virginia Negro Orphanage Society to help Roanoke's black orphans, but it appears that the plans never materialized, perhaps due to funding. See *The Roanoke Times* (October 4, 1893), 5.

[54] Deedie Dent Kagey, *When Past is Prologue: A History of Roanoke County* (Roanoke: Roanoke County Sesquicentennial Committee, 1988), 265.

[55] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 16.

[56] Ibid., 129.

[57] Luther R. Vann, *A History of Red Hill Baptist Church of the Roanoke Valley Baptist Association (Roanoke, Virginia.* Roanoke: Red Hill Baptist Church, 1979), 1.

[58] Ibid., 10.

[59] Allen W. Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925* (Charlottesville, The University of Virginia Press, 1968), 309-310.

[60] Ibid., 310.

[61] *The Roanoke Times* (December 20, 1892), 1; *The Roanoke Times* (September 6, 1895), 5.

[62] Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912*, 211.

[63] Ibid., 214-217.

[64] One of the earliest women's Sunday school classes at First Baptist Church was the Philathea class, which was composed of seven young women. First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 129.

[65] Ibid., 135; *The Roanoke Times* (June 3, 1892), 8; *The Roanoke Times* (March 2, 1893), 8; *The Roanoke Times* (April 8, 1893), 8; *The Roanoke Times* (December 14, 1893), 1.

[66] First Baptist Church, *Adventure in Faith*, 136.

[67] Shareef, *The Roanoke Valley's African American Heritage*, 74.

[68] Charles Lewis Cocke, "To Baptist Laymen."

[69] Charles Lewis Cocke, "Prof. C. L. Cocke, LL. D., Discusses Hollins Institute and the Higher Education of Women" *Religious Herald* 63:32 (August 7, 1890).

[70] Ibid.

[71] *The Roanoke Times* (November 9, 1893), 1.

[72] Leonard Gaston Broughton, *Ups and Downs of Youth; or, Lessons from the Prodigal Son. A Series of Practical Talks Delivered in the Calvary Baptist Church, Roanoke, Virginia* (Baltimore: Wharton & Barron, 1896).

[73] *The Roanoke Times* (October 31, 1891), 3; *The Roanoke Times* (April 24, 1894), 5.

[74] Mill Creek Baptist Church of nearby Botetourt County even warned parents that they would be liable for church discipline if they neglected to "cultivate family worship." Mill Creek Baptist Church, *Mill Creek Baptist Church: History, 1804-1979* (Botetourt County: Mill Creek Baptist Church, 1979), 4.

[75] *The Roanoke Times* (September 27, 1892), 2.

[76] Anderson, *Across the Years*, 66.

[77] Cocke, *The Duties and Responsibilities of Young Baptist Laymen: An Address, Delivered at the Late Meeting of the Baptist Laymen's Union of Virginia, Held in Suffolk, February 8th, 1888*, 1.

Chapter 4

[1] Mary Anne Rader Obenshain, Virginia Kinzie Visser, Phyllis Rader Woodie, and Pastor Chris Foster, *Troutville Church of the Brethren* (Troutville: Troutville Church of the Brethren, n.d.), 74. [Sermon by Elder Jonas Graybill, preached on his 85th birthday, Nov. 18, 1923, at Troutville, VA]

[2] Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, revised by Samuel S. Hill (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 83.

[3] Donald F. Durnbaugh, "A Study of Brethren Historiography." *Ashland Theological Journal* 8 (1975), 4.

[4] Ibid., 11.

[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] Carl F. Bowman, *Brethren Society: The Cultural Transformation of a "Peculiar People"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 96.

[7] Those who ended up in Virginia likely first came from Pennsylvania as their point of origin. See Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia: The History of the Church of the Brethren in Virginia* (Harrisonburg: The Committee for Brethren History in Virginia, 1973), 7.

[8] Bowman, *Brethren Society*, 8.

[9] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 44; Gertrude Blair, *Some Churches of Roanoke*, Volume 1, Part 1, (Roanoke: Works Progress Administration, 1941), 39.

[10] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 113.

[11] *The Roanoke Times*, April 13, 1892, 3.

[12] Charles D. Thompson Jr., *The Old German Baptist Brethren: Faith, Farming, and Change in the Virginia Blue Ridge* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 28.

[13] Ibid., xix.

[14] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 199.

[15] Quoted in Bowman, *Brethren Society*, 137.

[16] Quoted in Ibid., 137-138.

[17] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 156.

[18] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 16, 1896, 5.

[19] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 21, 1896, 5.

[20] *The Roanoke Times*, July 24, 1894, 5.

[21] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 26, 1895, 5.

[22] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 9, 1895, 5.

[23] *The Roanoke Times*, May 16, 1894, 5.

[24] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 8, 1896.

[25] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 22, 1895, 5.

[26] Thompson Jr., *The Old German Baptist Brethren*, 29.

[27] Quoted in Bowman, *Brethren Society*, 187.

[28] Ibid., 192.

[29] *The Roanoke Times*, May 7, 1893, 1.

[30] Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, 87.

[31] Gertrude Blair, *Some Churches of Roanoke*, Volume 1, Part 1, (Roanoke: Works Progress Administration, 1941), 40.

[32] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 445. Specifically, the Church of the Brethren officially forbad their members from owning slaves at the 1797 Annual Meeting. However, the Church reserved the right to dictate to the Brethren slave owner how long this process of liberation would take, so as to not "bankrupt" the slave owner, whether it would take place immediately or gradually. See J. E. Miller, *The Story of Our Church* (Elgin: The Brethren Press, 1941), 73.

[33] German Baptist Brethren of the Zion Hill, *Minutes* (Fincastle: Zion Hill Church, n.d.), 56 [July 1864].

[34] Quoted in Bowman, *Brethren Society*, 172.

[35] German Baptist Brethren of the Zion Hill, *Minutes*, 59.

[36] *The Roanoke Times*, September 21, 1893, 5.

[37] Ora Huston, "The American Negro and the Church of the Brethren." N.d. Cloverdale Church of the Brethren History Room.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia: The History of the Church of the Brethren in Virginia* (Harrisonburg: The Committee for Brethren History in Virginia, 1973), 446.

[40] *The Roanoke Times*, February 18, 1894, 4.

[41] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 1, 1896, 2.

[42] Bowman, *Brethren Society*, 193.

[43] *The Roanoke Times*, June 14, 1895, 5.

[44] Sappington, *The Brethren in Virginia*, 169; Thompson Jr., *The Old German Baptist Brethren*, 29.

[45] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 1, 1896, 1.

[46] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 2, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Times*, May 18, 1894, 5.

[47] *The Roanoke Times*, June 9, 1895, 5.

[48] Mary Anne Rader Obenshain, Virginia Kinzie Visser, Phyllis Rader Woodie, and Pastor Chris Foster, *Troutville Church of the Brethren* (Troutville: Troutville Church of the Brethren, n.d.), 7, 31.

[49] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 20, 1895, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, July 31, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, July 14, 1896, 5.

[50] C. S. Ikenberry, "Historical Sketches of Botetourt Congregation and Daleville Congregation" (Read at the Dedication and Homecoming, September 18, 1949), 7. Manuscript found in the Cloverdale Church of the Brethren History Room.

[51] *The Roanoke Times*, April 26, 1894, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 26, 1895, 5.

[52] Durnbaugh also noted in 1975, "[I]t was only two generations ago that the first surge of Brethren history writing began." Durnbaugh, "A Study of Brethren Historiography," 3.

[53] For the practice of footwashing among the Church of the Brethren, a local church record was consulted: Mary Anne Rader Obenshain, Virginia Kinzie Visser, Phyllis Rader Woodie, and Pastor Chris Foster, *Troutville Church of the Brethren* (Troutville: Troutville Church of the Brethren, n.d.), 25.

[54] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 12, 1896, 5.

Chapter 5

[1] First Christian Church, *First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ): Roanoke, Virginia, 1888-1988: A Century of Love, Caring, and Sharing* (Roanoke: First Christian Church, 1988), n.p.

[2] David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "The Agrarian Myth and the Disciples of Christ in the Nineteenth Century" *Agricultural History* 41:2 (April 1967), 182.

[3] Ibid., 189.

[4] Harrell specifically noted, "Conservative and liberal theological positions, Northern and Southern sectional feeling, urban and rural prejudices, and agricultural and middle-class economic views were all important ingredients in the nineteenth-century fracturing of the movement. Every Disciples periodical and every Disciples minister during these critical years represented not simply a theological position but a describable mixture of one or another of these clashing viewpoints. The twentieth-century Churches of Christ are the spirited offspring of the religious rednecks of the post bellum South." David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ" *The Journal of Southern History* 30:3 (August 1964), 277.

[5] Ibid., 263.

[6] Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975).

[7] Richard T. Hughes, "From Primitive Church to Civil Religion: The Millennial Odyssey of Alexander Campbell" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44:1 (March 1976), 88.

[8] Lawrence A. Q. Burnley, *The Cost of Unity: African-American Agency and Education in the Christian Church, 1865-1914* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2009).

[9] The "Plea" referred to the Disciples' hope for Christian unity. See McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 159.

[10] Technically, Campbell lived in what would eventually be known as Bethany, West Virginia, but at the time, it was part of Virginia.

[11] Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 198.

[12] McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 129.

[13] In fact, several Baptist churches had separated from the Baptist Valley Association from Botetourt, Bath, and Alleghany Counties to convert to the Christian Church. See Henry Jackson Darst, *Ante-bellum Virginia Disciples* (Richmond: Virginia Christian Missionary Society, 1959), 94.

[14] Ibid., 168.

[15] Ibid., 171.

[16] Harrell, "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ," 276.

[17] Darst stated, "Nearly all the Virginia churches seem to have had Negro members." *Ante-bellum Virginia Disciples*, 170; McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, 187.

[18] Darst, *Ante-bellum Virginia Disciples*, 81.

[19] Burnley, *The Cost of Unity*, 208.

[20] Gertrude Blair, *Some Churches of Roanoke, Vol. 1 Part 2* (Roanoke: Virginia's Writers' Project, 1941), 111.

[21] Reginald Shareef, *The Roanoke Valley's African American Heritage: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1996), 96.

[22] First Christian Church, *Golden Anniversary of the First Christian Church, Roanoke, Virginia* (Roanoke: First Christian Church, 1938), 5. Today, Fourth Avenue Christian Church is known as "First Christian Church," and Ninth Avenue Christian Church is known as "Loudon Avenue Christian Church." Other Christian Churches have also arisen since the founding of Roanoke and these churches mentioned.

[23] Darst, *Ante-bellum Virginia Disciples*, 169.

[24] Rodrick Durst states, "This doctrinal schism was a major reason that Baptist gains during this awakening period were not as substantial as that of the Methodists...[W]hile Baptists grew from 16.9% to 20.5%...Methodists went from 2.5% to 34.2% of the total adherents to Christian expressions. Avoidance of the Campbellite-induced split in Baptist churches between 1826 and 1832 would have increased that percentage of Baptists adherents significantly." "'To Answer or Not to Answer': A Case Study on the Emergence of the Stone-Campbell Movement Amongst the Baptist Churches of Kentucky in the 1820s," *Journal for Baptist Theology & Ministry* 3:1 (Spring 2005), 91.

[25] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, April, 27, 1890, 1; *The Roanoke Times*, October 25, 1891, 3; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 15, 1896, 3.

[26] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 27, 1896, 5.

[27] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 3, 1896, 4.

[28] First Christian Church, *First Board Meeting Minutes, 1888-1906*, 184.

[29] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 21, 1896, 3; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 4, 1896, 5.

[30] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 12, 1896, 5.

[31] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 13, 1896, 8. He also gave an address to the "Knights of the Mystic Chain." See *The Roanoke Times*, January 28, 1897, 5.

[32] *The Roanoke Times*, January 11, 1898, 4.

[33] Harrell, "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ," 271.

[34] First Christian Church, *First Board Meeting Minutes, 1888-1906*, 189.

[35] See Richard T. Hughes, "From Primitive Church to Civil Religion: The Millennial Odyssey of Alexander Campbell" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44:1 (March 1976).

[36] Harrell, "The Agrarian Myth and the Disciples of Christ in the Nineteenth Century," 187.

[37] Alexander Campbell, *Popular Lectures and Addresses* (Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, 1863), 44.

[38] Harrell, "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ," 265.

[39] Hap Lyda, "A History of Black Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) in the United States Through 1899" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1972), 174.

[40] Ibid., 175.

[41] Isaac M. Warren, *Our Colored People* (Roanoke: Federal Writers' Project, 1941), 26.

[42] Paul Harvey, *Redeeming the South: Religious Cultures and Racial Identities Among Southern Baptists, 1865-1925* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 12.

[43] By 1941, the number of members in Ninth Avenue Christian Church had grown to 200. Warren, *Our Colored People*, 26.

[44] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 7, 1896, 5;*The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 20, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Times*, February 13, 1898, 7.

[45] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, April 4, 1896, 5.

[46] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, June 9, 1896, 8.

[47] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 20, 1896, 5.

[48] *The Roanoke Times*, November 13, 1891, 1. It is important to point out the ramifications this event had on the eventual division of the liberals and conservatives in the Disciples of Christ movement. Harrell has discussed the difficulty in terminology among the "Disciples of Christ" and "Church of Christ" distinction, by saying, "Actually, in both North and South all of the three names—*Disciples of Christ*, *Christian Church* and *Churches of Christ*—are still used by both conservatives and liberals. In this study, the name *Churches of Christ* is used exclusively to denote the anti-instrumental-music conservatives. The term *Christian Church* is used to describe the Northern liberals. The name *Disciples of Christ* is most useful to describe the entire nebulous movement, although occasionally it appears as the official title of the liberal church." Harrell, Jr., "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ" *The Journal of Southern History* 30:3 (August 1964), 262-263 (Footnote 2).

[49] By September 8, 1896, forty "additions to the [Fourth Avenue Christian] church" had been made since the beginning of the year, assumedly linked to the great efforts of the Christian Endeavor Society. See *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 8, 1896, 5.

[50] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 10, 1896, 5.

[51] *The Roanoke Times*, July 5, 1895, 5.

[52] *The Roanoke Times*, March 13, 1897, 4. It should also be noted that Fourth Avenue Christian Church elected deaconesses, contrary to some other denominations. See First Christian Church, *Golden Anniversary of the First Christian Church, Roanoke, Virginia*, 5.

[53] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, June 27, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 17, 1896, 4; *The Roanoke Times*, July 25, 1897, 4.

[54] First Christian Church, *Golden Anniversary of the First Christian Church, Roanoke, Virginia* (Roanoke: First Christian Church, 1938), 10-12.

[55] Ibid., 5

Chapter 6

[1] Millard Rewis, Jr., *His New Creation: A History of Greene Memorial Methodist Church (1859-1959) from Methodism's Earliest Days in the Roanoke Valley* (Roanoke: Greene Memorial Methodist Church, 1959), 74.

[2] Ibid., 160.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *The Roanoke Times*, March 13, 1891, 1.

[5] Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 5.

[6] Ibid., 26.

[7] Ibid., 254-255.

[8] Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 197.

[9] Ibid.

[10] By 1882, when Roanoke City was chartered, the segregation of Methodists by race had been virtually completed. See Kenneth K. Bailey, "Southern White Protestantism at the Turn of the Century." *The American Historical Review* 68:3 (April 1963), 620.

[11] Joseph C. Hartzell, "Methodism and the Negro in the United States" *The Journal of Negro History* 8:3 (July 1923), 315.

[12] Henry Y. Warnock, "Andrew Sledd, Southern Methodists, and the Negro: A Case History" *The Journal of Southern History* 31:3 (August 1965), 251.

[13] Wayne Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2016), 67, 165, and 173.

[14] Ibid., 175.

[15] John Lee Eighmy, "Religious Liberalism in the South During the Progressive Era" *Church History* 38:3 (September 1969), 370.

[16] See Samuel C. Shepherd Jr., *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2001), 143-144.

[17] Alice Constance Moore, *Churches of Roanoke* (Roanoke: Federal Writers Project, 1940), 19-20.

[18] Rewis, Jr., *His New Creation: A History of Greene Memorial Methodist Church (1859-1959) from Methodism's Earliest Days in the Roanoke Valley*, 21.

[19] Ibid., 37.

[20] According to the historical record, Francis Asbury had preached for three days in the nearby, small town of Amsterdam in 1806, where allegedly three thousand had shown up to hear the renowned revivalist speak during a three day revival. Cindy Smith, *A Short History of Amsterdam, Asbury, Cloverdale, and St. Mark's United Methodist Churches* (Daleville: St. Mark's United Methodist Church, 1981), 1.

[21] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 8, 1889, 1.

[22] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 22, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 6, 1896, 5.

[23] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 27, 1896, 1.

[24] *The Christian Recorder*, May 17, 1894, 4.

[25] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, June 7, 1896, 6.

[26] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 6, 1896, 5.

[27] *The Roanoke Times*, May 15, 1892, 4.

[28] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 14, 1896, 2.

[29] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 2, 1895, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, April 28, 1896, 5.

[30] *The Roanoke Times*, July 13, 1895, 5: *The Roanoke Daily Times*, Dec. 12, 1895, 5.

[31] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 27, 1896, 4.

[32] *The Roanoke Times*, June 18, 1893, 4.

[33] Fairview United Methodist Church, *Through the Years with Fairview* (Roanoke: Fairview United Methodist Church, 1984), 49-50.

[34] Ibid. Compare Rev. Jordan's approach of youth socialization to the popular evangelist, Sam Jones, who preached in Roanoke, and is quoted to have said, "I see in the newspapers that a resolution is being offered in the M. E. Church to Methodize dancing. I don't know whether it's true or not. The Southern Methodists wouldn't dare to do that. When they do I'll leave and join the Salvation Army." *The Roanoke Times*, May 14, 1892, 1.

[35] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, April 12, 1896, 1.

[36] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 21, 1890, 1.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Bernard F. Lipscomb, ed., *Minutes of the One Hundred and Twelfth Session of the Virginia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South Held at Charlottesville, Va., November 14-20, 1894* (Richmond: J. W. Fergusson & Son. Printers, 1894), 53.

[39] Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, revised by Samuel S. Hill (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), 198.

[40] *The Roanoke Times*, April 22, 1894, 2.

[41] *The Roanoke Times*, December 30, 1890, 5.

[42] Ibid.

[43] *The Roanoke Times*, May 14, 1892, 1.

[44] While white Methodists in the Roanoke Valley praised Sam Jones for his ministry in the Magic City, some opinions were more laudable than others. George T. Graves said, "Sam Jones has done immeasurable good that will be lasting and show to the people of the outside world that the citizens of Roanoke not only appreciated Mr. Jones' efforts but that they were benefitted in such a way as to increase the [C]hristian influence in the low and wicked places that abound in this city." However, Rev. G. T. D. Collins was somewhat more modest, saying, "Sam Jones has exerted a good spiritual and moral effect on the people of Roanoke. I prefer to reserve my opinion to a later period as to whether the converts will stick to religion." *The Roanoke Times*, May 15, 1892, 4.

[45] Fairview United Methodist Church, *Through the Years with Fairview* (Roanoke: Fairview United Methodist Church, 1984), 100.

[46] Rewis, Jr., *His New Creation*, 65.

[47] Ibid., 70.

[48] *The Roanoke Times*, July 5, 1891, 3.

[49] *The Roanoke Times*, December 6, 1891, 3.

[50] *The Roanoke Times*, October 26, 1893, 5.

[51] *The Roanoke Times*, May 14, 1892, 1.

[52] *The Roanoke Times*, May 16, 1893, 1.

[53] Ibid.

[54] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 28, 1896, 2.

[55] *The Roanoke Times*, November 21, 1890, 5.

[56] *The Roanoke Times*, September 11, 1890, 2.

[57] Julius H. Bailey, *Race Patriotism: Protest and Print Culture in the A.M.E. Church* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 38.

[58] Kenneth K. Bailey, "Southern White Protestantism at the Turn of the Century." *The American Historical Review* 68:3 (April 1963), 622.

[59] The records of Fairview Methodist Church share the noticeable norm about its Sunday school program, saying, "Attendance, however, remained high with the exception of the sad depression years when people did not have the money, or the clothes to wear, that they felt would allow them to attend." Fairview United Methodist Church, *Through the Years with Fairview*, 125.

[60] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, June 23, 1896, 5.

[61] *The Roanoke Times*, December 6, 1891, 3.

[62] *The Roanoke Times*, April 13, 1897, 4.

[63] *The Roanoke Times*, October 26, 1893, 5.

[64] Fairview United Methodist Church, *Through the Years with Fairview*, 162, 168.

[65] *The Roanoke Times*, June 26, 1892, 8; *The Roanoke Times*, September 7, 1894, 5; *The Roanoke Times*, June 8, 1895, 2.

[66] Catherine Davis Morgan, *United Methodist Women in Virginia: 1784-1984* (Richmond: Beacon Press, 1984), 1.

[67] Ibid., 2.

[68] *The Roanoke Times*, September 5, 1897, 4.

[69] *The Roanoke Times*, November 9, 1890, 8.

[70] *The Roanoke Times*, May 14, 1892, 1.

[71] Quoted in Morgan, *United Methodist Women in Virginia: 1784-1984*, 71.

Chapter 7

[1] Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke* (Radford: Commonwealth Press, Inc., 1968), 415.

[2] Wayne Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2016), 96.

[3] Ibid., 102, 114, and 117.

[4] Ibid., 105.

[5] Don K. Clements, *Historical Roots of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Narrows: Metokos Press, 2006), 204.

[6] Darryl G. Hart, "The Tie That Divides: Presbyterian Ecumenism, Fundamentalism, and the History of Twentieth-Century American Protestantism" *Westminster Theological Journal* 60:1 (Spring 1998), 87.

[7] William Harrison Taylor, "'Let Every Christian Denomination Cheerfully Unite': The Origins of Presbyterian Interdenominationalism" *Journal of Religious History* 38:1 (March 2014), 53.

[8] Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion: A History from 1607 to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1971), 96.

[9] John B. Boles in "Forum: Southern Religion" *Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture* 8:2 (Summer 1998), 168; William Wilson McKinney, *The Presbyterian Valley* (Pittsburgh: Davis & Warde, 1958).

[10] Morton H. Smith, "The Presbyterians of the South, 1607-1861" *Westminster Theological Journal* 27:1 (November 1964), 28. As McKinney has quoted from a 1791 Synod of Virginia address, "[T]here are a number of pious youth in our country, who might be very serviceable in preaching the gospel, but through want of sufficient ability are unable to obtain an education, it is the intention and desire of Synod that the ministers in their respective presbyteries shall seek out such, and that they, being examined and approved by the Presbytery, shall be placed in the respective seminaries, at the expense of the Presbytery who shall approve them." McKinney, *The Presbyterian Valley*, 362.

[11] Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 197.

[12] Frank William Hoffer, *Presbyterian Churches of Roanoke, Virginia* (Roanoke: Economy Printing Company, 1938), 3-5.

[13] Ibid., 34.

[14] *The Roanoke Times*, October 15, 1891, 6.

[15] *The Presbyterian of the South*, July 13, 1921, 9.

[16] Frank Hoffer's *Presbyterian Churches of Roanoke, Virginia* did not even mention Roanoke's black Presbyterians, despite the title of his book.

[17] James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville: Geneva Press, 1996), 105.

[18] Rev. David Blaine to Rev. W. C. Campbell, February 12, 1886. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[19] Rev. W. R. Lawton to Rev. W. C. Campbell, July 12, 1888. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[20] Rev. Edward P. Cowan to Rev. W. C. Campbell, May 21, 1892. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[21] Ibid.

[22] See Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, 70-71.

[23] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 14, 1890, 1; The *Roanoke Times*, April 6, 1893, 8.

[24] Quoted in Barbara Boyle Lemon, ed., *A 'Second' Century: The History of Second Presbyterian Church of Roanoke, Virginia, 1891-1991* (Roanoke: Second Presbyterian Church, 1992), 14.

[25] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, February 2, 1896, 5.

[26] Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of Roanoke* (Radford: Commonwealth Press, Inc., 1968), 621.

[27] Wayne Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2016), 131.

[28] *The Roanoke Times*, October 16, 1891, 9.

[29] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 25, 1896, 5; *The Presbyterian of the South*, November 10, 1909, 24.

[30] *The Roanoke Times*, January 24, 1893, 4; *The Roanoke Times*, May 30, 1897, 3.

[31] *The Roanoke Times*, January 13, 1898, 5.

[32] Hoffer, *Presbyterian Churches of Roanoke, Virginia*, 38.

[33] Ibid., 38.

[34] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 28, 1896, 5.

[35] Ibid.

[36] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 31, 1896, 1.

[37] Rev. Edward Cowan to Rev. W. C. Campbell, September 4, 1895. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia; Rev. Edward Cowan to Rev. W. C. Campbell, December 11, 1895. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[38] Rev. L. L. Downey to Rev. W. C. Campbell, July 3, 1896. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[39] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 29, 1889, 1.

[40] Ibid.

[41] *The Roanoke Times*, April 17, 1891, 2.

[42] *The Roanoke Times*, November 23, 1897, 1.

[43] Daniel W. Hollis, *Look to the Rock: One Hundred Ante-bellum Presbyterian Churches of the South* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961), 14.

[44] *The Roanoke Times*, April 10, 1897, 5.

[45] *The Roanoke Times*, November 30, 1893, 4.

[46] *The Salem Times-Register*, June 14, 1894, 3.

[47] *The Roanoke Times*, May 22, 1897, 4.

[48] Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, 97.

[49] Ibid., 95.

[50] Barbara Boyle Lemon, ed., *A 'Second' Century: The History of Second Presbyterian Church of Roanoke, Virginia, 1891-1991* (Roanoke: Second Presbyterian Church, 1992), 28.

[51] Ibid., 30.

[52] *Prospectus: Twelfth Annual Convention of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, February 18-20, 1913*. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia.

[53] Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century*, 99.

[54] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 4, 1889, 4.

[55] Anna M. M. Sultz to Rev. W. C. Campbell, September 14, 1885. Letter. Retrieved from the library of First Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roanoke, Virginia. Italics substituted for original, handwritten underlining.

[56] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 8, 1896, 5.

[57] Lemon, ed., *A 'Second' Century: The History of Second Presbyterian Church of Roanoke, Virginia, 1891-1991*, 20.

[58] Ibid., 17.

[59] *The Roanoke Daily Times* once reported, "A magic lantern exhibition was given at Rorer hall last night for the benefit of the colored Presbyterian church, of this city."[59] It might be assumed that this was primarily for fundraising, but perhaps it was also a way to attract families to their church.

[60] John Lee Eighmy, "Religious Liberalism in the South During the Progressive Era" *Church History* 38:3 (September 1969), 369.

[61] Flynt, *Southern Religion and Christian Diversity in the Twentieth Century*, 100.

Chapter 8

[1] Gertrude Blair, *Some Churches of Roanoke, Virginia* (Roanoke: Works Progress Administration, 1941), 11.

[2] William Edward Eisenberg, *The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942* (Salem: The Trustees of Roanoke College, 1942), 9.

[3] St. Mark's Lutheran Church, *St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Roanoke, Virginia, 1869-1969* (Roanoke: St. Mark's Lutheran Church, 1969), 12-13.

[4] Rev. E. W. Leslie, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botetourt County, Virginia* (Fincastle: Hedrick & Leslie, 1910), 1.

[5] See, for example, Abdel Ross Wentz, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in America" *Bibliotecha Sacra* 88:352 (October 1931), 410-433.

[6] Mark Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 197.

[7] Gertrude Blair, *Churches in Roanoke County* (Roanoke: Works Progress Administration, 1941), 28.

[8] Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion: A History from 1607 to the Present* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1971), 97.

[9] Ronald L. Heinemann, John G. Kolp, Anthony S. Parent Jr., and William G. Shade. *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 93.

[10] Leslie, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botetourt County, Virginia*, 3.

[11] Granquist. *Lutherans in America: A New History*, 173, 175.

[12] Quoted in Leslie, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botetourt County, Virginia*, 12.

[13] Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History*, 202.

[14] Ibid., 202.

[15] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 8, 1896, 2.

[16] *The Roanoke Times*, December 25, 1892, 2.

[17] *The Roanoke Times*, March 16, 1891, 2.

[18] *The Roanoke Times*, May 7, 1897, 4.

[19] Quoted in Leslie, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botetourt County, Virginia*, 8.

[20] Ibid. It would seem that the practice of Lutheran protracted meetings gradually dissipated over time, though at least one report was found of a Salem minister holding such an event in the town of Bluefield. *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 10, 1895, 4.

[21] St. Mark's Lutheran Church, *St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Roanoke, Virginia, 1869-1969* (Roanoke: St. Mark's Lutheran Church, 1969), 5.

[22] One record noted that on November 2, 1856, "thirteen colored people were confirmed and baptized, becoming members of Glade Creek Church." Blair, *Churches in Roanoke County*, 27.

[23] Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History*, 178.

[24] Quoted in Mark F. Miller, *"Dear Old Roanoke": A Sesquicentennial Portrait, 1842-1992* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1992), 80.

[25] Granquist, *Lutherans in America: A New History*, 172.

[26] Herbert B. Adams, *U. S. Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 1, 1888: With Authorized Sketches of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, Emory-Henry, Roanoke, and Richmond*

Colleges, Washington and Lee University, and Virginia Military Institute (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 263.

[27] William Edward Eisenberg, *The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942* (Salem: The Trustees of Roanoke College, 1942), 182.

[28] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 26, 1895, 1.

[29] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 26, 1895, 1.

[30] *The Roanoke Times*, April 20, 1897, 4.

[31] *The Roanoke Times*, April 20, 1897, 4.

[32] Rand Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912: Magic City of the New South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 65.

[33] Ibid., 66.

[34] Blair, *Some Churches of Roanoke, Virginia*, 22; *The Roanoke Times*, May 4, 1894, 4.

[35] Leslie, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Botetourt County, Virginia*, 8.

[36] Quoted in Ibid., 15.

[37] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 30, 1895, 1.

[38] Eisenberg, *The First Hundred Years: Roanoke College, 1842-1942*, 237.

[39] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, February 21, 1890, 1.

Chapter 9

[1] *The Holy Bible*. New Revised Standard Version.

[2] See map from Rand Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912: Magic City of the New South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 85.

[3] Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey, "Everywhere and Nowhere: Recent Trends in American Religious History and Historiography." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 78:1 (March 2010), 152.

[4] Ibid., 153.

[5] Andrew Stern, "Southern Harmony: Catholic-Protestant Relations in the Antebellum South" *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 17:2 (Summer 2007), 165.

[6] Ibid., 166-167, 170, 174.

[7] Marty McMahone, "Broadening the Picture of Nineteenth-Century Baptists: How Battles with Catholicism Moved Baptists Toward Separationism" *Journal of Law and Religion* 25:2 (2009-2010), 459.

[8] Samuel S. Hill, Jr., "The Strange Case of Religious Pluralism in the South" *The Bulletin of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion* 4:2 (July 1980), 23.

[9] Thomas E. Woods Jr., *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals & the Progressive Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 7.

[10] Thomas F. Haddox, *Fears and Fascinations: Representing Catholicism in the American South* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 12-13.

[11] In the Introduction, Phelps makes this curriculum review goal clear. See James T. Phelps, "Introduction" in James T. Phelps, ed., *Black and Catholic: The Challenge and Gift of Black Folk: Contributions of African American Experience and Thought to Catholic Theology* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1995), 15-16.

[12] Anna Louise Haley, *The Catholic Ministry of Western Virginia Before Father John William Lynch* (Roanoke: The Catholic Historical Society of Roanoke Valley, 1986), 1.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 6.

[15] Margaret Maier Cochener, *On The Hill: St. Andrew's Parish, Roanoke, Virginia: A History of St. Andrew's Parish, November 1882-August 1989* (Richmond: Diocese of Richmond, 1989), 1.

[16] Saint Andrew's Parish, *Historical Sketch* (Roanoke: Saint Andrew's Parish, 1902), 3.

[17] Cochener, *On The Hill*, 7.

[18] Ibid., 11.

[19] W. L. Whitwell and Lee W. Winborne, *The Architectural Heritage of the Roanoke Valley* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 150.

[20] Saint Andrew's Parish, *Historical Sketch*, 8.

[21] Whitwell and Winborne, *The Architectural Heritage of the Roanoke Valley*, 149.

[22] Rev. W. C. Campbell, "The Churches of Roanoke" in *The Virginia Realtor* (The Virginia Real Estate Association), September 1926, 23.

[23] Cochener, *On The Hill*, 35.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Saint Andrew's Parish, *Historical Sketch*, 20.

[26] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 29, 1889, 1; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 1, 1890, 1.

[27] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, April 5, 1890, 1; *The Roanoke Times*, June 12, 1892, 8; *The Roanoke Times*, June 13, 1895, 5.

[28] *The Roanoke Times*, June 19, 1892, 1.

[29] William McCauley, *History of Roanoke County, Salem, Roanoke City, Virginia and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1902), 261-2.

[30] Quoted in Dotson, *Roanoke, Virginia, 1882-1912*, 84.

[31] Ibid.

[32] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 1, 1896, 5; *The Roanoke Times*, September 29, 1897, 5.

[33] *The Evening News*, December 21, 1910.

[34] Cochener, *On The Hill*, 18.

[35] *The Roanoke Times*, May 25, 1893, 1.

[36] *The Roanoke Times*, January 20. 1893, 1.

[37] Cochener, *On The Hill*, 66-67.

[38] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, December 18, 1895, 5.

[39] *The Roanoke Times*, March 27, 1894, 1.

[40] Cochener, *On The Hill*, 21.

[41] McCauley, *History of Roanoke County, Salem, Roanoke City, Virginia and Representative Citizens*, 258.

[42] *The Roanoke Times*, September 14, 1897, 5.

[43] Saint Andrew's Parish, *Historical Sketch* (Roanoke: Saint Andrew's Parish, 1902), 21.

[44] See Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Mary J. Henold, *Catholic and Feminist: The Surprising History of the American Catholic Feminist Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

[45] Cummings stated, "Catholics' repeated contrasts between the daughters of the Old Faith and the New Woman masked the profound influence that the latter exerted over women of the community. The expansion of higher education, one of the most significant hallmarks of New Womanhood, offers a case in point." *New Women of the Old Faith*, 8.

[46] *The Roanoke Times*, September 12, 1897, 5.

[47] McCauley, *History of Roanoke County, Salem, Roanoke City, Virginia and Representative Citizens*, 261.

Chapter 10

[1] Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke* (Radford: Commonwealth Press, 1968), 413.

[2] For example, Ferenc Morton Szasz in *Religion in the Modern American West* discussed not just Protestant and Catholic history, but also the religion of some minorities, including Buddhism, and its influence in mainstream religion. See Szasz, *Religion in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 179.

[3] Donald G. Mathews, "Introduction" in Beth Barton Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, eds., *Religion in the American South: Protestants and Others in History and Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 2.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Kevin M. Schultz and Paul Harvey, "Everywhere and Nowhere: Recent Trends in American Religious History and Historiography." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 78:1 (March 2010), 138.

[6] Abraham J. Peck, "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South" *Modern Judaism* 7:1 (February 1987), 101.

[7] Ibid., 102.

[8] Ibid., 103, 105.

[9] Samuel S. Hill, Jr., "The Strange Case of Religious Pluralism in the South" *The Bulletin of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and Religion* 4:2 (July 1980), 23.

[10] On the persistent, anti-polygamy views presented against Mormons, see Patrick Q. Mason's *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

[11] Peck, "That Other 'Peculiar Institution,'" 105.

[12] Beth Israel Synagogue. *Beth Israel Synagogue, Roanoke, VA: 100th Anniversary, 1902-2002* (Roanoke: Beth Israel Synagogue, 2002), 2.

[13] Sig Davidson, "Roanoke Jews: A History." *Journal of the Historical Society of Western Virginia* 22:1 (2015), 6.

[14] Deedie Dent Kagey, *When Past is Prologue: A History of Roanoke County* (Roanoke: Roanoke County Sesquicentennial Committee, 1988), 257, 263.

[15] Ibid., 263.

[16] According to Raymond P. Barnes, Unitarians organized a church at Mrs. E.A. Shubert's home in 1914. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 511. See also the appendix.

[17] Loretta Saleeba Jolley, *Parish History* (Roanoke: St. Elias Maronite Church, n.d.), 1.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Renee Turk, e-mail message to author, March 29, 2017.

[21] Beth Israel Synagogue, *Beth Israel Synagogue*, 3; Davidson, "Roanoke Jews: A History," 6.

[22] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 19, 1895, 5; *The Roanoke Daily Times*, September 27, 1895, 5.

[23] Davidson, "Roanoke Jews: A History," 7.

[24] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, July 16, 1896, 5.

[25] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, June 30, 1896, 6.

[26] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, August 6, 1896, 5.

[27] *The Roanoke Times*, December 7, 1897, 4.

[28] *The Roanoke Daily Times*. January 24, 1897, 5.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Jolley, *Parish History*, 2.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] "Who Are the Maronites?" St. Elias Maronite Catholic Church. Accessed March 31, 2017. http://steliaschurch.org/wp/?page_id=39.

[34] Peck, "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South," 108.

[35] "The Roanoke Chapter of B'nai B'rith 1928." Beth Israel Synagogue's Historical Site. December 2002. Accessed April 1, 2017. http://bethisraelhistory.org/vignettes/bnaibrith.php.

[36] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, November 17, 1896, 4.

[37] Jolley, *Parish History*, 1.

[38] Ibid., 1-2.

[39] Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 350.

[40] Renee Turk, e-mail message to author, March 29, 2017.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Peck, "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South," 103.

[43] However, a man named Izzie Kahn tailored clothing for Norfolk & Western. His clothing businesses remained in Roanoke for many years until it was destroyed by a fire in the 1950s. Davidson, "Roanoke Jews: A History," 8.

[44] Ibid., 7. Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 238.

[45] Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 238.

[46] Davidson, "Roanoke Jews: A History," 7.

[47] Ibid., 8.

[48] Ibid.

[49] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, October 30, 1896, 5.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Lindsey Nair, "Roanoke Fruit & Produce Going on 100," *The Roanoke Times*, July 26, 2008.

[52] Jolley, *Parish History*, 1.

[53] Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 536. For a historical recollection of the culinary innovation among the Lebanese in Roanoke, see Mason Adams, "The Syrian-Lebanese Cuisine of the Appalachian city Whose Mayor Doesn't Want Refugees." Munchies. February 3, 2016. Accessed April 2, 2017. https://munchies.vice.com/en_us/article/the-syrian-lebanese-cuisine-of-the-appalachian-city-whose-mayor-doesnt-want-refugees.

[54] Beth Israel Synagogue, *Beth Israel Synagogue, Roanoke, VA: 100th Anniversary, 1902-2002*, 3. See also Julius Shapiro, "Historical Vignettes." Beth Israel Synagogue's Historical Site. Accessed April 2, 2017. http://bethisraelhistory.org/vignettes.php.

[55] Proverbs 22:1. *The Holy Bible*. New Revised Standard Version.

[56] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, January 8, 1896, 4.

[57] *The Roanoke Daily Times*, March 1, 1890, 6.

[58] Barnes, *A History of the City of Roanoke*, 350.

[59] Jolley, *Parish History*, 1; Renee Turk, e-mail message to author, March 29, 2017.

Conclusion

[1] *The Roanoke Times*, January 4, 1893, 8.

Appendix

[1] *Roanoke Virginia Directory, 1915* (Roanoke: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1915).

[2] The number in brackets designates how many congregations were counted in Roanoke City by the directory.

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