

History of Orrick Chapel Methodist Church in Stephens City, Virginia



March 1, 2006

Prepared for

The Stone House Foundation
Stephens City, Virginia



Prepared by

HISTORYmatters

History Matters, LLC
1502 21st Street, NW
2nd Floor
Washington, DC 20036
www.historymatters.net

With the generous support of the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities.

vfh Virginia Foundation
For the Humanities

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Orrick Chapel: The Building	3
The Ministers of Orrick Chapel, 1850s-1991	9
The Congregation of Orrick Chapel, 1869-1991.....	13
Methodism and Race	18
Suggestions for Future Research	30
Bibliography	32
Figures	35

Introduction

The origins of the Orrick Chapel congregation in Stephens City, Virginia lie with African Americans who converted to Methodism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Initially, they worshipped with white Methodists at Stephens City Methodist Church. By the late 1850s, they had a separate house of worship on Mulberry Street, but they remained under the supervision of the local white Methodists. After the Civil War, the white Methodists in Stephens City joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the local African-American Methodists formed an independent congregation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the late 1860s, with the assistance of Winchester preacher and businessman Robert Orrick, the congregation erected the present Orrick Chapel building. Circa 1900, the church building was renovated, and in the mid-20th-century, additions were constructed to the front and rear of the original church building.

The history of Orrick Chapel, its congregation, and its ministers illustrates the importance of churches to the African-American community during the eras of slavery, Reconstruction, and segregation. The church was part of social and economic support networks that sustained African Americans in Stephens City in the face of racial discrimination and curtailed political rights. Orrick Chapel's history also reflects the evolution of American Methodists' attitudes towards race over nearly 200 years. In the late 18th century, Methodists held out the promise of racial equality but retracted that promise in the early 19th century, imposing racial segregation and limiting opportunities for black Methodist preachers. In the wake of Emancipation (1863), Orrick Chapel and other African-American Methodists pulled away from white churches in order to achieve the autonomy and power they had been denied for so many years. Yet as the 19th century drew to a close, the white leadership of the Methodist Episcopal Church increasingly sanctioned racial segregation as a form of discrimination, a process that culminated with the imposition of racial segregation on Methodist congregations in 1936. Nevertheless, the national church continued to discuss and debate race relations in the church, and in 1968, the church began to enforce integration throughout the United States. The merger of Orrick Chapel with Stephens City United Methodist Church in 1991 represents the culmination of this late 20th-century trend.

Orrick Chapel: The Building

From the 18th century through the early 19th century, African-American Methodists in Stephens City worshipped with whites at Stephens City Methodist Church on the west side of Main Street between Filbert and Locust Streets. By 1858, African-American Methodists had their own house of worship located on Mulberry Street. This building, the first home of what would become the Orrick Chapel congregation, is no longer standing, but is mentioned in the recollections of William Hedges, a white Methodist preacher who visited Stephens City in 1858. Hedges recalled that shortly after his arrival, preacher and local church leader John Allemong showed him around the town. As they walked down Mulberry Street, Allemong pointed out a church where African Americans worshipped.¹

Hedges's description places the African-American church near Lot #62, the site of present-day Orrick Chapel. In 1858, the lot, which lies at the northeast edge of town and on the east side of Mulberry Street, was owned by Gustavus Adolphus White and Elizabeth White. (See Figure 1.) The Whites may have rented the house on the property to the Methodist congregation, or they may have allowed them the use of it for free. In March of 1860, Methodist minister John Allemong's son, John W.F. Allemong, purchased Lot #62 from the Whites.² Just four months later, he sold a small portion of the lot to four church trustees, all of whom were local white clergymen who served in the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.³ Norval Wilson and William

¹ Inez Virginia Steele, *Early Days and Methodism in Stephens City, Virginia, 1732-1905*, Second Printing (Stephens City, Virginia: Commercial Press, 1994), p. 70.

² Gustavus Adolphus White and Elizabeth A. White to John W.F. Allemong, 6 March 1860, Frederick County Deed Book 85, p. 19. In 1856, James W. and Ann Weaver transferred this property to John W.F. Allemong as a trustee; the deed empowered White to sell all or part of Weaver's property in order to pay Weaver's numerous creditors (James W. and Ann Weaver to John W.F. Allemong, Trustee, 4 May 1856, Frederick County Deed Book 82, p. 504). At a public auction in June 1856, Gustavus A. White purchased Lots 62, 63, and part of 64 as well as some adjacent outlots (John W.F. Allemong, Trustee for James W. Weaver to Gustavus A. White, 9 July 1856, Frederick County Deed Book 83, p. 175). Civil War memoirs cited in Jonathan A. Noyalas, "Two Peoples, One Community: The African American Experience in Newtown (Stephens City), Virginia, 1850-1870" (unpublished manuscript), Chapter 2, p. 18, refer to a "Dolph White" who was a slave trader who resided in Stephens City and later in Lexington, Virginia. Gustavus Adolphus White appears in the 1850 census as a saddler and in the 1860 census as a farmer residing near Stephens City. In 1860, he owned thirteen slaves.

The 1856 deeds mention a house on the larger property; it is possible that this was a dwelling that was being used as a house of worship by 1858 or even earlier. Hedges's recollection suggests that a church stood on the lot in 1858, but the deed between White and John W.F. Allemong makes no mention of a church building on Lot #62. However, it was common for 19th-century land records not to cite specific buildings. The fact that White conveyed several lots to Allemong makes it more likely that the deed simply did not mention the presence of the church.

³ John W.F. and Sarah C. Allemong to Norval Wilson, William G. Eggleston, William S. Baird, and F.A. Mercer, 12 July 1860, Frederick County Deed Book 85, p. 151. An annual conference was the primary regional division and administrative unit within the Methodist Church. As its name suggests, an annual conference met each year. Local conferences met quarterly, while the national conference – called the General Conference – met quadriennially. See Peter C. Murray, *Methodists and the Crucible of Race, 1930-1975* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), pp. xv-xvi.

Eggleston preached in Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester, and F. A. Mercer and William S. Baird were the pastors of Stephens City Methodist Church.⁴ The deed that conveyed the property to the trustees mentions a house on Lot #62. The deed obligated the trustees to “protect & keep in repair said house to be used as a place of worship for the members of the Methodist E[piscopal]. Church of the Baltimore Conference...”⁵

In the fall of 1864, when Union General Philip H. Sheridan’s army set up a winter camp near Stephens City, the meeting house on Lot #62 was vacant. In order to secure materials to erect winter quarters, Sheridan’s army reputedly dismantled several buildings in town, including the African-American chapel.⁶

In 1866, Stephens City Methodist Church left the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MEC, South).⁷ (See section on Methodism and Race.) Because the 1860 deed from Allemong to the trustees specified that the church be operated according to the rules and discipline of the MEC, the property reverted to Allemong when Stephens City Methodist Church left the MEC. In November 1869, John W.F. Allemong re-sold the property to Addison Taper, Humphrey Washington, Pendleton Broadus, Charles Anderson, and Enoch Jenkins, the trustees of an independent, African-American, Methodist congregation. Whereas the earlier trustees were white leaders in the local Methodist church, the trustees named in the 1869 deed were all African Americans. The deed specified that the property was intended “for the use and

⁴ 1860 Population Census, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, pp. 374-375, 381; Steele, pp. 44, 51, 67-68, 69; John I. Sloat, *Methodism in Winchester: An Historical Sketch, With Special Reference to the Market Street Methodist Episcopal Church* (Winchester, Virginia: Forney Print Shop, 1926), pp. 8, 12-13.

⁵ John W.F. and Sarah C. Allemong to Norval Wilson, William G. Eggleston, William S. Baird, and F.A. Mercer, 12 July 1860, Frederick County Deed Book 85, p. 151.

⁶ Steele, p. 16; Noyalas, Chapter 2, pp. 19-20. Thus far, no military records have been located that confirm Inez Steele’s statement that the church was demolished during the Civil War. Only fragments of the county’s land tax records remain for 1859, and there are none between 1860 and 1865. The 1858 assessment for Lots 62 and 63, then owned by Gustavus and Elizabeth White, indicate the presence of a building (or buildings) valued at \$100; this building *may* have been the church. In 1866, the assessment for Lots 62 and 63, then owned by John W.F. and Sarah Allemong, cited no buildings on the property, and the assessor noted “\$100 off for buildings,” suggesting that the building that was mentioned in earlier assessments was no longer standing. However, it is not clear whether in 1866, the Allemonds owned the small part of Lot #62 where the church once stood. It is possible that in the absence of a building, the assessor made no distinction between the portion of Lot #62 that was owned by the church trustees and the remainder of the lot, which was owned by the Allemonds. It is also possible – but unlikely – that in 1866, the portion of Lot 62 that included the church had already reverted to Allemong’s ownership because the Stephens City Methodist Church had left the Baltimore Conference of the MEC that year. If so, the Allemonds would have been assessed for the church property as well as the remainder of Lot #62. Searches of local newspapers might reveal more detailed information about the fate of the church during the war.

⁷ Steele, p. 44.

benefit of the Methodist Congregation of colored people” who lived in or near Stephens City. Like the 1860 deed, the 1869 deed included a provision that if the property ceased being used as a place of worship for African-American Methodists, it would revert to the original owner.⁸

In 1869, the lot on Mulberry Street included “a meeting house which said colored congregation have caused to be erected.”⁹ Robert Orrick, an African-American liveryman and preacher who lived in Winchester, donated the construction materials for this church building, which replaced the one that was destroyed during the Civil War. In recognition of his contributions, the church was named Orrick Chapel.¹⁰ Built between 1866 and 1869, this building has remained largely intact.¹¹ (See Figure 2.) No images of the church in the 1860s or 1870s survive, but in the 1880s, it appears in a photograph as a front-gable, frame structure with a belfry. Two additions have since been made: a one-story frame vestibule was constructed circa 1950, and a one-story frame fellowship hall was added to the rear of the building after 1960.

The original church was approximately twenty feet wide and thirty feet long, with its main entrance on the northwest gable and rectangular windows on its side and rear walls. In a panoramic photograph taken of Stephens City in the 1880s, the church belfry had a gable roof instead of its current pyramidal roof. (See Figure 3.) A photograph taken in the 1920s clearly shows a brick, corbelled cap chimney rising through the roof ridge near the center of the building. (See Figure 4.) Earlier photographs do not have enough detail to show the chimney, but it is likely original to the structure. Currently, the chimney is no longer visible above the roofline or on the church’s interior, but portions of it remain in the attic and crawl space. (See Figure 5.) Situated roughly in the center of the sanctuary, it probably serviced a stove that provided heat for worshippers in cold weather.

The original chapel rests on large stone piers located at each of the building’s four corners and in the centers of the side and rear walls; the underpinnings of the front wall are not currently visible. Some

⁸ John W.F and Sarah Catharine Allemong to Addison Taper, Humphry [sic] Washington, Pendleton Brodus [sic], Charles Anderson, and Enock [sic] Jenkins, 30 November 1869, Frederick County Deed Book 90, p. 312. Although spellings of the trustees’ names are transcribed verbatim in this footnote, they have been standardized in the text.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Robert Orrick’s involvement in the construction of the African-American church in Stephens City is mentioned in his obituary (“Wealthiest Colored Man’s Death Regretted,” *Winchester Evening Star*, 9 July 1902).

¹¹ The date range for the construction of the building is based on the notation of there being no buildings on Lot #62 in 1866 and the documented presence of a new meeting house in 1869.

of the structural members are circular sawn wood, but the floor joists, summer beam, gable-end posts, and most of the rafters are rough wood poles; the sills consist of hewn logs. (See Figure 6.) The extensive use of unfinished and hewn logs may reflect a scarcity of sawn wood in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, a shortage of labor, or the nature of the building materials donated by Robert Orrick.

A panoramic photograph of Stephens City in the 1880s (Figure 3) shows the church with lapped siding, but the image is too indistinct to discern details. By the 1920s, the church featured wood weatherboard siding with corner boards; the belfry was clad in weatherboard without corner boards. (See Figure 4.) The aluminum siding that currently sheathes the exterior walls of the main structure and the belfry was installed after 1960; the earlier cladding probably remains beneath the current siding. The roofs of the historic church and belfry are currently covered in standing seam metal, which is consistent with the building's circa 1920 appearance. (See Figures 4 and 7.) The roof covering is not visible in the 1880s photograph, and no evidence of earlier roofing material remains in the attic; the existing nailers are too widely spaced to support shingles, though it is possible that these nailers are later replacements. The wooden rake boards that appear in the 1920s photograph remain on both the front and rear gables, though the wood surface is covered by aluminum siding in most areas.

Currently, three lancet windows puncture each of the side walls of the original church. (See Figure 7.) Each of these window openings holds a single-hung, wood sash window with a lancet-shaped upper sash. Three-part, metal storm windows cover the original wood sash. The 1960s fellowship hall now hides the original rear wall of the church, but historic photographs and architectural evidence indicate that, originally, the rear elevation incorporated two window openings. The sill of the northeast rear window is still visible on the interior; the southwest window opening was expanded to create a doorway to the fellowship hall. (See Figure 8.) The exterior of the main entrance to the original church is currently hidden by the mid-20th-century vestibule.

Circa 1900, the church underwent a renovation that included the addition of lancet arches to the window and door openings; the lancet arch above the doorway has since been removed. This renovation probably included the addition of paneled double doors to the main entrance to the

church. These doors, which incorporate five square panels per sash, remain in place. (See Figure 9.) The belfry was altered during the renovation as well. A pyramidal roof replaced the belfry's earlier gable roof, and the openings were enlarged and filled with four-part louvered vents. Currently, the entire belfry is covered with aluminum siding. The original vents remain under the siding and can be viewed from the attic.

The style of the existing interior finishes and trim suggests that they date to the circa 1900 renovation. (See Figure 10.) The interior walls of the sanctuary are finished with lath-and-plaster above beaded wood wainscoting and a molded chair rail; the window openings extend below the top of the wainscoting. Square-edged wood trim surrounds the window openings, which contain historic, single-hung wood sashes with a lancet-shaped upper sash. The sashes contain single panes of textured plastic that were likely added in the second half of the 20th century. The historic main entrance is trimmed with a simple molded wood surround; the awkwardness of the trim along the top of the door opening resulted from the removal of the lancet arch above the opening. The lancet arch may remain beneath the wall finishes in the sanctuary and vestibule. The floor of the sanctuary is currently carpeted, but wood floorboards are visible from the crawl space beneath the building. The original lath-and-plaster ceiling is at least partially preserved above the non-historic dropped ceiling.

The interior of the historic portion of the church is a single undivided room. (See Figure 8.) Seven rows of wood pews flank a central aisle and face southeast. The two back pews abut the northwest wall; all fourteen pews are attached to the side walls. The ends of the pews feature a decorative scroll motif. At the southeast end of the church is a raised platform. Along the church's northeast wall, this platform extends into the seating area. Centered on the raised platform is a low, U-shaped railing consisting of paired turned wood posts that support simple rails, and a free-standing pulpit is located behind the railing. A recessed bay framed by an arched opening is centered in the southeast wall of the church. The wood wainscoting and chair rail continue along the bay's interior walls, though the chair rail is simpler than that in the rest of the church. Though probably not original to the structure, this bay pre-dates the 1960s rear addition. (See Figure 11.)

The front vestibule addition appears on a 1960 plat of the property and probably dates to the 1950s. (See Figure 11.) Prior to the addition of the vestibule, a simple concrete stoop lay in front of the main entrance. (See Figure 4.) The one-story, gable-roofed vestibule incorporates two entrances: a double door in the front (northwest) wall and a single door in the southwest wall. The latter door now serves as the main entrance to the church. Both entrances contain non-historic doors. Aluminum siding sheathes the exterior walls of the vestibule, and its gable roof is covered in asphalt shingles. The interior walls of the vestibule feature non-historic, faux-wood paneling.

In 1960, the trustees of Orrick Chapel Methodist Church (Jesse L. Curry, John Shields, Henry Dorman, Ernest Robinson, and Mary Morgan) acquired the area behind the church.¹² Soon afterwards, the congregation expanded the building by constructing a frame fellowship hall to the rear of the historic church. This addition, which houses a kitchen, bathroom, and furnace room, rests on a continuous concrete block foundation, has a low-pitched gable roof, and is shorter than the main structure. The addition features aluminum siding and an asphalt shingle roof. A small wooden porch on the northeast elevation leads to a doorway that provides direct access to the rear addition. The windows are wood, two-over-two, double-hung sash.

In 1991, Orrick Chapel United Methodist Church merged with Stephens City United Methodist Church. Two years later, the trustees of the two churches conveyed the property to the Stone House Foundation, a non-profit group that owns and operates several historic house museums in Stephens City. Probably in the 1990s, the trustees of Orrick Chapel loaned the congregation's communion dishes, altar cross, and altar candlesticks to John Mann United Methodist Church in Winchester.¹³

¹² David G. Simpson, Special Commissioner, to Trustees of the Orrick Chapel Methodist Church (Jesse L. Curry, John Shields, Henry Dorman, Ernest Robinson, and Mary Morgan), 30 November 1960, Frederick County Deed Book 267, p. 424. The 1869 deed specified that the lot was only 30 feet deep; the 1960 deed redrew the property lines to give it a depth of 57.2 feet.

¹³ Trustees of the Stephens City United Methodist Church and the Trustees of the Orrick Chapel United Methodist Church to the Stone House Foundation, 31 October 1993, Frederick County Deed Book 808, p. 887; Loan receipt, undated, in private collection of Anna L. Wanzer.

The Ministers of Orrick Chapel, 1850s-1991

The only person known to have preached in the first chapel building on Mulberry Street was Jefferson Jenkins, who is mentioned in Reverend William Hedges's recollections of the town in the late 1850s.¹⁴ Jenkins's name is not in the 1850 population census for Frederick County, but William Hedges noted that, in 1858, Jenkins lived near Orrick Chapel in Stephens City. Land records indicate that by 1858, Jenkins owned a lot in Freetown, an African-American community located just east of Stephens City.¹⁵ (See Figure 1.) By the time of the 1860 census, he was a free man living in Winchester and working as a day laborer. He was then 40 years old and married to a woman named Rhoda.¹⁶ In January 1860, the Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester added Jefferson Jenkins to its list of licensed African-American preachers. In 1870, he resided in Stephens City and worked as a farm hand. The census taker noted that Jefferson Jenkins could read and write, skills he may have acquired through his affiliation with the Methodist church.¹⁷

Robert Orrick, who donated the materials to re-build the church in Stephens City in the late 1860s, likely preached at least occasionally to the congregation there both immediately before and after the Civil War. Orrick was born into slavery in 1841. His master, Joseph Kean (or Cain) served as Clerk of the Court for Frederick County in 1850. Shortly before the Civil War, Kean allowed Orrick to establish a livery stable in Winchester, and Orrick continued the business as a free man after Emancipation. The livery stable prospered, and by 1870, Orrick had amassed over \$3,000 worth of real estate and \$2,000 worth of personal property. By the 1890s and possibly as early as 1880, he held a contract with the U.S. Post Office to deliver mail from Winchester to Romney, West Virginia.¹⁸

¹⁴ Hedges remembered attending the church and hearing a sermon by Jefferson Jenkins, an "eloquent" African-American preacher (Steele, p. 70).

¹⁵ Jefferson Jenkins is mentioned as an owner of a lot in Freetown (also known as Crossroads) adjacent to one that Samuel Staff conveyed to John W. Owen on 10 May 1858 (Frederick County Deed Book 84, p. 22). The author thanks Linden A. Fravel for providing this deed reference.

¹⁶ 1860 Population Census, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 375. The Jenkins household also included their two children: Clarence, age 4, and Ann, age 12. A second daughter, Henrietta, may have lived outside the household. Henrietta Jenkins, who is included in Jefferson Jenkins's household in 1870, would have been 10 years old in 1860. The 1860 census lists Rhoda Jenkins as being 23 years old, which would make it unlikely that she was the mother of 12-year-old Ann or 10-year-old Henrietta. However, the 1870 census gives Rhoda's age as 38, which would make her 28 in 1860 and thus more likely to be the mother of the two girls.

¹⁷ 1870 Population Census, New Town, Opequon Township, p. 112; List of Members, 1859-1860, Church Record Book, 1857-1916, Market Street United Methodist Church Records, Stewart J. Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester Virginia.

¹⁸ "Wealthiest Colored Man's Death Regretted," *Winchester Evening Star*, 9 July 1902; "Parson Orrick Reinstated," *Winchester Evening Star*, 10 March 1898. In 1880, the census indicated that Orrick and his family resided next door to

In addition to running a livery stable and a mail route, Orrick was a Methodist preacher, and he preached in several African-American Methodist churches in the Winchester area. Like Jefferson Jenkins, Orrick was a member of the Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester. By 1857, he was an exhorter,¹⁹ and in 1861, the church issued him a license to preach. He was counted as a member of the Market Street Methodist Church until 1866.²⁰ At that time, he probably transferred his membership to John Mann Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), which was organized in that year by the African-American members of the Market Street church. In the decades after the end of the Civil War, Orrick continued to preach to African-American Methodist congregations in the Winchester area. He also donated land for a cemetery for African Americans in Winchester; this cemetery is still known as Orrick Cemetery. Orrick died in 1902 after sustaining an injury among the rail cars at the train depot in Winchester.²¹

For much of its history as an independent congregation, Orrick Chapel shared a pastor with two or three other churches. In the mid-1880s, Orrick Chapel was a mission church under the supervision of John Mann MEC in Winchester; its connection with the church in Winchester during this period likely reflects the important role of Robert Orrick (who was a member of John Mann Church) in the construction of Orrick Chapel. As a mission church, Orrick Chapel fell under the care of the Winchester church's pastor. In 1885, N.M. Carroll served as the pastor for the churches in Winchester and Stephens City; the following year, J.W. Waters took Carroll's place. In 1886, during Waters's tenure, the Orrick Chapel congregation experienced a revival of religion that added many

postmaster Samuel Atwell. In 1898, he briefly lost the postal contract after "complaint[s]...reached the government that inefficient driver and teams were on the route...." R.R. Fauntleroy intervened on Orrick's behalf and convinced the Post Office to reinstate the contract.

¹⁹ An exhorter was a lay person who was allowed to address congregations but only under the supervision of a minister.
²⁰ Church Record Book, 1857-1916, Market Street United Methodist Church Records, Stewart J. Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester Virginia.

²¹ "Wealthiest Colored Man's Death Regretted," *Winchester Evening Star*, 9 July 1902; Notice, *Winchester Star*, 8 July 1902. Orrick's obituary refers to him as a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, rather than the Methodist Episcopal Church. It seems likely that the writer of the obituary failed to distinguish between the AME Church, which was founded in 1816, and African Americans who were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the mid-1880s, the records of the Washington Conference, an all-black conference in the Methodist Episcopal Church, list Orrick as one of two local preachers who resided in Winchester; the other was Odus Alexander (*Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1885 (p. 66), 1887 (p. 83). Robert Orrick's house at 14 South Braddock Street in Winchester remains standing and is part of the Winchester Historic District.

members to the church.²² J.H. Butler, who was the pastor of Orrick Chapel in 1877, may have been the pastor of John Mann Church as well.²³

By 1915, Orrick Chapel no longer shared a pastor with John Mann MEC in Winchester. In that year, the church in Stephens City was probably on a charge either with Mt. Zion Church in Strasburg or Mt. Zion Church in Woodstock. By 1923, the Strasburg charge included Orrick Chapel as well as Mt. Zion Church in Strasburg, John Wesley Church in Front Royal, and Mt. Zion Church in Middletown. Orrick Chapel remained on the Strasburg charge until 1971.²⁴

In 1923, H.A. Parker and Preston R. Vauls served as pastors of the four churches on the Strasburg charge, which had approximately 110 full members.²⁵ From 1929 until 1940, preacher R.A. Griffin was assigned to the Strasburg charge. In 1930, Griffin and his wife Edna resided in Falls Church, Virginia, and the census records for that year list him as a full-time Methodist preacher.²⁶ In 1941, J.W. Carroll succeeded Griffin; C.L. Davis took over for Carroll in 1942.²⁷

Between 1923 and 1940, the number of active church members in the Strasburg charge rose from 110 to 175. However, in 1942, the number of active members fell to 49, possibly as a result of World War II. By 1948, the charge, which was then under the supervision of S.K. Murray, had only three churches and 67 active members; the records do not indicate which of the four churches was not part of the charge at the time.²⁸ In 1958, John Ford of Washington, DC served as lay pastor for

²² *Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1885 (pp. 37-38, 72-75), 1886 (pp. 59, 100-103), 1887 (pp. 35, 90-93).

²³ A note on the 1860 deed for the Orrick Chapel property mentions that the deed was delivered "to J.H. Butler, colored minister of the Colored M.E. Church at Newtown, August 28, 1877." See John W.F. and Sarah C. Allemong to Norval Wilson, William G. Eggleston, William S. Baird, and F.A. Mercer, 12 July 1860, Frederick County Deed Book 85, p. 151. Further research into the history of the church in Winchester would clarify Butler's position.

²⁴ The statistics published in the Washington Conference minutes for 1923 indicate that the Strasburg charge had four churches, but they do not list the individual churches on the charge. However, the list of Ladies' Aid Society presidents includes four presidents on the Strasburg charge: one from Strasburg, one from Middletown, one from Front Royal, and one from Stephens City (p. 368). The 1965 *General Minutes of the Annual Conferences* list these same four churches as part of the Strasburg charge.

²⁵ *Official Journal and Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1923 (pp. 385, 449). In the statistics on churches, the journal of the Washington conference lists H.A. Parker as the minister for the Strasburg charge, but the District Superintendent reported that P.R. Vauls had been serving the Strasburg charge for five years. It may be that Parker (whom the statistics say had been on the charge for only one year) replaced Vauls after the Superintendent submitted his report but before the statistics were compiled.

²⁶ 1930 Population Census, Falls Church, Fairfax County, Virginia, p. 85.

²⁷ *General Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church*, 1940-1942.

²⁸ *General Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church*, 1940-1942, 1948.

the Orrick Chapel congregation, and Arthur Erwin, a retired church elder, commuted to Stephens City from his home in North Carolina in order to preach at Orrick Chapel.²⁹

In the 1960s, the Strasburg charge again had four churches, and it encompassed approximately 125 full members. In the early 1960s, Edward G. Wiggins, who was a part-time minister, pastored Orrick Chapel and the other churches on the charge. In 1967, Mt. Zion Church in Woodstock joined the charge, raising the membership to 157 members. At that time, the lay pastor of the Woodstock church became the pastor of the newly formed Woodstock-Strasburg charge. Orrick Chapel was the second smallest church in the charge; Mt. Zion Church in Middletown was the smallest of the churches.³⁰

Between 1967 and 1985, Orrick Chapel received new members from Mt. Zion Methodist Church in Middletown, which closed sometime during that time period.³¹ In 1971, Orrick Chapel United Methodist Church (UMC) became part of a charge with Stephens City UMC, which was then led by Warren L. Reeves. After 1971, Reeves was the pastor of both Orrick Chapel UMC and Stephens City UMC. A plaque in Orrick Chapel honors Reeves, who remained in Stephens City until the mid-1980s. In 1984, Orrick Chapel also had a lay leader, Jesse L. Curry.³² In 1991, Stephens City UMC and Orrick Chapel UMC united to form a single congregation under the leadership of Waverly G. Reames.

²⁹ Communication from Anna L. Wanzer, January 2006.

³⁰ *General Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1963-1967*; Communication from Anna L. Wanzer, January 2006.

³¹ Communication to History Matters from Byron Smith, Director, Stone House Foundation, 18 January 2006; Virginia Department of Historic Resources Survey File #260-5001-0137, June 1990; Tess Klimm, Helen Lee Fletcher, and Guy M. Jones, *Middletown Historic District*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002.

³² List of Church Officials of Orrick Chapel UMC, 1984, in private collection of Anna L. Wanzer.

The Congregation of Orrick Chapel, 1869-1991

The 1869 deed represents the first public record that lists individual members of the Orrick Chapel congregation. Their stories offer a small glimpse of the people who made up the congregation before and shortly after the Civil War. The information on these men and their families suggests that prior to the Civil War, the Orrick Chapel congregation was composed of both free and enslaved African Americans.

Church trustee ***Enoch Jenkins*** – who may have been related to preacher Jefferson Jenkins – had been free since at least 1850 and was a blacksmith by trade. In 1850, he and his future wife, Amanda Fletcher, resided in Stephens City in the household of white blacksmith George Guard. By 1860, Enoch and Amanda Jenkins had their own household and owned \$125 worth of real estate. Amanda Jenkins died sometime before 1870, at which time Enoch Jenkins, their children, and several other boarders or extended family members were living in the same building as preacher Jefferson Jenkins and his family.³³

Trustee ***Pendleton Broadus*** probably was a slave until after the Civil War, since his name does not appear in the census records for Frederick County, Virginia in either 1850 or 1860. However, it is possible that he was a free man who migrated to Frederick County after Emancipation. In 1870, Broadus resided near Stephens City in the household of Martha Coleman, a 43-year-old African-American woman who owned \$80 worth of real estate and managed a household of twelve people, including herself. By 1880, Broadus had married and moved to Winchester.³⁴

Census records, combined with two letters written by men who escaped slavery, indicate that in the 1840s and 1850s, Orrick Chapel trustees Addison Taper and Humphrey Washington were slaves. In 1840, Joseph Taper wrote his former master, Joseph Long, asking him to “tell *Addison*, John & Elias to begin to serve the Lord in their youth, & be prepared for death which they cannot escape....”³⁵ This type of language is typical of antebellum Methodists, and the Addison referred to in the letter

³³ 1850 Population Census, Stephensburg, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 339; 1860 Population Census, Magisterial District No. 8, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 363; 1870 Population Census, New Town, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 112. George Guard is listed in the census as George Gard.

³⁴ 1870 Population Census, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 79; 1880 Population Census, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 460A.

³⁵ Quoted in Noyalas, Chapter 1, pp. 11-12 [emphasis added].

was probably future Orrick Chapel trustee **Addison Taper**, who would have been approximately 15 years old at the time. The slave schedules for the 1840, 1850, and 1860 U.S. censuses do not give the names of individual slaves, but they do indicate that Joseph Long owned a male slave whose age matches that of Addison Taper.³⁶ By 1870, Taper had married a woman named Sophia; he may have been de facto married to her as early as 1860, but since slave marriages were not legally recognized prior to Emancipation, no official record remains. In 1870, Sophia Taper owned \$200 worth of real estate, and the Tapers lived in Stephens City with their children and four other people who may have been extended family members.³⁷

Humphrey Washington was mentioned in an 1857 letter from former slave George Washington to his former owner, William (or James) Weaver. George Washington asked Weaver to “Tell Humphrey that I have not sold his hammers yet. I have tried several times and I find the people are not willing to give more than fifty cts....”³⁸ The letter suggests that Weaver allowed Humphrey Washington to make and sell hammers, with at least part of the profits going to Washington himself. After the Civil War, Washington legally married a woman named Frances; the couple and their children resided near Stephens City. He worked as a laborer, and census records indicate that Frances worked in their home.³⁹

The identity of church trustee **Charles Anderson** is uncertain, since the 1870 census for Frederick County listed two African-American men with that name. The first was born circa 1820. In 1870, he was working as a farm laborer, and he and his wife Lavenia lived in Stephens City with African-American housekeeper and property-owner Henrietta Fletcher.⁴⁰ The other Charles Anderson was born circa 1815. In 1860, he was about 45 years old, and he worked and lived at the farm of John S. and Mary A. Magill, who owned 19 slaves. In 1870, Anderson rented a farm near Winchester and

³⁶ 1840 Population Census, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 88; 1850 Population Census, Slave Schedule, District 16, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 24; 1860 Population Census, Slave Schedule, N.T. Stephensburg, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 12.

³⁷ 1870 Population Census, New Town, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 112; 1880 Population Census, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 292D.

³⁸ Quoted in Noyalas, Chapter 1, pp. 12-13.

³⁹ 1870 Population Census, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 79; 1880 Population Census, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 287B.

⁴⁰ 1870 Population Census, New Town, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 2

owned \$500 worth of personal property. By 1880, he had taken a position as a servant to the Plank family in the Shawnee Township in Frederick County.⁴¹

Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery was a prominent member of the Orrick Chapel congregation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Born in 1867, she was the only child of Charles Barbour (born circa 1835) and Emily Robinson Barbour (born 1843).⁴² Charles Barbour worked as a farm laborer until his death sometime between 1880 and 1900. Emily Barbour was a midwife, a skill that she taught her daughter Cornelia as well. Emily Barbour died between 1910 and 1920. It is likely that Charles and Emily Barbour were among the early members of the Orrick Chapel congregation.

Circa 1885, Cornelia Barbour married a man whose surname was Turner. The couple had eight children before Turner died circa 1900. In the early 1900s, Cornelia Turner and her children lived in Emily Barbour's house in Freetown. (See Figure 1.) As a midwife, Cornelia Turner delivered children in the Stephens City area and in Middletown, which is located approximately five miles south of Stephens City. In addition to her work as a midwife, she worked as a housekeeper and laundress for local families. Between 1910 and 1920, Cornelia Turner married Isaac Avery. By 1930, she was again a widow. She died in 1943.⁴³

Throughout her life, Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery was an active member of Orrick Chapel. She served as Sunday School superintendent and organized both youth and adult programs.⁴⁴ In 1923, she was the president of Orrick Chapel's chapter of the Ladies' Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁵ Her prominent role in the church illustrates the leadership roles that women often held in African-American Methodist churches. Cornelia Avery's daughter Ethel Williams, her

⁴¹ 1860 Population Census, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 190; 1860 Population Census, Slave Schedule, District 8, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 154; 1870 Population Census, New Town, Opequon Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 76; 1880 Population Census, Shawnee Township, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 308.

⁴² Emily Robinson was probably a free person before Emancipation. Robinson was a common surname among free blacks in Frederick County; many members of the Robinson family were the descendents of slaves manumitted by Robert Carter in the early 1800s (Ebert, 13, 24). A free African-American woman of approximately the same age named Emily Robinson appears in the 1860 census as a domestic servant to a white woman named M. Shambaugh in nearby Warren County (Warren County, Milldale P.O., p. 1066). No record of Charles Barbour (or Barber as he is generally listed in later census records) has been located in the 1860 census, suggesting that he may have been enslaved at that time. In 1880, the Barbours' household also included Emily's sister Nora Robinson and her two children.

⁴³ Anna L. Wanzer, Manuscript biography of Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Official Journal and Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1923 (p. 368).

son-in-law Clyde Williams, and her son Ellis Turner were also members of the Orrick Chapel congregation.⁴⁶

Avery was also active in the Loving Charity Lodge, a benevolent organization run by African-American women. She traveled to nearby communities to install officers in local lodges. Organizations like the Loving Charity Lodge played important roles as support networks for African Americans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Southern blacks began to form religious, benevolent, and fraternal organizations soon after the end of the Civil War. By providing social insurance, promoting education and self-improvement, and supporting political activity, these organizations helped African-Americans retain autonomy and provided services that local governments and white businesses rarely or inadequately provided. The lines between religious societies and fraternal or benevolent organizations were often blurry since many of these organizations embraced Biblical imagery and promoted Christianity.⁴⁷ Local residents remember Cornelia Avery's acts of kindness and benevolence outside of the Loving Charity Lodge as well. She was known for her willingness to help those in need, and she cared for several foster children in addition to her own eight children.⁴⁸

Some of the members of the Orrick Chapel congregation lived in Freetown, a small African-American community located along Double Church Road (State Route 641) just east of Stephens City. (See Figure 1.) The settlement appears to have been an enclave of free blacks by the late 1850s, when preacher Jefferson Jenkins owned land there.⁴⁹ In 1930, members of the congregation lived Freetown as well as other areas in and around Stephens City.⁵⁰ Church records from the 1960s

⁴⁶ Orrick Chapel Membership Register and Church Records, in private collection of Anna L. Wanzer, p. 56

⁴⁷ On black fraternal and benevolent organizations, see Theda Skocpol and Jennifer Lynn Oser, "Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations," *Social Science History* 28 (2004): 367-437; W.E.B. DuBois, *Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans*, electronic edition (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1907; Chapel Hill: Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina Library, 2000), pp. 92-134.

⁴⁸ Anna L. Wanzer, Manuscript biography of Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery.

⁴⁹ Samuel Staff to John W. Owen, 10 May 1858, Frederick County Deed Book 84, p. 22; Rebecca Ebert and Teresa Lazazzera, *Frederick County, Virginia: From the Frontier to the Future* (Norfolk, Virginia: Donning Company Publishers, 1988), 85. When Charles and Lavenia Anderson lived with Henrietta Fletcher in 1870, they may have been living in Freetown as well, since the Fletcher family did own land in the community. Likewise, Pendleton Broadus may have been living in Freetown in 1870 when he resided with Martha Coleman, as the Coleman family also owned land there. However, further research is needed to confirm that Henrietta Fletcher and Martha Coleman owned land in Freetown in 1870.

⁵⁰ Names of church members in 1930 were gathered from plaques on pews in Orrick Chapel. 1930 Population Census, Stephens City, Opequon District, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 2B (Ethel Williams), p. 2A (Mix and Anna Lee Wanzer

through the 1980s indicate that during that period, members resided in Stephens City, Middletown, or Winchester.⁵¹

Since Orrick Chapel shared a minister with three other churches and its ministers were often part-time, lay, or non-resident pastors, the laity were especially active in the everyday life and worship of the Orrick Chapel congregation. Lay people operated a Sunday School at Orrick Chapel from at least the mid-1880s.⁵² In the mid-1980s, Orrick Chapel had a lay leader and church officers drawn from the laity. These men and women managed the church's finances, outreach programs, and building.⁵³

[spelled Wanza in census]; 1930 Population Census, Opequon District, Frederick County, Virginia, p. 6B (John and Katie B. Shields). See also Obituary for Esther T. Gaither, *Winchester Star*, 3 January 2004.

⁵¹ Orrick Chapel Membership Register and Church Records, in private collection of Anna L. Wanzer, p. 6

⁵² Anna L. Wanzer, Manuscript biography of Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery; *Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1885-1887.

⁵³ List of Church Officials of Orrick Chapel UMC, 1984, in the possession of Anna L. Wanzer.

Methodism and Race

1775-1825

Methodism came to Stephens City in 1775 with preachers Richard Owings and John Hagerty. The two traveled throughout the Shenandoah Valley, preaching wherever they could. They generally arrived in communities as strangers, sought lodging from local residents, then preached to whomever would listen to them. In Stephens City, they found accommodations with town founder Major Lewis Stephens and his wife. Many of the townspeople belonged to the Lutheran or Reformed congregations, both of which worshipped in a log building on Mulberry Street. Services were often conducted in the German language, which was the native tongue of many residents.⁵⁴ Early Methodists such as Owing and Hagerty preached an emotional religion, in English, that emphasized the Bible over liturgy and that placed a high value on personal religious experiences.⁵⁵ After hearing Owings' and Hagerty's sermons, several people – including the Stephenses – professed the Methodist faith and organized a congregation.⁵⁶

By 1778, the Methodist congregation in Stephens City was part of the Berkeley Circuit of the Baltimore Conference.⁵⁷ Until 1788, Stephens City Methodists met in private homes. In 1788, they erected a log meeting house on Main Street, on a lot donated to the church by Lewis Stephens.⁵⁸ That same year, Francis Asbury, the first Methodist bishop in the United States, preached in the unfinished building, and in 1790, he included Stephens City among the towns in the Shenandoah Valley with thriving congregations.⁵⁹ By 1790, the number of Methodists in the Winchester area had grown sufficiently so that a separate circuit – the Winchester Circuit – was established.⁶⁰

Between 1775 and 1820, the Methodist congregation in Stephens City prospered, mirroring the growth of the church nationwide. In 1770, there were only about 1,000 Methodists in the American

⁵⁴ Kalbian, Section 7, pp. 2, 7 and Section 8, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Stephen L. Longenecker, *Shenandoah Religion: Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716-1865* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2002), pp. 60-64.

⁵⁶ Steele, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 21, 42.

⁵⁸ Kalbian, Section 7, p. 8; Steele, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Prior to the American Revolution, Methodism was not a separate denomination but a movement within the Church of England. In 1784, Methodists in the newly formed United States met in Baltimore, Maryland and chose Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke as the first bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁶⁰ Steele, p. 21.

colonies; fifty years later, the number had risen to approximately 250,000, making it the largest denomination in the United States. Between 1770 and 1819, over 3,000 Shenandoah Valley residents were members of the Methodist Church, and many more likely attended the church regularly but either never sought or never achieved full membership.⁶¹

In the 18th century, many Methodist leaders openly denounced slavery, a position that helped the sect attract African-American converts. In the late 1700s, some Methodists in Frederick County shared these anti-slavery sentiments.⁶² In 1795, they joined with Loudoun County Methodists and local Quakers in petitioning the state legislature for “the gradual emancipation of all slaves in the state of Virginia.”⁶³ However, by 1810, few white Methodists in the Valley advocated general emancipation, and congregants heard fewer and fewer denunciations of slavery in preachers’ sermons. The leaders of the Baltimore Conference continued to oppose the slave trade and to forbid ministers from owning slaves, but the conference took no disciplinary action against church members who were slaveholders.⁶⁴

In Stephens City, the early converts to Methodism probably included African Americans. When Bishop Asbury preached in Winchester in the mid-1780s, he noted the presence of both whites and blacks among those who came to hear his sermons.⁶⁵ Throughout the southern states, Methodism attracted many African-American converts in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and in 1819, African Americans accounted for over one quarter of the Methodists in the Shenandoah Valley.⁶⁶ One historian estimates that by 1790, the Methodists had over 8,500 black members in the southern states. By 1813, that number had risen to approximately 30,000.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Longenecker, pp. 66-67; Murray, p. 13.

⁶² Longenecker, pp. 142-143.

⁶³ Rebecca Aleene Ebert, “A Window on the Valley: A Study of the Free Black Community of Winchester and Frederick County, 1785-1860” (M.A. Thesis, University of Maryland, 1986), p. 32.

⁶⁴ Longenecker, pp. 143-144.

⁶⁵ Steele, p. 21; Ebert, p. 37.

⁶⁶ Longenecker, p. 67.

⁶⁷ Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), p. 263. Heyrman includes Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee in her calculations; Longenecker does not specify how he defined the Shenandoah Valley for the purpose of counting the number of Methodists, but he based his calculations on the records of the Baltimore Conference, which included Stephens City. See also Joseph C. Hartzell, “Methodism and the Negro in the United States,” *Journal of Negro History* 8:3 (July 1923), p. 301. These statistics count only church *members*; the number of people who regularly worshipped in Methodist churches was undoubtedly higher.

In addition to Methodists' early opposition to slavery, historians have offered several reasons why Methodism attracted many African Americans to its ranks. Preachers encouraged adherents to reject social distinctions and to acknowledge the equality of all people before God. For African Americans and others who then occupied subordinate roles in the gender, race, and class hierarchies of the era, the Methodist faith offered opportunities to experience a sense of equality and self-worth. In Methodist religious gatherings, free and enslaved African Americans were allowed and even encouraged to tell the congregation – which would have included both blacks and whites – of their spiritual experiences. Because African Americans of that era rarely had the chance to address audiences of any kind, let alone white or bi-racial audiences, speaking of personal experiences before a respectful audience represented an empowering and rare experience. In addition, African Americans had opportunities within the church to serve as local preachers and exhorters. Methodists did not require people to have a formal education in order to preach the Gospel, and some African-Americans' preaching abilities earned them the admiration and respect of fellow Methodists, regardless of their roles in the local social hierarchy. However, there were significant limits on African Americans' participation and power in the church. They could not be ordained as ministers and they were excluded from all leadership positions in the church.⁶⁸

1825-1860

In 1827, Stephens City Methodists built a new brick church to replace the original log sanctuary. The new building reflected not only the growth of the congregation but also changes in the character of Methodism nationally. By the 1820s, middle- and upper-class whites represented a growing proportion of American Methodists, and the church evolved from a radical sect to a mainstream denomination. The church created a more elaborate denominational organization, and instead of relying almost entirely on itinerant preachers, the conferences began assigning resident pastors to congregations. Indicative of this, in 1830, Stephens City Methodist Church was assigned its first resident pastors, Francis Macartney and William Edmond.⁶⁹ During this era, Methodists also tempered their denunciations of social distinctions. They relaxed rules against fashionable clothing and against preachers adopting gentlemanly manners, built elegant churches to replace rustic

⁶⁸ Mathews, pp. 189-197; Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 47-72.

⁶⁹ Longenecker, pp. 96-103; Steele, pp. 37, 43.

meeting houses, and founded colleges to train ministers.⁷⁰ These changes in church policy lessened the feeling of social equality that the early Methodists' denunciations of worldly distinctions had brought to African-American and poor white members.

Seating arrangements and administrative practices within the Methodist church in Stephens City also diminished the sense of a spiritual fellowship that crossed racial boundaries. The seating arrangements in the log church that served as the congregation's early home are undocumented, but at some point after the brick church was built in 1827, African-American members were relegated to the "end gallery" of the church.⁷¹ Class meetings, too, were segregated by race, with white men leading African-American classes. Official church records also reflected the existence of a color line within congregations. The records of the Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester, for instance, list African-American members and preachers separately from white members and preachers, whose race is not explicitly stated.⁷² Although they segregated African Americans, white Methodists in the Shenandoah Valley did not entirely exclude them from participation in church life. They continued to allow black preachers to address congregations and camp meetings despite an 1831 Virginia law that forbade slaves and free blacks from attending religious meetings where African-Americans preached.⁷³

During the second quarter of the 19th century, many southern Methodist leaders solidified their support of slavery, defending both slavery itself and their right to determine their own policy on the matter. Although the Baltimore Conference lay within two slaveholding states (Virginia and Maryland), it neither condemned nor condoned slavery. The conference enforced the denomination's long-standing rule that barred itinerant preachers from owning slaves, but it tacitly allowed slaveholding among members. Nevertheless, antislavery sentiment lingered among at least one Stephens City Methodist. According to oral histories, in 1847, Methodist Mager Steele declared

⁷⁰ Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South*, Chicago History of American Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 81-135.

⁷¹ Steele, p. 36. Methodist churches also seated men and women separately, usually with women on one side of the church and men on the other.

⁷² Quarterly Conference Minutes, 24 February 1844, Oldest Church Records – Official Members and Quarterly Conference Minutes from July 1, 1842, Market Street Methodist Church Records, Stewart J Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester Virginia. Class meetings were also sex-segregated, with men leading women's as well as men's classes.

⁷³ Mathews, p. 204; Noyalas, Chapter 1, p. 6

his opposition to slavery when he tore down slave quarters on a property that he purchased from a slaveowner.⁷⁴

In the 1830s and early 1840s, fewer and fewer of the other annual conferences shared the Baltimore Conference's moderate position on slavery. In the 1830s, at the same time that annual conferences in many slaveholding states took a stronger proslavery stance, abolitionist church members in the northern states lobbied the Methodist Church to take a strong anti-slavery position. By the early 1840s, both the proslavery and abolitionist wings of the church were increasingly unwilling to compromise. In 1844, the quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church considered two cases regarding the admissibility of slave ownership among preachers. A minister from the Baltimore Conference appealed the conference's decision to suspend him for refusing to manumit slaves whom he had acquired through marriage. To the dismay of proslavery Methodists, the national body upheld the minister's suspension.⁷⁵ The General Conference dealt proslavery Methodists another and more significant defeat when it stripped Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia of his episcopacy because he owned slaves. Most southern delegates felt that Andrew had taken every possible measure to divest himself of ownership of several slaves whom he had acquired through inheritance and marriage; as a result, they felt his slave ownership should not stand in the way of his appointment as a bishop. Following the Andrew decision, most of the southern delegates left the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) and soon formed the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MEC, South).⁷⁶ While most of the Methodist conferences in Virginia joined the MEC, South, and a few congregations in the Shenandoah Valley left the Baltimore Conference for the MEC, South, the Baltimore Conference remained within the MEC. The congregation in Stephens City also chose to stay within the Baltimore Conference.

Between 1844 and 1861, the Baltimore Conference continued trying to maintain a moderate position on the subject of slavery. As late as the 1850s, conference leaders advocated African colonization as a means of ending slavery. At the same time, they continued to tolerate slaveholding among the

⁷⁴ Noyalas, Chapter 1, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁵ Dwight W. Culver, *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church*, Yale Series in Religious Education, Number 22 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 48-49; Longenecker, pp. 146.

⁷⁶ Mathews, pp. 160-163; Culver, pp. 49-50. Andrew had inherited two slaves and acquired others through marriage. He attempted to manumit one of the two slaves he inherited and planned to manumit the other once the young man reached maturity. He legally relinquished all ownership claims on the slaves that his wife owned.

laity, and they asked itinerant ministers to discourage the development of black leadership in the few independent African-American congregations in the conference. They also refused to receive or discuss anti-slavery letters sent to them by abolitionist Methodists. However, this moderate position became increasingly difficult to maintain after the proslavery conferences left the MEC and the abolitionist wing of the church became more influential. A periodical published by the MEC, for instance, took a strong antislavery stance in the late 1840s and early 1850s, leading the Baltimore Conference to start its own publication.⁷⁷

By 1858, the Stephens City Methodist Church had established a separate house of worship for its African-American members. Located on Mulberry Street, this chapel was the predecessor of Orrick Chapel. Immediately before and during the Civil War, the African Americans who worshipped in the chapel on Mulberry Street continued to be official members of the Stephens City Methodist Church. A similar arrangement existed at the Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester as early as the 1840s. An 1844 list of the buildings owned by the Winchester church included “a House of Worship for our Coulered [sic] people....” Although the African-American members often worshipped separately from the white members, the white leaders of the Market Street Methodist Church continued to license the African-American preachers and exhorters and to include African Americans among its membership.⁷⁸

The Baltimore Conference placed African-American congregations under white supervision, and white church leadership licensed African-American preachers. But how much white ministers actually supervised the Orrick Chapel congregation is uncertain, as the degree of white supervision over black congregations varied widely.⁷⁹ If local enforcement of the law against religious assemblies of free blacks and slaves was lax, the white ministers of the Stephens City Methodist Church may have left their African-American members largely to their own devices. William Hedges’s account provides mixed signals on this question. On the one hand, it indicates that an African-American, Jefferson Jenkins, delivered sermons in the chapel on Mulberry Street. On the other hand, Hedges – a white man – was present when Jenkins preached and may have been there to provide supervision.

⁷⁷ Longenecker, pp. 144-150.

⁷⁸ Quarterly Conference Minutes, 24 February 1844, Oldest Church Records – Official Members and Quarterly Conference Minutes from July 1, 1842, Market Street United Methodist Church Records, Handley Library.

⁷⁹ Mathews, p. 200; J. Gordon Melton, “African American Methodism in the M.E. Tradition: The Case of Sharp Street (Baltimore),” *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 8:2 (Spring 2005), p. 18.

The establishment of a separate house of worship for the African American Methodists in Stephens City in the 1850s was part of a broader trend. In towns and cities throughout Virginia and other southern states, churches erected separate buildings where their African-American members worshipped.⁸⁰ Despite the implications of racial inferiority inherent in the establishment of a separate house of worship, black church members often supported or requested this arrangement. In the late 18th century, African-American Methodists in Baltimore requested permission to establish separate congregations; although these churches remained under the supervision of white preachers, the separate worship spaces provided a measure of independence.⁸¹

There is some evidence, too, that suggests that black Methodists in the Shenandoah Valley may have shared a similar desire to worship separately from whites. In 1857, the Market Street Methodist Church in Winchester decided to erect “a new church for the colored people of this Station.” The following year, it authorized the African-American preachers and exhorters in the congregation “to take up subscriptions and make collection in the country for” the new building.⁸² The fact that the white leaders of the church expected that African-American members would contribute money to support the new building raises the possibility that the African-American preachers and church members supported the establishment of a separate chapel, anticipating that they might be allowed more freedom from white supervision.

1861-1870

In 1861, Stephens City Methodist Church joined with other local churches to protest the “New Chapter” on slavery adopted by the 1860 General Conference of the MEC, under which the church declared that owning slaves was “contrary to the laws of God.” This official denunciation of slavery and of slave owners made it clear that the Baltimore Conference could no longer sustain its position of tolerating slavery among the laity and remain within the MEC. In 1861, the churches in the

⁸⁰ Another example of a separate African-American congregation established in the late 1850s was in Culpeper, Virginia, where African-American Baptists formed a semi-independent congregation that later became Antioch Baptist Church. See Evelyn D. Causey, *Fairview Cemetery*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2003. On this trend in other places in Virginia and in other states, see Noyalas, Chapter 1, p. 6; Lisa C. Tolbert, *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 220-223.

⁸¹ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 235; Melton, p. 6 and *passim*.

⁸² Quarterly Meeting Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Winchester Station, 1 July 1857 and 7 April 1858, Market Street United Methodist Church Records, Handley Library.

Winchester Circuit, which included Stephens City Methodist Church, declared themselves independent of the General Conference but still “an integral part of the Methodist Episcopal Church.”⁸³ Until the Civil War ended in 1865, the white members of the Winchester Circuit appear to have remained unaffiliated with either the MEC or the MEC, South. In 1866, Stephens City Methodist Church joined the MEC, South.⁸⁴

During or immediately after the Civil War, the African-American Methodists who worshipped in the chapel on Mulberry Street probably began functioning as an independent congregation. The Winchester Circuit’s 1861 decision to withdraw from the MEC may have been the catalyst for the members to declare themselves formally independent of the white congregation, or it may have been local white Methodists’ 1866 decision to join the MEC, South that occasioned the formal division. Between 1864 and 1869, the congregation erected a church to replace the previous house of worship on Mulberry Street. Around this time, the church became known as Orrick Chapel.

Possibly as early as the mid-1860s, the Orrick Chapel congregation joined the Washington Mission Conference of the MEC. The Washington Mission Conference was one of two such conferences organized in 1864 by African-American congregations in former slave states. The black congregations that advocated and formed the mission conferences in the 1860s generally desired separate conferences so that they could be free from white supervision.⁸⁵ Organized on October 27, 1864, the Washington Mission Conference included churches in the District of Columbia, northern Virginia, and Maryland. In 1866, the conference had a Winchester Circuit that consisted of 108 members, four preachers, and one church. The people of Orrick Chapel may be included in this number; however, the records give no further detail as to where the 108 members resided or worshipped. However, Orrick Chapel was definitely part of the Washington Conference by the mid-1880s and likely joined the conference earlier than that.⁸⁶

⁸³ *Annual Minutes of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1861; William Warren Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War* (Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern Press, 1912), pp. 47-48. An article on the Baltimore Conference’s 1861 meeting reported that Winchester preacher Norval Wilson spoke in favor of separating from the Methodist Episcopal Church. See *Republican Vindicator*, 15 March 1861.

⁸⁴ Steele, p. 44.

⁸⁵ Melton, p. 19; Culver, pp. 52-53. Six other all-black mission conferences were later organized in connection with the church’s efforts to evangelize among freed people in the states of the former Confederacy.

⁸⁶ *Minutes of the Annual Conferences*, 1866, p. 20. It is not clear whether the number of churches referred to the number of buildings owned by congregations within the conference or if it referred to the number of congregations. If the minutes

Initially, the Washington Mission Conference did not have equal status with the existing annual conferences that were led by whites. In 1868, the General Conference of the MEC voted to elevate the mission conferences to the status of annual conferences, essentially placing them on an equal footing with the white and mixed-race annual conferences.⁸⁷ The designation of the Washington Conference as it was thenceforth known as an annual conference may have instigated the 1869 transfer of the Orrick Chapel land to a group of African-American trustees. The 1860 deed that conveyed the property from John W.F. Allemong to the four white Methodist ministers who acted as trustees for the church had stipulated that the deed would remain in force as long as the property remained in use by members of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁸⁸ Between 1861 and 1868, it was unclear exactly to which conference the African-American congregation belonged; that, combined with the upheaval of the Civil War and early Reconstruction, likely delayed efforts to deed the land to the African-American congregation. But when the Washington Conference became a full-fledged conference with Orrick Chapel as one of its members, the congregation was clearly no longer a part of the Baltimore Conference, thus invalidating the 1860 deed and perhaps instigating the land transfer. Another possible explanation for the execution of the deed in 1869 is that after the African-American congregation had erected a church, John W.F. Allemong initiated the transfer of land so that he would not have to pay taxes on the building.⁸⁹

1870-1968

In the 1860s and early 1870s, all-black annual conferences such as the Washington Conference were anomalies within the MEC which resisted establishing racial segregation in the church's structure. However, between 1876 and 1939, Orrick Chapel and other African-American congregations saw the MEC move towards allowing and then imposing racial segregation on them. In 1876, the General Conference permitted integrated annual conferences to divide along racial lines if a majority

of the conference were counting church buildings owned by congregations, the Orrick Chapel building would not count towards the number of churches, even if its members considered themselves part of the Washington Conference.

⁸⁷ James S. Thomas, *Methodism's Racial Dilemma: The Story of the Central Jurisdiction* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abington Press, 1992), p. 45. Prior to 1868, the Mission Conferences could not send delegates to the General Conference, effectively excluding African Americans from participating in denominational governance.

⁸⁸ John W.F. and Sarah C. Allemong to Norval Wilson, William G. Eggleston, William S. Baird, and F.A. Mercer, 12 July 1860, Frederick County Deed Book 85, p. 151.

⁸⁹ Land Tax Records, 1866, Frederick County Courthouse, Winchester, Virginia. In 1869, John W.F. Allemong, who was living in Rockingham County by 1866, sold several other pieces of property in Stephens City.

of members voted to do so. Whites generally held the majority in these conferences, and racial segregation was becoming increasingly prevalent in secular society. Consequently, by 1895, all of the annual conferences of the MEC were either all-white or all-black.⁹⁰ Although the late 19th-century church did not require conferences and congregations to divide along racial lines, it tolerated and tacitly encouraged the practice.

The existence of separate churches and administrative structures for black and white Methodists had both advantages and disadvantages for African American members. Separate annual conferences ensured that African Americans would determine the practices and leadership of the annual conferences as well as have a formal voice in the General Conferences that determined national church policy.⁹¹ At the same time, the expansion of state-sponsored segregation and the development of arguments and movements that opposed racial segregation and discrimination highlighted the implications of racial inferiority that came with separate annual conferences for blacks and whites. Moreover, there were no African-American bishops in the MEC. In 1872, the church officially stated that whiteness was not a criterion for the episcopacy, but the General Conference would not elect African-American bishops to serve in the United States for another fifty years.⁹²

Beginning in the 1910s, negotiations to re-unite the MEC and the MEC, South sparked discussion of racial segregation within the Methodist Church. Some members of the MEC, South refused to join with the MEC as long as African Americans remained part of the denomination. More moderate members of the southern church were willing to consider re-unification if the church established separate governing structures for African Americans. In 1936, after several failed attempts at re-unification, the General Conferences of the MEC and the MEC, South approved a Plan of Union. Under the terms of the 1936 Plan of Union, African Americans remained part of the denomination. However, all of the African-American conferences were placed within a single jurisdiction, while the white annual conferences were grouped into jurisdictions that corresponded

⁹⁰ Willis J. King, "The Negro Membership of the (Former) Methodist Church in the (New) United Methodist Church," *Methodist History* 7:3 (1969), p. 38.

⁹¹ Julius E. Del Pino, "Blacks in the United Methodist Church from Its Beginning to 1968," *Methodist History* 19:1 (1980), p. 11.

⁹² Culver, pp. 55-56. The MEC did elect blacks to serve as missionary bishops to Liberia.

to geographical areas. The jurisdictions were a new level of church administration that had the authority to elect their own bishops and other representatives to church committees.⁹³

During the debates over the Plan of Union at the 1936 General Conference of the MEC, both white and black delegates spoke in opposition to the Central Jurisdiction, arguing that it gave official sanction to racial prejudice. African-American delegate David D. Jones of North Carolina asserted:

“Everyone knows the plan is segregation, and segregation in the ugliest way, because it is couched in such pious terms. My friends, what does segregation do for a people? It sets them aside, it labels them, it says that they are not fit to be treated as other people are treated.”⁹⁴

When the measure establishing the Central Jurisdiction passed in the General Conference, the African-American members remained seated in protest as the other delegates sang the hymn, “We Are Marching Up to Zion.” The establishment of the Central Jurisdiction took effect in 1939; at the same time, the national church changed its name to the Methodist Church.⁹⁵

Soon after the 1936 General Conference, African-American ministers and laity almost immediately began working to abolish segregation within the Methodist Church. As early as 1944, the General Conference expressed official disapproval “of racial discrimination within the Methodist Church.”⁹⁶ Yet it proved slow to take actual steps to eliminate the Central Jurisdiction. In 1956, two years after the Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public education unconstitutional, the General Conference considered abolishing the Central Jurisdiction and adopted a measure that allowed local churches and annual conferences within the Central Jurisdiction to transfer into the appropriate regional jurisdiction. However, such transfers required approval from two-thirds majority of both the receiving jurisdiction or conference as well as the transferring church or conference. Although this measure represented a significant victory in terms in that it allowed integration within the Methodist Church, in practice, it allowed the southern regional conferences to reject integration.⁹⁷ In 1957, the Virginia Conference, to which the Stephens City Methodist Church belonged, approved

⁹³ King, pp. 40-42; Culver, pp. 60-76; Murray, pp. 31-39.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Culver, p. 72.

⁹⁵ Jan Snider, “Remembering Central Jurisdiction: ‘The Story Needs to be Told,’” United Methodist News Service, February 16, 2005; Murray, pp. 40-43.

⁹⁶ Del Pino, pp. 13, 16 (quotation).

⁹⁷ Murray, pp. 53-115; Del Pino, p. 16.

the idea of abolishing the Central Jurisdiction, but like most southern annual conferences, it remained all-white through the mid-1960s.⁹⁸

In 1964, Orrick Chapel and the rest of the Washington Conference became part of the North Carolina-Virginia Conference of the Central Jurisdiction. At that time, the General Conference was still asking the annual conferences and jurisdictions to integrate voluntarily rather than taking active steps to eliminate the Central Jurisdiction. What finally forced the issue was a proposed union between the Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren, a small, primarily Midwestern denomination that was practically all-white but steadfastly opposed to racial segregation and discrimination. In 1966, the General Conference approved a plan that required the merger of the former Central Jurisdiction conferences with the regional jurisdictions.⁹⁹ When the annual conferences of the Central Jurisdiction voted on the plan in 1967, the North Carolina-Virginia Conference and most of the other annual conferences approved it. In 1968, delegates to the all-white Virginia Conference, which included Stephens City Methodist Church, voted 721 to 260 in favor of eliminating the Central Jurisdiction. They also adopted a resolution “to provide the necessary time and detail for welcoming our Central Jurisdiction brethren and their wives into the membership and fellowship of the Virginia Annual Conference.” In 1969, the first African-American delegates attended the Virginia Annual Conference; Jesse Curry, a member of Orrick Chapel, was present as a lay delegate.¹⁰⁰

The elimination of the Central Jurisdiction represented the culmination of African-American Methodists’ opposition to the 1936 Plan of Union. African-Americans’ campaign to abolish the Central Jurisdiction was intimately connected to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and they gained momentum and strength from concurrent efforts to end legal racial segregation in secular settings.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Journal of the Virginia Annual Conference*, 1957, p. 57.

⁹⁹ Murray, pp. 165-199; Del Pino, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁰ *Journal of the Virginia Annual Conference*, 1968 (pp. 84, 89 (quotation)), 1969.

¹⁰¹ Snider; Murray, pp. 79-164.

Suggestions for Future Research

Because no official records of Orrick Chapel remain, annual conference records are important resources for information about the church's history. The Divinity School Library at Duke University has the published minutes of the Washington Conference from 1865 through 1938. The early records of the conference would likely reveal exactly when Orrick Chapel joined the Washington Conference. The published minutes often noted major improvements to churches, and thus may help in dating the circa 1900 renovation of Orrick Chapel. Local newspapers, too, might reveal facts about important events in the Orrick Chapel's history.

The Library of Virginia has Sunday School records for the Stephens City Methodist church in 1827. These records may shed light on early African-American Methodists and on whites' attitudes towards religious education of black Methodists.

Oral history interviews will be important sources on the history of Orrick Chapel and its congregation in the 20th century. Potential interviewees include congregation members Jesse Curry and Anna Wanzer, both of whom can probably recommend other church members to interview. Former pastors of both Orrick Chapel and Stephens City UMC, including Warren L. Reeves and Waverly G. Reames, might consider interviews as well; their contact information is available through the clergy directory of the Virginia Conference of the United Methodist Church (www.vaumc.org). Former members and pastors of Orrick Chapel can also assist in collecting documents and artifacts related to the church and the African-American community in Stephens City. John Mann UMC in Winchester may still have the communion dishes, candlesticks, and altar cross from Orrick Chapel, and contacting members and pastors of this congregation may elicit information about Orrick Chapel. Likewise, contacting members and former members of the other churches on the Strasburg charge might prove fruitful.

In other communities in post-bellum northern Virginia, African-American churches played important roles in building schools.¹⁰² The 1870 census indicates that Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery and the children of the 1869 trustees were attending school at that time. Further research

¹⁰² History Matters, LLC, *Loudoun County African-American Historic Architectural Resources Survey*, prepared for the Loudoun County (Virginia) Board of Supervisors and The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia, September 2004, p. 17.

into the establishment of schools for African-American children in Stephens City immediately after the Civil War could shed light on the Orrick Chapel congregation's role in providing educational opportunities.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Deed Books and Land Tax Records, Frederick County Circuit Court, Winchester, Virginia.
Market Street United Methodist Church Records, Stewart J. Bell Archives, Handley Regional Library, Winchester, Virginia.
U.S. Population Census. Manuscript Returns for Frederick County, Virginia, 1850-1930.
Orrick Chapel Membership Register and Church Records and Miscellaneous Documents, Private Collection of Anna L. Wanzer.
Stevens City Deed Transcriptions and Transcriptions of Diaries and Memoirs of the Steele Family, Private Collection of Linden A. Fravel, Jr.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Annual Minutes of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856-1863.
Fifty-Second Session of the Washington Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1915.
General Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, 1866-1867, 1940-1967.
Journal of the Virginia Annual Conference, 1957-1984.
Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1885-1887.
Official Journal and Minutes of the Washington Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1923.
Republican Vindicator (Staunton, Virginia). Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War, Virginia Center for Digital History, University of Virginia (http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/xml_docs/valley_news/html/opening.html).
Winchester Evening Star (Winchester, Virginia).

Secondary Sources

Allen, L. Scott. "Toward Preserving the History of the Central Jurisdiction." *Methodist History* 7:1 (1968): 24-30.
Causey, Evelyn D. *Fairview Cemetery*. National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2003.
Crosby, Pamela. "Chronology of the Central Jurisdiction." United Methodist News Service, September 2, 2004. Available online at <http://archives.umc.org/interior.asp?ptid=2&mid=5605>.
———. "The Former African-American Annual Conferences." United Methodist News Service, September 2, 2005. Available online at <http://archives.umc.org/interior.asp?ptid=2&mid=5606>.
Culver, Dwight W. *Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church*. Yale Series in Religious Education, Number 22. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
Del Pino, Julius E. "Blacks in the United Methodist Church from Its Beginning to 1968." *Methodist History* 19:1 (1980): 3-20.
DuBois, W.E.B. *Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans*. Electronic edition. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1907; Chapel Hill: Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina Library, 2000.
Dvorak, Katharine L. *An African-American Exodus: The Segregation of the Southern Churches*. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishers, 1991.
Ebert, Rebecca Aleene. "A Window on the Valley: A Study of the Free Black Community of Winchester and Frederick County, 1785-1860." Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, 1986.
Ebert, Rebecca and Teresa Lazazzera. *Frederick County, Virginia: From the Frontier to the Future*. Norfolk, Virginia: Donning Company Publishers, 1988.

- Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- Hartzell, Joseph C. "Methodism and the Negro in the United States." *Journal of Negro History* 8:3 (July 1923): 301-315. Available online at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/hartzell/hartzell.html>.
- Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.
- Hildebrand, Reginald F. *The Times Were Strange and Stirring: Methodist Preachers and the Crisis of Emancipation*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995.
- History Matters, LLC. *Loudoun County African-American Historic Architectural Resources Survey*. Sponsored by the Loudoun County Board of Supervisors and The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia. September 2004.
- Kalbian, Maral S. *Newtown/Stephensburg Historic District*. National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1991.
- King, Willis J. "The Negro Membership of the (Former) Methodist Church in the (New) United Methodist Church." *Methodist History* 7:3 (1969): 32-43.
- Klimm, Tess, Helen Lee Fletcher, and Guy M. Jones. *Middletown Historic District*. National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2002.
- Longenecker, Stephen L. *Shenandoah Religion: Outsiders and the Mainstream, 1716-1865*. Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2002.
- Lyerly, Cynthia Lynn. *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770-1810*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South*. Chicago History of American Religion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Melton, J. Gordon. "African American Methodism in the M.E. Tradition: The Case of Sharp Street (Baltimore)." *The North Star: A Journal of African American Religious History* 8:2 (Spring 2005). Available online at <http://northstar.as.uky.edu/volume8/melton.html>.
- Murray, Peter C. *Methodists and the Crucible of Race, 1930-1975*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004.
- Noyalas, Jonathan A. "Two Peoples, One Community: The African American Experience in Newtown (Stephens City), Virginia, 1850-1870." Unpublished manuscript.
- Peck, J. Richard. "Many White Methodists Joined Fight Against Segregated Church." United Methodist News Service, February 16, 2005. Available online at <http://archives.umc.org/interior.asp?ptid=2&mid=6696>.
- Quarles, Garland R. *The Churches of Winchester, Virginia: A Brief History of Those Established Prior to 1825*. Prepared for the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, Winchester, Virginia, 1960.
- Skocpol, Theda and Jennifer Lynn Oser. "Organization Despite Adversity: The Origins and Development of African American Fraternal Associations." *Social Science History* 28 (2004): 367-437.
- Sloat, John I. *Methodism in Winchester: An Historical Sketch, With Special Reference to the Market Street Methodist Episcopal Church*. Winchester, Virginia: Forney Print Shop, 1926.
- Snider, Jan. "Remembering Central Jurisdiction: 'The Story Needs to be Told.'" United Methodist News Service, February 16, 2005. Available online at <http://archives.umc.org/interior.asp?ptid=2&mid=6723>.
- . "Church's 1936 Debate Revealed Passions, Differences Over Race." United Methodist News Service, February 16, 2005. Available online at <http://archives.umc.org/interior.asp?ptid=2&mid=6728>.
- Steele, Inez Virginia. *Early Days and Methodism in Stephens City, Virginia, 1732-1905*. Second Printing. Stephens City, Virginia: Commercial Press, 1994.

- Sweet, William Warren. *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern Press, 1912.
- Thomas, James S. *Methodism's Racial Dilemma: The Story of the Central Jurisdiction*. Nashville, Tennessee: Abington Press, 1992.
- Thompson, Elaine E. *"Courage, My Soul": Historic African American Churches and Mutual Aid Societies*. The Loudoun Museum, Leesburg, Virginia, 2000.
- Tolbert, Lisa C. *Constructing Townscapes: Space and Society in Antebellum Tennessee*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Wanzer, Anna L. Untitled biography of Cornelia Barbour Turner Avery. Unpublished manuscript provided by the author.
- Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*. Religion in America Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

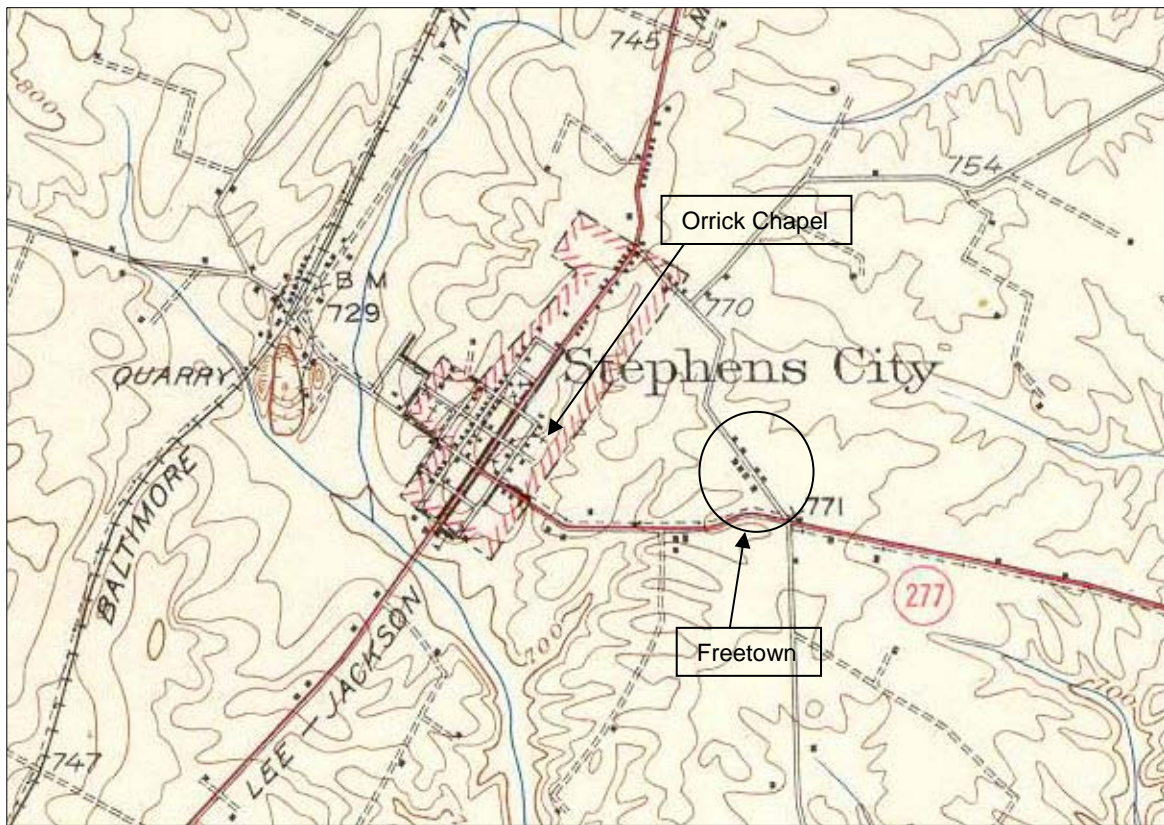


Figure 1. USGS Map, Winchester Quad, 1942, showing location of Orrick Chapel and Freetown (Maptech Historical Topographic Maps).



Figure 2. View of Orrick Chapel, looking northwest from Mulberry Street (History Matters, 2005).

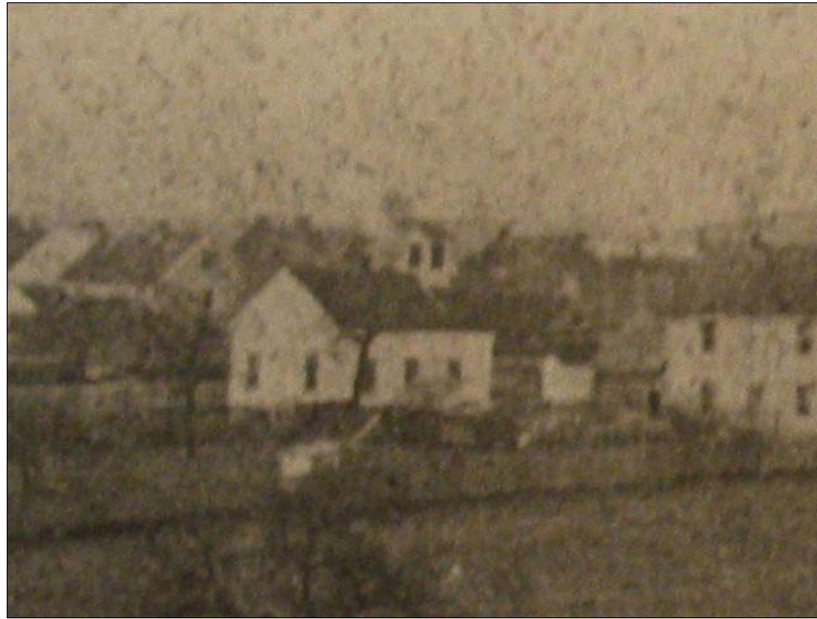


Figure 3. Detail of 1880s panoramic photograph of Stephens City showing Orrick Chapel (Stone House Foundation).



Figure 4. 1920s photograph of Orrick Chapel (Stone House Foundation).¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The original photograph was given to Anna L. Wanzer by Mildred Grove.



Figure 5. View of chimney in attic (History Matters, 2005).



Figure 6. View of crawl space, showing stone pier and log joists and summer beam (History Matters, 2005).



Figure 7. View of northeast elevation, showing standing-seam metal roof and lancet windows (History Matters, 2005).

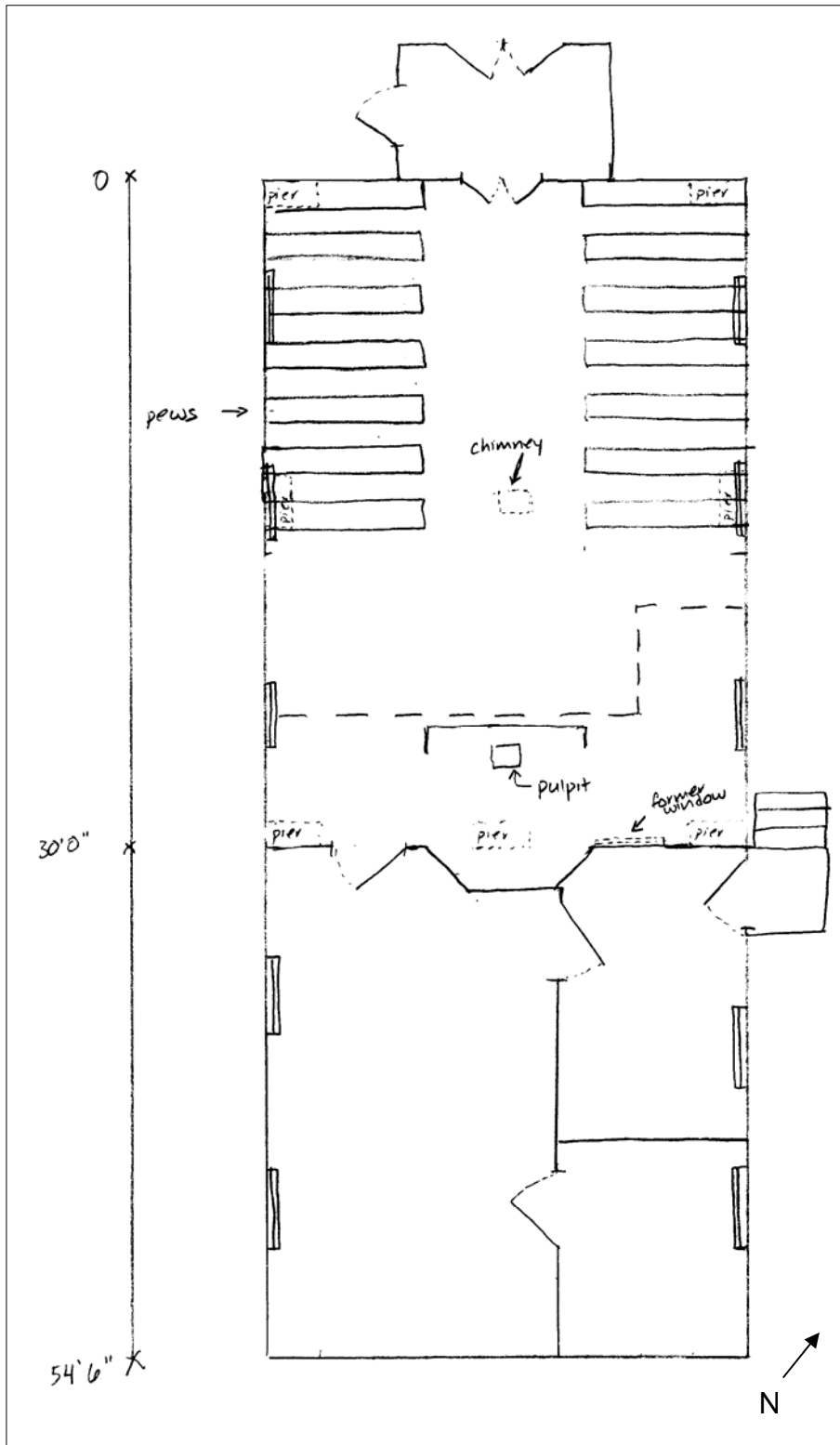


Figure 8. Floor plan (not to scale) of Orrick Chapel (History Matters, 2005).



Figure 9. Doors to sanctuary, from interior (History Matters, 2005).



Figure 10. Interior, looking west, showing trim and pews (History Matters, 2005).

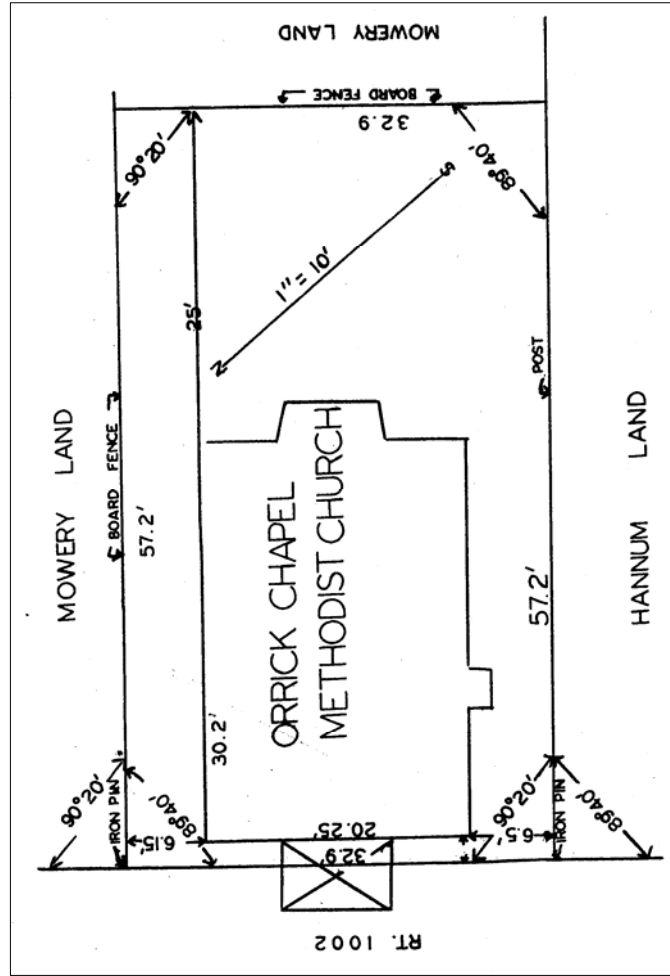


Figure 11. Plat of Orrick Chapel, 1960 (Frederick County Deed Book 267, p. 426).