

## PREFACE

This historical essay, written for the one hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the consecration of our church, aims to place in perspective Emmanuel's role in the history of Middleburg. It is not a chronology, although all relevant events, for the most part sequential, are meant to be included. It is a hopefully focused story about the interaction of the communicants of this church, over a century and a half, with the other citizens of their community, state, and nation. Over the long haul, threads of continuity become apparent in the behavior of institutions--such as our local church, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., indeed, the Middleburg community. These will be traced up to the threshold where history ceases and current events begin. No imprudent extrapolations beyond that point are required or made. But the reader may discover a continuum or two that he/she would like to go on.

In my collation of our fairly complete church records with contemporary local developments, particularly in the Civil War, Reconstruction, fin de siecle, and early 20th century periods, I relied, sometimes heavily, on local historian Eugene Scheel. The History of Middleburg and Vicinity, either answered my many questions or pointed me to those who would. Without the short cuts his investigations provided me, I would not have finished this essay in the allotted time. For the entire period, particularly as regards church history and theology, I relied on standard church scholars, notably J. T. Addison, W. G. Chisolm, and W. W. Sweet. Of the unpublished doctoral dissertations I saw, that of neighbor, Rev. Robert W. Pritchard of Grace Episcopal Church in Berryville, was particularly helpful on the durable Oxford Movement.

Withal, once the wheat was separated from the chaff and the plethora of material digested, the essay poured forth. The conclusions are my own, except where specifically attributed to others. Hopefully, the mistakes, mostly minor, I have encountered in my sources have been spotted and corrected. May any such infelicities that have crept into this work be accorded similar discreet courtesy. Have fun.

Chet Low Middleburg, Virginia August 1993

P.S. In writing this essay, I followed the injunction of a long-ago graduate school professor. I did, indeed, "lose myself" in the subject matter, in this instance, mostly, in 19th century Middleburg. For much of the spring and early summer my war bride of 47 years did most of the work in keeping up the old homestead. She did this, as is her wont, almost surreptitiously. Many thanks, "Peggy".

Grateful recognition is extended to our talented photographer, Howard Allen, and to our most creditable pinch-hit layout man, Mike Lonneke.

## Rectors of Emmanuel

The Reverend Philip Slaughter	? - 1844
The Reverend William Meade Jackson	1844 - 1849
The Reverend Richard Hokker Wilmer	1849 - 1852
The Reverend O.A. Kinsolving (Johns Parish formed 1853)	1853 - 1870
The Reverend William Meade Dame	1870 - 1874
The Reverend Magruder Maury	1874 - 1875
The Reverend William H. Johnson	1876 - 1878
The Reverend Arthur S. Johns	1878 - 1887
The Reverend John Cary Ambler	1888 - 1889
The Reverend E.S. Hinks	1890 - 1896
The Reverend R. K. Massie	1896 - 1898
The Reverend Claudius Smith	1898 - 1902
The Reverend Thomas C. Darst	1903 - 1905
(Above named Rectors served Meade and Johns Parish jointly)	
The Reverend John F. Coleman	1905 - 1908
The Reverend Alexander Stuart Gibson	1908 - 1916

The Reverend Robert A. Goodwin	1917 - 1920
The Reverend David Campbell Mayers	1921 - 1946
The Reverend Spence Dunbar	1946 - 1954
The Reverend Ernest A. deBordenave	1955 - 1967
The Reverend Philip C. Bentley	1967 - 1969
The Reverend S. Neale Morgan	1969 - 1993

## HISTORY OF EMMANUEL PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH 1843 -1993

A section of Middleburg, lot 19, was purchased on June 25, 1842, to erect a church for Protestant Episcopal worship. This action, significant in itself to local traditional Anglo-Christians, was in conformity with a broader statewide resuscitation of the former Anglican Church in Virginia.

Moribund in the early 19th century, the Anglican Church community had flourished here in colonial times, particularly in the tidewater regions of the state. It was the Established Church before the American War for Independence, as it was in several other of the Anglo-American colonies, notably in the South. In colonial Virginia, the challenge to its influence, or, more exactly, its crown- fostered socio-political dominance, by other faiths or autonomous governing bodies, was, perhaps, the least among the colonies. Its civil and juridical powers could be felt at all colonial administrative levels--from the interlocking responsibilities of vestrymen and councilmen in the parishes and counties, notably in cases involving "moral offenses", including church tax evasion, to the Bishop of London's influence with royal governors and, in measure, the House of Burgesses. With this influence came a greater measure of financial viability than was enjoyed by churches elsewhere in the colonies. The tide of resentment against English control mechanisms that swept colonial America in the years just before the American War for Independence whipped by Evangelical as well as Calvinist winds of change within the Christian community, tended to engulf the unresponsive, royally protected Church. In Virginia, the tie-in with the civil powers which had so fortified the Anglican clergy for the 170 years since the founding of the colony in 1607, was now to prove the principal cause of its near demise. The newly independent state government, starting with its suspending, in 1777, of the parish levies for the maintenance of the clergy, eliminated outright or steadily eroded all sources of former Church financial support and influence. Yet, at the same time, it appropriated the former royal government's authority, now neatly converted to its own, in Church affairs. The royal politico-religious Establishment had been overthrown by an as yet undisciplined American democracy. Under such dire constraints, both economic and political, a number of the clergy returned to England; others went into teaching and secular pursuits; a not inconsiderable number joined the burgeoning breakaway sects, notably the Methodists and Baptists, as well as the ever present Calvinists. Astonishingly, to their enduring credit, fully two-thirds of the Anglican clergy serving in Virginia in 1776 were to support the cause of liberty--a considerably larger proportion than that of the population at large. And enough continued in their ministry, largely in the tidewater regions, to permit the survival, however feeble, of their Church. .The Anglican Church in Virginia, through an ironic twist of its former Establishment prerogatives, was manipulated by the civil authorities in Williamsburg/Richmond for the entire eight year course of the American War for Independence (the capital was moved from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1780). Because of unrepealed colonial religious discriminatory laws excepting the Anglicans, the Church was prevented by the Virginia Assembly from benefitting from that body's acts purportedly effecting all religious groups-- including Thomas Jefferson's great Statute of Religious Freedom. Only after its formal disestablishment in 1784 from Virginia state authority was it belatedly allowed, the next year, to elect its own vestries and Finally to call a convention

to regulate its disordered affairs. At this convention in 1785, the newly formed Diocese of Virginia was finally enabled to elect deputies to the already established (1784) Episcopal Union of the Dioceses of the Several States in General Convention. Here, too, it accepted the new name of Protestant Episcopal Church, already adopted by the Maryland Diocese in 1783 and those of the other states in convention by 1784. Also of signal significance was the definitive discontinuance of the civic functions of the vestry--most recently under the control of the Virginia state government. And church law was revised to allow for the election of laymen to Church Councils.

## **Virginia Bishop Consecrated in England**

Tradition dies slowly, particularly when prolonged by untoward outside circumstances. The first ever elected bishop of the Virginia Diocese in the nascent United States of America, in order to validate his office, had still to be consecrated in England. Bishop Elect David Griffith, named to the office in 1786, was unable to obtain funds for the Atlantic crossing, so, in failing health, he resigned in 1788. He was not succeeded until 1790, when the Diocese met again and elected Rev. James Madison, a cousin of the future president, who duly sailed to England and was consecrated at Lambeth Palace, London, in September of that year. Did he take the required Oath of Allegiance to the King? We do not know. In any event, under the new independent Virginia Diocese statutes, the Episcopal Church in this state now had the authority, through its own elected bishop, to confirm and ordain in its own right.

The Church's road to recovery, however, was to be painful and slow. The Diocesan Convention of 1813 reported that of the 250 places where, prior to 1776, there had been an Anglican Church or chapel, there were then just 20 localities in Virginia, mostly from tidewater parishes, where there seemed to be "enough interest in the Episcopal Church to justify the organization of a missionary committee." In the Episcopal Church organization--going back to Anglican days--a parish is financially self sustaining; a mission requires both material and clerical support from the Diocese.

In the early part of the 19th century, the newly organized Anglican Church-- now Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia--was to emerge only slowly from this low point in its history. During the recent revolutionary struggle with England, Virginia's was the only American state government to acquiesce to demands of rival Protestant sects to seize Anglican Church property. The Baptist Associations, under initial prodding of the Presbyterian Synod, persuaded the civil authorities during the 80's and 90's to convert Anglican/Episcopal Churches, temporarily abandoned by dwindling congregations, to free churches for the use of every Protestant community. For different reasons a growing number of precursor lobbyists, of deistic and other "free thinking" persuasions-- influenced by revolutionary thought in France and opposed to organized religion per se--added to the public pressure to seize the royally tainted Church's property. By the Virginia State Assembly Act of 1802, Episcopal Church buildings, glebes (cultivable Church land preserves), and physical objects such as church bells and commune vessels, were actually seized to establish "funds for the poor" and for other "public services."

Writing in 1955, Episcopal Church historian W. G. Chisolm, remarked that "...in some of the older Tidewater Counties today, there are publicly held funds used to support public schools, which owe their origin to these seizures."

By the turn of the 19th century, parish after parish was giving up. When the incumbent rector died or moved on, services ceased. Congregations of other denominations were using Episcopal Church buildings. Their churchyards became public burial grounds. As so often happens in periods of demoralization and decline, gross misbehavior of a few Anglican/Episcopal clergymen became public record in 1814.

## **The Diocesan Convention held no meetings between 1805 and 1812**

Finally, the body came together and offered some hope for the future. Then in 1814 came support from the prosperous, revived Episcopal community of New York. Rev. Richard Channing Moore of that city was elected both Bishop of Virginia and rector of the just built elegant Episcopal Church of Richmond.

Bishop Moore's inspiration and energy were fundamental to the renaissance of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia. It was under his administration, which lasted until his death in 1841, that a much needed Evangelical revival got underway. This was carried vigorously to "mission territory" in the western part of the state, notably the transmontane region where Baptists, Methodists, German Protestant sects, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and even Quakers outnumbered those still loyal to the discredited, stodgy, traditional church. He founded, in 1823, with the able assistance of the Rt. Rev. William Meade (his eventual successor), the Theological Seminary at Alexandria. Thenceforward, it would supply not only the clergy for the resuscitated Diocese, but send forth missionaries to all parts of the world. The Episcopal High School was founded, also in Alexandria, in 1839. The decade of the 30's saw an accelerated reclamation of old church buildings and construction of new ones--particularly in the western parishes. By 1841, the year of Bishop Moore's demise, there were 170 occupied, functioning Episcopal Churches in the Virginia Diocese, served by 100 clergy. It was at this point of Episcopal revitalization that Emmanuel Church in Middleburg was to join the church building movement.

## **"A Very Neat and Convenient Brick Church"**

Catholic sacraments, notably those of infant baptism, penance (confession), the Elected trustees of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Middleburg, which by now was holding regular, if spaced out services in Street, on June 25, 1842, for \$75. The four trustees who made the purchase, the free church, bought a quarter of an acre of lot 19 at the southeast corner of Washington and Liberty Asa Rogers, William B. Cochran, Francis W. Powell, and George Cuthbert Powell, contracted for the immediate construction of a "house of worship", which was completed in just one year. On July 21, 1843, the new Virginia Assistant Bishop John Johns, consecrated "a very neat and convenient brick church by the name of Emmanuel (sic)--Hebrew for 'God is with us.'" Possibly "neat" and "convenient" had something to say about its size--a rectangle measuring just 30'x40' and able to accommodate only 40 odd souls. It was not until 1927 that Emmanuel was enlarged by about one third to its present dimensions (30'x60').

Still, by the norm of the period for western Episcopal churches, its size would not have raised eyebrows. Still standing and in use are a good number that are no larger than the original Emmanuel building, including two reasonably close, if later neighbors: its sister church, Our Redeemer in Aldie, and the Church of Our Savior in Oatlands.

The neo-Gothic look given the simple edifice, alongside the occasional classic revival style seen in other churches of the period, reflect popular taste in the middle Atlantic states in the mid-19th century.

Parish boundaries then, particularly in the western parts of the state, were still very much in flux. Thus, Emmanuel Church, Middleburg, in 1843, was located in Meade Parish, roughly taking in almost a quarter of Loudoun County in the southwestern part plus the northwestern corner of Fauquier County. In 1850, the Aldie Episcopal vestry, then holding services in a free church, successfully sought the transfer of their precinct from Shelburne Parish, centered in Leesburg, to Meade Parish. Then in 1853, the eastern half of the enlarged Meade Parish was redesignated as Johns Parish, losing the western corner of Loudoun County to the Meade Parish of today, centered in Upperville.

## **The Oxford Movement**

The rebuilding momentum in the Virginia Diocese, so successfully engineered by Bishop Moore, was to continue through three able successors, William Meade, John Johns, and Francis Whittle, right into the 20th century. Only the issue of slavery and the Civil War years (1860-65) were to bring a temporary arrest in growth for the decade of the sixties. An earlier initiated disruption, the Oxford Movement, occasioned by nagging theological differences between high and low churchmen--between what were facetiously dubbed "wifely Roman Catholics without the pope" and the more protestant Evangelicals--was to fester in England and America for nearly half a century, well into the eighties. By forcing reconsideration of all seven of the original Eucharist, and marriage, and the need, or even legitimacy of adult reaffirmation of faith, high church Oxford divines focused attention on the scant differences separating them from Rome. A number of prelates did, indeed, leave the church in both countries to return to Roman Catholicism. In Virginia, as elsewhere in America, the erudition and eloquence emanating from Oxford initially attracted favorable attention. From 1839, the year of the dissemination of the Oxford

Tracts in America, through the forties, there was earnest debate. Bishop Moore, however, himself a low church Evangelical, quickly saw theological error in this 'Romanism'. His successor, Bishop William Meade, brought new vigor to the growing Evangelical dissent. In this he was helped by Charles P. McIlvain of Ohio, whose *Oxford Divinity*, published in 1841, was the first careful analysis of and response to the Oxford Movement by an American Evangelical. Meade, throughout the forties, guided the Virginia

Diocese in a more mainstream Protestant direction. Such an orientation, with its appeal to reason as opposed to Episcopal dogma, was also in greater harmony with the frontier American experiment. It seems to have clearly helped church growth in Virginia, particularly in the western parishes.

## High vs. Low

To subsume that all Bishop Meade's rejections to handed down ritualism were models of enlightened thought would, in itself, be "an error". The important 19th century high church scholar and historian, John H. Hopkins, tells us that the presence in c. 1843 of a copy of the Tracts on a bookshelf in the Alexandria Episcopal High School was sufficient cause for the bishop to suggest that the teacher, Milo Mahan, move elsewhere.

The tension between high and low churchmen brought into focus by the Oxford Movement was sustained, indirectly, by the Muhlenberg Memorial, a document presented in 1853, at the General Convention in New York, to the House of Bishops. Taking its name from its author and first signer, the "Memorial" or "Representation" was, in essence, an urging to renewed emphasis, on the Protestantism of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Its recommendations proved to be a signal precursor to the ecumenical movement, essentially among Protestants, and, ultimately, in the present century, among all Christians.

In the mid-19th century, however, not only the rigid high church formality, but its presumed source, "the consolidated forces of Romanism," were the enemy. The Memorial's main, but not exclusive, backers were low churchmen-- spirited Evangelicals. Among the more startling recommendations was that Episcopal Bishops be allowed to ordain pastors of other Protestant faiths. They would thus be consecrated, in the Anglican view, by a prelate in the Apostolic Succession and their administering of the sacraments fully validated. Other differences in form and program might then become more acceptable. This, toward the end of broadcasting the umbrella Protestant Christian religion over as wide an area as possible. Central in the ensuing debate within the Church was a popularizing of the service, drawing significantly on the Baptist and Methodist experiences.

While the "Muhlenberg radicals", deeply sincere in their ecumenism, if more warm-hearted than practical, caused the expected internal sharp debate, the Church, in the end, adjusted with surprising civility.

At the next General Convention in 1856, the Bishops, on the recommendation of a select committee, passed a number of resolutions relaxing rigid Anglican custom and/or orthodoxy. Thus, the order of Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, being separate offices, were once again allowed to be used separately; itinerant preachers, only for sparsely inhabited areas, were conditionally sanctioned; an ecumenical study body of five Bishops-- the Commission of Church Unity--was created. The more radical, not to say administratively bizarre recommendations, such as ordaining pastors of other Protestant faiths--assuming they would wish such a blessing--were understandably eschewed.

A curious offshoot of the ecumenical initiative were the future wishful closer relations with the Swedish Lutheran Church and the Orthodox Church. The former was prompted significantly by the huge 19th century Swedish emigration to North America, given the ease with which Swedish Lutheran settlers had integrated into surrounding Anglican communities in colonial and early post-colonial Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

But to return to a more innocent, less complex, if parochially foreboding a time, how did Episcopalian in Middleburg attune to their church's conflicts on the eve of the Civil War?

## Form and Ritual

Readings of Emmanuel Church's carefully penned and preserved vestry meetings of the late 1840s and 1850s would suggest an untroubled acceptance of the fundamentally low church form and ritual. The resuscitated Anglican Church throughout Virginia tended again to attract the established social classes. It was, as a whole, less inclined than the more populist Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, even Lutherans to take strong positions on troubling theological or political issues. If the presumed populist sermons of such Emmanuel rectors as the long-serving O.A. Kinsolving might have seemed less compatible in some Anglican tidewater parishes, where large-scale planters still constituted a trend setting elite, they were models of moderation for a farming, mercantile, small manufacturing western parish.

While, episcopacy and litany aside, the demonstrated outreach Christian-humanism within the National Lutheran Churches of the Scandinavians, notably the Swedes and the Danes, would understandably be compatible to Episcopalian ecumenists, how could/do Episcopalian justify or identify with the Orthodox Church?! From

those pogroms against the Jews in Russia, starting in the latter 19th century, towards which the Orthodox Church turned a blind eye, to the Muslimophobic support of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia today, it hardly presents a particularly paradigmatic picture. Are compatible forms and admittedly lovely music really enough?

In the still relatively frontierwest, two mildly populist trends were in evidence. Closer to less affluent, hard-working communicants, who tended to associate God with personal labor in the fields, not infrequently alongside the few slaves many farmers held, with work in the mills and small industrial enterprises, the Church saw little purpose in stressing the sophisticated separateness of episcopal faith. In Meade and Johns Parishes there was scant interest in a high church recapturing of some Catholic traditions. Low church ritual, already more ornate than that of any of their neighbors, was as much as the traffic would bare. There was only one Catholic family of status and influence in the area--the former Chancellors. Virtually the only Catholics known to most southern Loudouners in the 1850s were the tough young Irish laborers on the Piedmont to Upperville Pike and the Manassas Gap Railroad line just then abuilding into The Plains. Hardly representative of that erudite Catholic thought which so inspired the Oxford divines. Bishop Meade and other influential low churchmen, even the Muhlenberg Memorialists, with their emphasis on the Protestantism of the Protestant Episcopal Church, proved indispensable to Church survival and continued growth in western Virginia.

## A "Peculiar Southern Institution"

On the long-festerin issue of slavery there seems to have been less blatant rationalizing of the "peculiar Southern institution" than in the richer plantation parishes with their many slaves. Still, one looks in vain for any strong stand on this fundamental moral problem that had already in 1845 split the Methodists and Baptists into northern and southern bodies and remained naggingly tendentious in Middleburg through the fifties, even among Southern Methodists. Names associated with successful medium-scale farming (mostly wheat and dairy), processing, small manufacturing, and mercantile enterprises appear abundantly on antebellum Emmanuel communicant lists. Nearly all of these enterprises employed some slaves. A score or more of the larger farms employed over 10 slaves.

If some of the principal actors in such clans as the Powells, Nolands, and Rogers were not regulars at local Protestant Episcopal Church services, they remained well represented by immediate families and close relatives. Their sons and daughters were baptized, married, and buried with Church rites. Major William Noland, in the early 1850s, was both Senior Warden of Emmanuel's Vestry and Mayor of Middleburg. In 1854 the Senior Warden was William Benton. An English immigrant to neighboring Pot House in the early 1800s, this brickmaker and master builder supervised the construction of Oak Hill (1820), the home of President James Monroe, with whom he had served in the War of 1812, Unison Methodist Church (1832), "brick house" at Foxcroft (c. 1830s), the Middleburg Baptist, formerly Free Church (1844), and the enlarged Emmanuel Church's parsonage (1860). The previous year, 1853, the vestry had just commended Rector Kinsolving for his all-around inspiring leadership.

Benton, by this time one of the most prosperous local citizens, owned 19 slaves, whom he was teaching to read and write in defiance of Virginia law. This fact may shed light on the active concern of some Emmanuel communicants and those close to them, notably their rector, with the moral dilemma posed by slavery.

The Powells were the principal slave holders, Burr owning 33 of the 146 slaves in the Middleburg area in the early 1820s. Other Powells apparently kept up the tradition after Burr's demise in 1839. Elizabeth Noland owned over a dozen slaves, a seeming anomaly in those days of male management. Middleburg's slave population, 37% at the time of the 1830 census, had grown to nearly half the inhabitants on the eve of the Civil War. Slaves in the 1850s were the dearest of commodities, a sound male in his 20s worth \$1,000. That sum would buy a substantial brick house on a half-acre lot in Middleburg or 40 acres of good bottom land in the vicinity.

## Where Are The Men?

A collation of the names of Emmanuel's communicants during the late 1840s and 1850s reveals that barely 20% were men. This is a relatively small proportion even for those times. The Methodists and Baptists did better. One may assume that actual weekly church attendance may rarely have exceeded 15% male. Yet Emmanuel's vestries throughout the 19th century were made up solidly of men. At a Fourth of July celebration in Middleburg in the thirties, presided over by Major William Noland, the toasts were arranged in order of importance. After quaffing through a dozen, running the gamut from love of country, freedom and free governing institutions to the continued success of Middleburg's agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, came the final one--to the gentler (?) gender. Those still able to stand raised their cups "to woman, Americans wear no yoke but hers."

If the musty, carefully penned Church records, in themselves, offer only sporadic clues concerning the ambiance of village life in Middleburg just before the War, the vestry minutes in particular are precise on matters of financial outlay. Here may be found an accounting of expenditures for the housing of the rector and the extension and improvement of Church property. We find that adequate housing for the rector and his family was always high on the agenda. In the early years, however, houses were rented to serve as a parsonage. In 1854, the annual rent for a typical twin-chimneyed, two-and-one-half story brick house was \$150.

The early resolve of the vestries to own their parsonage came to fruition in 1856 when the Emmanuel congregation purchased lots 51 and 52 "with the brick dwelling thereon situated" for \$1,200. The brick dwelling was apparently retained, refurbished, and enlarged under the direction of William Benton, the work substantially completed by late 1859-

In those bygone days, the vestrymen, all citizens of substance, often met large expenses out of pocket and then passed the hat to recoup most, if not all of the outlay from the parishioners. In this manner close to \$650 went into the parsonage improvement and enlargement fund in 1858 and 1859, already discounting the \$200 due architect/supervisor Benton, who forgave the debt. In the end, 66 communicants, each giving between five and one hundred dollars, paid for the acquisition and improvement of the parsonage.

## The Vote (not) to Secede

Secession and the Civil War came reluctantly to Middleburg and the surrounding precincts. With Abraham Lincoln's election in November 1860, immediate threats to forsake the Union were to be heard in northern Virginia as elsewhere in the South. But when Virginia voters went to the polls on February 4, 1861 to vote for delegates to determine the issue--seven Southern states had already left the Union--Loudoun, Fauquier (just), and Clarke Counties all voted for known anti-secessionists as their respective two candidates to the Richmond Convention. Prominent Emmanuel communicant, Asa Rogers, although personally opposed to secession, incorrectly gaged the popular temper and ran on Loudoun's secessionist ticket. He was punished, his 1,103 votes losing to anti-secessionists John Janney (1,955 votes) and John A. Carter (1,411 votes).

The supposed conclusive vote of the Richmond Convention on April 4th yielded a two-to-one margin against secession (98 to 45). But then just a week later, as the Federal Navy attempted to resupply Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, the surrounding Confederate Forces based in and near the city opened fire and quickly bombarded the Fort's garrison into submission. Waverers on both sides now steeled themselves for war. On April 17th, with the Richmond delegates again in place, a new vote was taken, this time with fewer abstentions, resulting in an 88 to 55 decision to secede. Still, both Loudoun delegates voted 'no', as did both Frederick County delegates, a delegate from Clarke County, and one from Fairfax County. Fauquier, which, with its larger-scale, slave-manned agriculture and looser ties with northern markets, had earlier just barely opposed secession, this time voted to go.

By May, Virginia Governor John Letcher had mobilized the state militia and was cooperating with the Confederate States of America central command, just then relocating from Montgomery, Alabama to Richmond, in providing companies of C.S.A. regulars. Asa Rogers, Emmanuel's Senior Warden, was activated as a Brigadier General at the head of the militia's 2nd Division. Subordinate was Loudoun's 132nd Regiment, commanded by Captain Lorman A. Chancellor; and subordinate to his command was the Middleburg Company commanded by Emmanuel communicant Lt. William L. Powell.

The regular C.S.A. companies enjoyed special status, and here is where many young Middleburg men volunteered, once secession was a fact, even paying into Confederate coffers three dollars for the privilege. Conscription, though not too far off, had not yet come to either the North or the South.

Church records first list him as "General" in 1858. The initial opposition to secession in Middleburg stemmed partly from a genuine lingering attachment to the U.S.A., reaffirmed-well into the fifties in Fourth of July celebrations, a reliance on personal industry and entrepreneurial skills with important ties to the North, and some moral ambivalence toward slavery. The latter sentiment, despite the owning of "field hands," "laborers," and "servants" by virtually all the established citizenry. Given the thriving commerce with Alexandria, Washington, Baltimore, even Philadelphia, and other shortly-to-be northern preserves, the disinclination to disrupt ties with important economic bases certainly figured prominently. The disinclination of several of Middleburg's prominent Episcopalian citizens to rupture ties with the North, i.e. to sunder the Union, was consistent with the attitude of many Southern clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. As noted

above, this was the only major Protestant Christian denomination that was reluctant to get down in the trenches in the two-decade long internece confrontation over slavery. One could argue that the well-educated and reasonable bishops really thought that secession and war could be avoided, that reason and continued compromise might lead to eventual manumission, with compensation to the owners and disengagement. One could also postulate that the successful pragmatic men of affairs who had influence in Church matters were lacking in the humane principles, the self-abnegating compassion of the more involved Methodists, Baptists, and notably the abolitionist Calvinists who saw in slavery, this late in the game, an intolerable evil. The heaviness of their cross, one may suppose, was brought home to bear on some ambivalent slave-holding parishioners by the not infrequent local celebrations to "liberty" and to "free America".

The former mother country, England, whose cultural influence was still manifest, had long since unilaterally banned slavery from the high seas (1807), enforcing the measure with its fleet (after 1811), and liberated with compensation to the owners all the slaves in its far-flung empire (1833). Both initiatives were pushed by the Anglican Church's late 18th and early 19th century crusade against slavery. Given these pressures from within and without, the American Episcopal cousins might well have been criticized for dragging their feet.

Whatever the causation, in all likelihood a blend of self-interest and a somewhat more exalted care for the nation, the reasonableness of the Episcopalians did stand out. No less an authority on the history of religion in America than the University of Chicago's late W. W. Sweet declared. "Of all the American churches, none handled the delicate situation created by the war more tactfully than did the Protestant Episcopal."

Sweet goes on to attribute the very late schism within the Episcopal Church into Northern and Southern bodies (1861), and the quick reconciliation that was to come at the conclusion of the war. Sweet, William W., *The Story of Religion in America*, Harpers & Bros., New York & London, 1939; p. 454. Civil War, to its moderation on the whole slavery issue and the relative freedom from vindictiveness of the majority of its leaders. By July 1861, the new Loudoun County C.S.A. regulars were all called to the Manassas Line. The days leading up to this big but costly Southern victory, and the months and years of war that followed, were carefully chronicled by two Middleburg housewives: Emmanuel communicant Mary Noland Cochran, wife of vestryman Dr. (physician) William Cochran, and Catherine Broun, the feisty Methodist wife of the Middleburg postmaster. Eugene Scheel, in his exhaustively researched recent monograph, samples for us the lively accounts of these two eye witnesses of life in a wartime small town. Middleburg's closeness to loyal Union territory in Maryland and shortly-to-be-formed West Virginia, and the continued ebb and flow of battle lines, rivulets of which swept through it several times, made it an engaged outpost of the Confederacy. Here is where loyalties were bestowed, once secession had become a fact, and largely remained through four arduous years of war. To be sure, attitudes quickly hardened toward the North, especially when the ambulance wagons brought in the wounded from the First Battle of Manassas. Local citizens read the details of the Southern victory two days later in the July 23rd newspapers, which also announced the appointment of Burr Powell Noland as Quartermaster General of the Confederate Army. His apparent active quest and prompt acceptance of the post proved that this prominent Emmanuel stalwart, if only sometime communicant, who earlier doubted the wisdom of secession, would stand firmly with his state once the die was cast. He had been elected in April to the General Assembly, at which time he stated his willingness "to give, aye to sacrifice ...all I have to sustain our Old Mother." He promptly gave gratis 3,000 bushels of wheat and 150 head of cattle to the Confederacy, "a patriotic example" the editor of the Leesburg Democratic Mirror hoped would be followed by other "owners of heavy crops and droves." There were few takers, although sales of foodstuffs and materiel to the new C.S.A. were brisk. Noland further opted to serve as Q.M.G.C.S.A. without pay. As Mary Noland Cochran and Catherine Broun chronicled, the belated enthusiasm for the Southern cause was soon put to severe tests, when Union forces periodically passed through and briefly occupied Middleburg. Nearly always in need of provisions, they would help themselves to fresh vegetables, grains, dairy products, cattle and horses, more truculently as the war wore on. There were also threatened and occasionally carried out reprisals for the town's hospitality to such rebels as General Jeb Stuart and Major John S. Mosby. Still, in these waning days of chivalry, both sides alternated the horrible blood letting of this first modern war with local acts of gentility, courage, and compassion that at least presented an occasional mixed picture. There were, of course, exceptions to the rule. Notable was the conduct of Bishop Pope of Louisiana. Educated at West Point, this ardent secessionist exchanged his miter for a C.S.A. Major General's commission and was killed in battle fighting the yankees. In the aftermath of General Robert E. Lee's defeat at Gettysburg, invading Union troops occupied the town, arrested a number of men, and "pilfered and confiscated everywhere...every horse in town that was able to reach Fairfax Court House was taken." So chronicled Mary Cochran. Catherine Broun added that a fire deliberately set in Edwin Broun's store was allowed to burn as the Union General rode off with his guard. Yet, she advises, had it not been for a stout Pennsylvania sergeant, who intervened to form a bucket brigade with the local ladies and servants, much of the town might have been destroyed. Both chroniclers seem to-concur that, on the whole, the Northern commissioned officers behaved better than the troops. Here, however, was a total conspicuous exception.

## **Emmanuel Rector Taken Prisoner**

Then again, prominent local citizens would occasionally be taken prisoner and transported to Capital Prison in Washington. Detained there, at one time or another, were Emmanuel Rector O.A. Kinsolving, sometime communicant Dr. (physician) Harvey McVeigh, and the neighboring Dover prominent educator, Robert Burns McCormick, at the time the immediate area's last active teacher. Yet Union officers would grant paroles--that quaint custom of the time whereby the paroled would give his word not to engage in hostile activity for a specified period of time--to serving militia and even, albeit rarely, to C.S.A. officers and men. On June 22, 1863, as Lee's Army of Northern Virginia was advancing into Pennsylvania, one Union chronicler at Vine Hill, Middleburg tells us: "we found all the division staff, enjoying themselves at the house of General Asa Rogers, an old Virginia gentlemen "all of the olden times', ...making the best of a bad bargain, he had thrown open his house to General Barnes and his staff, given them the use of his servants, and refused to receive anything in return. He was a hail-fellow-well-met, social and agreeable." He was also, remember, a founding father of Emmanuel Church. Eugene Scheel, who provided this tid-bit in his absorbing Middleburg monograph, recalled Asa Rogers' obituary in the September 22nd, 1887 Leesburg Mirror: "He was a man of fine presence, and bore with him to the last, that dignity and affability of manner so characteristic of the old Virginia gentleman."

## **Effects of Emancipation**

By 1863, particularly after the Southern defeat at Gettysburg (July 3rd), and subsequent advance of Northern troops into and around Middleburg, many tired of the war's human and material losses. Following President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which had taken effect the previous January, a number of slaves had made off for the Union lines. But many, apparently decently treated and loyal to their owners, remained. In this period when all formal schooling for white children virtually ceased, Margaret Harrison Benton continued at the Benton's home at Pot House, to teach their slaves reading and writing, now augmented, individually, with a trade. Not one of Benton's slaves

bolted during the entire course of the war. A number of them were the ancestors of those industrious blacks living in today's tidy St. Louis. By the fall of 1864, after the town's three small private schools, including one for young ladies, were forced to close because of shortages in everything, including teachers, there seemed little promise for a resumption of some community schooling. Yet at precisely this lowest ebb of the town's wartime fortunes, longtime Loudoun educator and sometime Emmanuel communicant,

T. I. Galleher, opened the Middleburg Male and Female Seminary where he advertised the teaching of English, "Ancient and Modern Languages", and voice. At Dover, three miles east of town, with the release from a yankee prison of its prominent headmaster, Robert B. McCormick, the long-lived quality English and Classical School (1858-1888) would soon again be flourishing. At Pot House or New Lisbon, three miles northwest of town, Benjamin Hyde Benton of that clan of conscientious citizens, began again to teach white children the "three r's" as Margaret continued to teach the blacks next door. A small tuition was paid by the parents of the white children. Statewide public free education had yet to come to Virginia.

## **More on Jailing of Rector**

Through the course of the war, attendance at occasional worship services at Emmanuel was sparse. Vestry records suggest the Church may not have been entirely accessible to worshipers for periods of time. It may have been used for other purposes. Possibly, briefly, as a hospital, as was the Free Church and Asbury Methodist' Church, or at least as an ad hoc collection place for the wounded. Rector Kinsolving was packed off by Union forces to Capitol Prison in Washington for a stay of many months. A knowledgeable descendent advises that he spent some of this time incarcerated in Pennsylvania. In any event, by force of Union arms, he was absent from Emmanuel's pulpit. Such seemingly arbitrary behavior on the part of the Northern occupying forces would suggest Rev. Kinsolving provided his flock with a firebrand "secesh" sermon or two. Possibly, but not necessarily. Starting in late 1862 and going on into the spring of 1864, when President Lincoln personally intervened for at least the third or fourth time to curtail the abuse, Northern churches successfully prevailed upon the U.S. War Department to have Southern ministers and rectors removed from their churches, and, indeed, often incarcerated for any sign of "proselytizing the rebel cause." The occupiers' intelligence network with the local populace was probably at least as riddled with self-seeking ineptitude as would be the case today. Some of the removed and occasionally imprisoned men of the cloth were undoubtedly advancing the rebel cause from their pulpits--with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Others sinned .only in their failure to take an oath of allegiance to the U.S.A.--a difficult undertaking for a pastor, many of whose flock were serving in the Confederate forces. The empty pulpits in the more densely populated places would often be filled by approved northern "co-religionists".

## Reconciliation and Reconstruction

It should be noted here that those Northern Protestant churches that so interfered with the pastoral work of their Southern brethren notably did not include the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. Official correspondence with the U.S. War Department indicates that the most active interference was instigated by the Methodist Episcopal Church North, the American Home Missionary Society, the United Presbyterian Church, the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the United Brethren Church. It could be argued that they felt their anti-slavery cause so much more deeply.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. never recognized the Montgomery, Alabama "Council" of Southern Bishops in July 1861, nor its successor "Council" in Columbia, South Carolina (October 1861), where the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederate States was formed. The Church in the U.S.A., at its Convention of 1862 in New York, and again at that of October, 1865, in Philadelphia--barely six months after Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House--included in its roll calls all the Southern Bishops. Their warm reception at the latter Convention and the conciliatory speeches of several Northern bishops ended the brief schism. Before the following year was out, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. was again a single unified body. The Methodists were not to pull off a reconciliation until 1928, while the Baptists have yet to do so.

The moderation of the Episcopalians throughout the war period proved helpful in restoring their forward momentum--their continued growth into the 20th century. While tending to attract the better-educated classes and evincing relatively little internal factiousness, the Church in Virginia was to remain behind the more evangelical Methodists and the Baptists in wealth and numbers. The Presbyterians, too, after a hiatus of several years, as well as the recently arriving Roman Catholics, were ultimately to grow more rapidly. But in the immediate post-war years the relative calm and reason of the Episcopalians registered well in an overall climate of disenchantment with organized religion brought on by the horrors and excesses of the first modern total war.

Ante-bellum America had been a relatively innocent nation. The great majority of its citizens, frontier, rural, and urban, considered themselves practicing Christians. Their behavior was characterized by three bedrock beliefs: in God, in the efficacy of prayer, and in the literal truth of the Holy Scriptures. They could be greatly shocked by such happenings as the appearance in 1859 of the English naturalist Charles Darwin's seminal treatise, *On the Origin of Species*. The author, who three decades earlier had aspired to a Christian vocation (his degree at Cambridge was in theology), had dared to postulate that the earth was somewhat older than the 5,763 years accepted by biblical scholars of the day, that man had not only been around for at least hundreds of thousands of years, but "was closely related to the simians", i.e. monkeys.

Yet these determined true believers, North and South, but mostly South. witnessed death and destruction on a heretofore unimagined scale. Despite their faith and earnest prayers, many could no longer manage their lives and had been carried, seemingly out of control, through four devastating years of war. To this day the most costly war in U.S history in terms of casualties, property damage, and broad-scale human suffering.

Middleburg had suffered. But it had been spared the truly large-scale destruction that had hit many Southern communities--notwithstanding its location near the major lines of battle. Its contingent of young men who went off to war--some 200 from the town and immediate surroundings--was more than decimated, suffering about 13% killed and another 25% wounded. But numerous Southern towns and villages did far worse, losing anywhere from half of their serving soldiers killed to well over 80% in a few appalling cases documented by Civil War scholars Ken Burns and Shelby Foote.

Three mills near Middleburg were burned, as were a number of close-in barns. The town was spared. Horses and livestock were down around 50%, fencing destroyed, and some farms, per force, neglected. Starting just 15 miles west, however, just over the mountain, the Shenandoah Valley was laid waste in the fall of 1864. General Sheridan's deliberate scorched earth policy resulted in farms being totally destroyed, including the burning of dwelling houses, and the confiscation of virtually all animals. His successful purpose was to crush all opposition for the duration, to deprive permanently the Confederacy this base of operations and corridor to the North.

While Winchester was singed, way to the southwest, Atlanta--most of it-- was burned to the ground. General Sherman then cut his 60-mile wide swath of destruction all the way to Savannah and on up through South and North Carolina. In Vicksburg, considerable numbers of residents were still, at the end of the war, living in caves, while back up in nearby Richmond, large sections of the Confederate capital had just in recent weeks been torched. For the only time in its history broad areas of American territory experienced total war.

In Middleburg before the war the bustling commerce and processing had been tied closely to the normally bountiful yields of the surrounding farms, mostly producing wheat, corn, and oats. Dairy farming was important. Beef herds were also raised profitably. Despite the lack of field hands and animals in April 1865, as the war ended just in time for spring planting, and the destroyed fences and barns, hard work and favorable weather enabled a skeletal work force to produce a good harvest. This was the one encouraging event in Middleburg's somber emergence from the ruins of war. It was diminished by attempted land confiscation and a local diphtheria epidemic that killed several children.

## Post War Hardships

A number of the town's once-prominent citizens were heavily in debt. As the wealth of these local leaders should have survived the yankee depredations, it may be assumed they had invested heavily in the defeated South. Huge sums were lost by the formerly well-off in the now worthless Confederate bonds. Among those newly insolvent was our gallant Asa Rogers, who regained financial viability only by selling nearly all his Loudoun lands. He moved to Richmond, where the House of Delegates had elected him a state auditor, and remained there until 1886 when he came back to his Middleburg home to die. Ten other prominent local citizens, including Emmanuel communicants Burr Noland and William Benton, had to fight expropriation of their land by the new Federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, shortly--for its five-year duration in Virginia--to be known as the Freedmen's Bureau. They apparently succeeded only because President Andrew Johnson interceded in September, in the nick of time, to end the confiscation of supposedly abandoned Virginia lands. In this and other presidential initiatives to stem Northern excesses, Johnson literally put his presidency on the line.

While the carpet baggers and other sundry Northern politicos who first flooded southward were, for the most part, cynical and opportunistic, their numbers were nearly matched by devoted educators and early on agents who helped the Freedmen's Bureau distribute food to needy negroes and whites. Northern missionary groups were active in both areas. The latter's primary purpose, once basic needs were filled, was to uplift and educate the masses of freed negroes.

The major Northern churches considered unambiguously that slavery was the root cause of the war. The alleged Southern stand for "freedom", i.e. states' rights or self determination, and sectional economic rivalries were all, said they, an outgrowth of this fundamental evil. Church scholars Addison and Sweet concur that the Civil War appealed to Northern religious zeal more strongly than any other war thus far in American History. They could say as much if they were writing today.

Some of those teachers who came to Middleburg and vicinity to educate the newly-freed blacks were sponsored by Northern churches and operated through the Freedmen's Bureau. Catherine Broun noted in her diary as early as May, 1865: "See the colored people going about their books Yanks teaching them." Sixty black children were attending school in town in 1868. In all, nine schools for blacks were operating in Loudoun County and half a dozen in Fauquier County. Three were immediately accessible to Middleburg. The Middleburg Bureau reported that year that "The colored people are very zealous in school matters." This was a period in which poor white children were receiving no formal schooling at all.

Public education in Virginia, available by local option since 1846, did not appear state-wide until 1870, the year in which Reconstruction in Virginia largely terminated, and the Freedmen's Bureau departed its Washington and Jay Street corner. But the effects of its concentration for the previous five years on reconstruction was considered terminated in a given state when white-native-Democrats were enabled to out vote and then oust negro-outsider-Republican governments. It did not finally happen throughout the South until 1877, when South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida emerged from Reconstruction. The education of young blacks was one of its few lasting local success stories. Their future relative progress in the local public schools and their subsequent contributions to the commerce of Middleburg and vicinity

represents a sort of long-ago successful "head start" program pushed by the short-lived Bureau and the churches. The Bureau's efforts to assure black field hands and other laborers pay on a par with that of whites was less successful over the longer haul.

Public education was launched in Mercer District with nine one-room school houses. Seven were for whites. The two for blacks were the former Freedmen's Bureau schools in Middleburg and Willisville. The first structures in Middleburg erected expressly as public schools did not appear until 1886 (white) just northeast of town and 1888 (black) on the northeast corner of Jay and Marshall Streets. Emmanuel's Burr Noland may have made a significant personal contribution to the latter, which was characterized in a contemporary Loudoun Mirror article as having been built by him.

We learn from the first annual Virginia Public School Report that 36% of the white and 28% of the black school-age population were accommodated that first year, with actual attendance 23% and 20%, respectively. Compulsory public elementary schooling, enforced by the local authorities, was still in struggling post-war Virginia many years down the pike. In these very early days most pupils who attended at all left school by the age of 13. The teacher's salary in Mercer District was \$39.15 a month, exceeded in the area only by Leesburg's \$40. Not bad for that time and place. Probably at least another 10% of the school-age white children were attending the three local private schools, including our T. L. Gallaher's Male and Female Seminary. The 1870 Census listed five local teachers, including a Baptist minister. It did not, however, separate out the public school from the private school posts.

Immediately after the war, a large number of blacks left the land for work in the nearby cities, rapidly reducing their proportion of the local population from about half to 35%. Efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau to acquire for each black family forty acres and a mule (a bonus for many demobilizing Northern soldiers willing to settle the frontier) were based on the false assumption that some 15,000 acres of Loudoun land, neglected because of the war, had been abandoned. As noted above, the owners, with last minute help from President Johnson, thwarted the official confiscation effort. Eugene Scheel neatly and empathetically concluded in his Middleburg monograph: "The new freedmen leased parcels of a few acres, and if they had any savings after the rent was paid, those savings went toward the hope of owning land--+ hope that in too few cases their children would see come true. It was a new order in an old setting."

Long-serving Rev. O. A. Kinsolving resigned his pulpits in Johns and Meade Parishes in the spring of 1870. He was replaced by Rev. William Meade Dame who was promptly voted in by both Vestries. Unclear are the reasons for the departure of an apparently able leader who had kept a weakened and harassed church alive during the trying war years and stayed at the helm through the wrenching changes of the federally imposed Reconstruction. The Emmanuel Vestry record of April 30, with a bare quorum of four meeting, merely stated tersely that "a communication was received from Rev. O. A. Kinsolving tendering his resignation as Rector of this parish, which motion was accepted, and Dr. Boyle requested to express to Rev. Kinsolving the regret of the Vestry feel "in parting from one who has been so long that spiritual guide." Seemingly a bit perfunctory in the light of all they had been through together. Seventeen years, particularly those 17 years, were a long time. Inevitably, even among level headed Episcopalians there may have been some tensions. In those days of much shorter life spans, the Reverend may, in any event, have felt it time to retire. We have no record of his age. Rev. Meade Dame, serving both Johns and Meade Parishes, was paid a starting salary of \$800 plus the use of the parsonage. At least \$450 of this was paid by Meade Parish, whose enthusiastic vestry early advanced his candidacy.

Thomas M. Boyle, M.D., who was delegated to express the vestry's sense of sweet sorrow at the departure of Rev. Kinsolving, was another leading citizen of the period. He had been attending the lame and the halt locally since the forties. He was an active vestryman, apparently from Emmanuel's very beginnings up to the point. He was the most frequently designated delegate to the annual Diocesan Conventions for the past two decades. He was designated the alternate delegate to the 1872 Norfolk Council. That was at the April 20 vestry meeting. He died in September of that year at the age of 64 and was buried in Sharon Cemetery, Middleburg.

Virginia, formed from those western mountain counties loyal to the Union had been a political fact since 1863, and that conforming to this reality the Diocese wished to form from its own western parishes a new Diocese of West Virginia. The Convention and probably Emmanuel's representative with it, voted in the affirmative. At Rector William Johnson's behest, the members inaugurated in a modern practice, of fulfilling annual pledges through monthly installments and collection plates at Sunday services.

## Resurgence of Oxford Influence

In the broad area of church doctrine and ceremony much had been happening. These developments at the national level inevitably affected the style and substance at Emmanuel. We will recall that the Oxford Movement, which had its biggest influence in America during the early 1840's, just when Emmanuel Church was opening its doors, was opposed by Bishops Moore and Meade. The ultimate willingness of a host of American prelates and priests to cave in on some seemingly important symbolism, however, is again a testament to Episcopalian moderation. Within the organization internecine quarrels, while always there, are less likely to be brought to a seriously disruptive state than in other major Protestant churches.

To digress, for a moment, purposefully from our narration, a look at today's Emmanuel Church service is instructive. Few would quarrel with the characterization of our long-serving rector, Neale Morgan, as a low churchman open to change and progress. That he is blessedly free of racial or ethnic antipathy of any sort and has shunned in all its forms the restrictive traditionalism of some of his parishioners. His commitment is seen in his obvious concern for the well-being of the whole human race. A survey of the communicants, particularly the vestries, over the last decade reveals a rather mainstream American Protestant group. Indeed, several of my acquaintance had been Presbyterian, Methodist, even Baptist, and could probably, without too much of a wrench, return to those folds. Yet these seemingly Protestant mainliners, notably their rector,<sup>^</sup> may be seen performing or permitting a number of rituals which would have been judged unacceptably Roman in the pre-Civil War Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.--certainly in western Virginia's frontier Emmanuel. As extracted from a list of proposed specific prohibitions, presented by the responsible committee of bishops at the Baltimore General Convention of 1871, they would include: 1) carrying a cross in procession; 2) elevating the elements so as to offer them to the people as objects of adoration; 3) mixing of water with wine as part of the Eucharist service; 4) bowing, crossing and genuflecting; 5) permitting an unordained person to assist the minister in any part of the service of Holy Communion; 6) chanting the prayer; and 7) wearing colorful, ornate surplices and stoles.

As least as concerns ceremony, Emmanuel's low church and its low church rector have come a ways since the ante-bellum days of more authentic "Protestantism". A significant reason for such reverse "permissiveness"--supported by the studied restraint of the General Conventions--is the Church's ecumenicism in the 20th century--its looking to the right as well as to the left as it seeks Christian reconciliation.

Finally, a substantive feature entirely Roman Catholic in origin, was the admittance in the latter 19th and early 20th centuries of monastic orders for men and women--first in the Anglican and then in the Protestant Episcopal Church in confronted with this acceptable evaluation as a fait accompli, Reverend Morgan wishes to make a further explanation. He notes that he is the first rector or priest of Emmanuel not trained in the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria. This graduate of the Berkeley Theological Seminary, New Haven, Connecticut, today part of the Yale Divinity School, characterizes himself as only a moderate low churchman. He is concerned, he says, with the centrality of the Eucharist and would unabashedly return to the Episcopal worship some of the ceremony and grandeur of traditional Catholicism in the U.S.A. Here in the actual working of the Church was a latter-day triumph for the Oxford divines.

## After Reconstruction

With the readmittance of Virginia into the Union in 1870 and the accompanying end of Reconstruction--i.e. the withdrawal of the "meddling Republican yankees"--the state's quick recovery under native Democratic governance would be hampered by the need to repay the pre-war debt of \$45,000,000. This was a huge sum for that day. Much of it was incurred by large investments in infrastructure as Virginia belatedly started recovering in the forties from its earlier prolonged slump--the lingering depression caused by two wars (Independence and "1812") and the exhaustion of large tracts of land by the unwise over-cultivation of tobacco. Over a third was interest accrued because of the de facto disruption of the debt's servicing during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The disavowal of most official financial transactions while Virginia was a member of the Confederacy was a requirement for readmittance into the Union--understandable economically since the state notes and bonds had become worthless.

Not having experienced the total war that occurred elsewhere in the South, and, for the most part, spared a revengeful Reconstruction, Middleburg's leading citizens were again leading, even before Virginia's early readmittance into the Union. In the seventies, eighties, and nineties, through good and bad times, town and district councils were made up of Powells, Bentons, Nolands, and now some new names such as Haxall and McVeigh--but from the same social stratum and the same outsized share of Emmanuel communicants. There were depressions, as the town experienced not only the same economic cycles as the state and nation, but kept slipping as it tried unsuccessfully to regain its old economic base.

Labor was beginning to organize. In the winter of 1898 the black washerwomen of Middleburg came together and threatened to strike unless four weeks be considered a work month. They would then earn \$8 a month, but had to supply their own firewood. Times were not easy.

A serious social problem here as elsewhere in fin de siecle America was the excessive consumption of hard liquor. Severe situations provoke severe reactions. Prohibition was in the wind. Local jurisdictions had for some time been voting whether to be "wet" or "dry". Middleburg, with two saloons and a Christian Temperance Society, tried to stay in the wet column most of the time, but the drys won in 1880 and again in 1897.

As for party politics, Middleburg pretty much followed the state. Democratic for over half a century following readmittance in 1870, with only one brief hiatus in 1882 when Republicans were needed to help solve the debt crisis.

As post-war Virginia struggled toward solvency, not really attained until the nineties, belt-tightening was felt in small, essentially rural towns like Middleburg. The effects of the tight constraints on public expenditure were exacerbated by urbanization in northern Virginia, reflecting the rapid industrialization of America.

As seen above, public education had a tardy, uncertain start, principally because of a lack of state financial backing. At the same time the improvements in transportation and communication lured local buyers to the cities where the mass produced and sold goods were more varied and cheaper. The defection from town to city outlets was hastened by the arrival and rapid growth of the mail order houses, notably Montgomery Ward and Sears and Roebuck. Aided by Rural Free Delivery, inaugurated in nearby West Virginia in 1896, and parcel post, early the next century, the new distribution systems of a rapidly industrializing nation simply froze out the small manufacturer and merchant. The Middleburg that was ultimately to recover from the war would be fueled by an economy very different from that of the flourishing antebellum days, when an almost feudally self-sufficient town and vicinity boasted, in addition to the several dry goods and hardware retail outlets, the grains and wood processing mills, an iron foundry, a farm machinery factory, a coach and wagon factory, and a tannery. These enterprises, most of them, were little damaged by the war. Their products were simply to be had more cheaply, even expeditiously in the now accessible mass production and mass sales outlets in the cities.

Middleburg's population, largely sustained by its indigenous commerce and industry, stood at somewhere between 400 and 500 since the forties. It plummeted from 429 to 296 between the 1890 and 1900 censuses. The town's renaissance in the 20th century, with a very different economic base, was first hinted at in an April 4, 1893 article in the local Loudoun Telephone: "a party of sportsmen-from New York are expected here this evening to take part in a fox hunt tomorrow."

## Middleburg Stalwarts

Through this period of transition, Emmanuel's communicants played a tireless, indeed, ageless role. Eugene Scheel amusedly noted that a number of Middleburg folk fudged their ages in the 1880 census, lopping off anywhere from two to four years. He discovered this by comparing the information with that in the 1870 census. "Even our very own Dr. Cochran caught the fever, sixty-two in 1870, seventy in 1880." Discerning Mr. Scheel, perhaps lingeringly anxious to take an Episcopalian at his word, had no reason not to accept Emmanuel communicant clothier Israel Thompson's 1880 stated "age of eighty-eight, the oldest employed person." With embarrassment it must be revealed that

Emmanuel's burial records show the old gent was put to rest December 15, 1882, at the age of 92 years. Thus he was at least 89, possibly 90 at the time of the census. After his on the whole excellent detective work, Scheel concludes: "Little wonder that seventy-two years must pass before one can examine census records." Among Middleburg's entrepreneurs whose energy and imagination helped bring a limited commercial recovery, Emmanuel's communicants expectedly are evident. Conspicuous in the business community was their rector, Arthur S. Johns, son of the late Bishop John Johns who, as Assistant Bishop in 1843, had dedicated Emmanuel Church. Arthur, it seems, was not averse to lending his name and presumed managerial skills to a solid business venture. In 1884 and early 1885, just five years after New York City had installed its first telephones, the Loudoun and Fauquier Telephone Company and the Landmark and Middleburg Telephone Company were operational. By July, 1886, they had extended their lines to Warrenton and Leesburg. Rector Johns was asked by the members of both boards of directors to be president of both enterprises simultaneously. He accepted. Emmanuel's Burr Powell Noland and Cuthbert Powell Noland were on the L&F's board. At least equally impressive were the activities of longtime vestry registrar Virginius Dabney. This educator, his poor penmanship notwithstanding, ran a demanding, expensive private preparatory school in the Middleburg area from 1866 into the seventies. It was apparently comparable on both counts with R.B. McCormick's Dover establishment. Tuition, including board, was \$300 an academic year, a tidy sum for the period. The Middleburg competition, our T.L. Galleher's Male and Female Seminary, and Baptist preacher Haynes' School for Young Ladies, each charged \$225.

Although the popular name, if not the location, of Professor Dabney's establishment was not all that prepossessing--the Loudoun School at Buzzard's Roost, located on the northwest corner of Jay and Washington Streets--he taught some prominent people, including an Underwood of the established Virginia branch of that established clan and the future Virginia Congressman, Henry St. George Tucker. Emmanuel's longtime treasurer, Confederate veteran and Middleburg jeweler, Edward S. Duffey, attended his classes as a young adult. As early as November 1866, the great American game of baseball--originating in New York shortly before the war and popular with the Northern forces--was brought to Middleburg by our renaissance man academic. The Dabney's Dudes baseball team inspired diarist Catherine Broun to note: "the children are interested very much in a Baseball team they have in Middleburg Mr. Dabney's scholars."

## **Episcopalian Sells Land for Catholic Church**

By 1873, this energetic educator was called to Princeton, New Jersey, to head a preparatory school and by the eighties he was headmaster of the New York Latin School. As for his discontinued Middleburg educational enterprise, i.e. the physical plant "Buzzard's Roost", Eugene Scheel suggests that this Episcopalian was by affiliation more tolerant and broad-minded than his mainline Protestant peers. He was pleased, or at least untroubled, to accommodate Roman Catholic Bishop John J. Keane and sell him the property, albeit furtively, for the future erection of a Roman Catholic Church. In 1885, Father Thomas J. Wilson of Leesburg's Immaculate Conception (now St. John's) Church had recommended to the bishop that, given the growth of the Roman Catholic population around Middleburg, he should consider the purchase of a lot in town for that purpose. He suggested that for so civic an enterprise the cost should not exceed \$350. Bishop Keane was to discover that those with lots to sell did not believe that Middleburg was quite ready for a Roman Catholic Church. But by the following year he was in communication with Middleburg expatriot Virginius Dabney. The former Emmanuel stalwart, whose renaissance attributes did not exclude the recognition of opportunity, asked for and got \$375. It should be noted that, while still relatively small in number at the fin de siecle, local Roman Catholics now included citizens with social prominence several cuts above that of the immigrant Irish laborers who worked building railroads and roads in the early fifties. Most notable were those of the Chancellor clan still in the vicinity. Lorman, it will be remembered, was a prominent attorney, having served as a militia colonel during the Civil War and as sometime Middleburg mayor. As for a Middleburg Roman Catholic Church, notwithstanding a building fund of \$1,100 by 1893, it did not happen until 1962, when nearby resident and President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, needed a place to worship. The church was not built on the "Buzzard's Roost" lot, but a couple of miles northeast of town.

As in other small towns and villages in Virginia, notably in the north, the black population as a proportion of the whole continued to decline. The freedmen first migrated to the nearby cities, especially Washington, D.C., the seat of the supportive federal government, and then, as the 20th century progressed, many left the South for the large metropolises of the North, such as New York, Boston, and Chicago. The proportion of blacks in Middleburg and vicinity in the early 20th century stabilized at around 20%.

## **Patience and Courage Blunt Backlash**

The racist backlash against blacks that occurred throughout the Old South when the federal troops departed was generally not as virulent in the Old Dominion. It was probably least nasty in northern Virginia. While present in and around Middleburg, racial friction was moderated locally by the relative worldliness of much of the white establishment and the responsibility of a substantially literate, industrious black community. The high incidence of black-run businesses--smithies, bricklayer, roofer, and other construction entrepreneurs, service contractors, retail outlets--undoubtedly had roots in their attendance at the schools opened by the Freedmen's Bureau. The earlier example of the Bentons instructing their slaves carried on down through the post-war years in the relatively enlightened outlook of several sophisticated town leaders. Happily, Middleburg's Episcopalians, who earlier had not been as upset over slavery as some of their Protestant peers, now were to show patience, indeed, generosity and courage, in coping with the new free bi-racial society.

One of the disheartening developments following the political failures of Reconstruction was the growing hostility toward blacks from the hard-pressed small farmers and tradesmen. These poorer whites, particularly in the border states, tended in the war years to be anti-secessionist. They had much to do with the creation of the new loyalist state of West Virginia in 1863. Hard-working and close to the soil, these folk had little in common with the large planters and their many slaves. Perhaps naively, some would have thought they'd be supportive of the recently bonded newly-freed blacks.

But with universal compulsory public primary education and the commensurate building of public schools still in the future in all Southern states, the masses of less-well-off were undereducated. Many were illiterate. Already pressed to make a go of it at commercial enterprises and small farms, the latter often now only rented for a share of the crop, completely vulnerable to the swings in the economic cycles, they came to fear the blacks, particularly after the recent "uppity" aggressiveness of a few, largely inspired by unscrupulous carpet baggers. The anxiety, the fear was quickly and easily focused on race. After a number of bad bruises suffered in the post-war depressions and land losses, the poor whites were pretty low in the pecking order; but there was a group that was lower than they and "a-hootin and a-hollerin", if need be, they'd keep them

there. The scrabbling white folk, particularly in the South, who were trying to scratch out a living, were to remain the blacks' most implacable antagonists right up to the civil rights movement of the 1960s--a century later.

In Middleburg and the surrounding farms and villages there were fewer dirt poor tillers of the soil and very small tradesmen living from hand to mouth. Furthermore, the white citizens were for the most part literate, even those who were having a rough go of it. Many would at least look at the local newspapers and journals. A few of the leaders were uncommonly well educated for so small a community. Wisdom and judgment were never historically in short supply, regardless of formal schooling.

And then there were the churches. Before the War, the Southern Methodists, having already split from the main body over the issue of slavery, were still in Middleburg, tendentious among themselves, over the morality of the "peculiar institution". Prominent Episcopalians who had instructed their slaves before and during the war now carried forward with these positive attitudes and were helpful in the development of public education for blacks. Some were to show remarkable courage. Race relations in Loudoun County, compared to what was going on elsewhere in the land, remained, for the most part, calm. The few confrontations that occurred avoided mob violence. Thus, when Middleburg town Sergeant H. Milton Seaton was mortally wounded by a knife-wielding black suspect he was arresting in late November, 1899, the curious denouement of the affair did arouse passions. The man who stabbed him in the stomach got away, never to be caught; but his involved brother stayed with the dying official, tried to comfort him, and fled only when help arrived. He was found and arrested shortly afterwards. The frustrated, angry citizenry had at least one warm body on which to vent its outrage. But it did so within legal, peaceable parameters. The brother was tried as an accomplice, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Yet some of the decent citizenry remained troubled. Emmanuel communicant Susan Noland Haxall, daughter of vestryman and prominent local farmer, Bolling Walker Haxall, visited Virginia Governor Andrew Montague to appeal that he pardon the "excessively punished negro." Her high-minded calling card carried only the legend "Miss Haxall, Virginia". The governor complied and pardoned the man in July 1903, a pardon which held despite the protest and petition of 73 other townspeople. Again, though race relations were, for a time, strained, there were apparently few murmurings for and form of violence.

In presidential elections a typical margin in the Middleburg precinct would be two-to-one for the Democratic candidate. Elsewhere in Loudoun County it was more nearly three-to-one with the exception of the Quaker communities. Eugene Scheel speculates that not only was Middleburg's political moderation on display, but a number of the town's blacks may have voted--at least before the 1902 Virginia Constitution with its poll tax and "literacy" test. Here Virginia was in step with most of the rest of the nation in the unfortunate retrogressive steps being taken on race relations--to continue right up to the first countervailing signs associated with the Administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, notably his outspoken, empathic wife, Eleanor.

From 1889 to 1896, Emmanuel's vestry records are sparse and incomplete, yielding only two essentially housekeeping entries, one in 1892 and another covering a number of loose ends in 1895. One of those loose ends dealt with the genteel letter of resignation of Rector E.S. Hinks (1890-1896) and its equally genteel, almost fulsome reply from a perhaps mildly embarrassed vestry, gathered in Middleburg for the purpose on December 14th. Rector Hinks had accepted a call to the pulpit of St. James Church in Leesburg. His wish for a change is understandable.

The apparent reason for the hiatus in Emmanuel's records was the absence during the fall and winter months of the Church's most prominent families, who had taken themselves to their comfortable homes in Baltimore. Emmanuel simply held no services during those periods. That steady Middleburg connection with the important Maryland city, going back to the commercial ties of early ante-bellum days, was to endure until its replacement by New York in the 1920s.

## Virginia Diocese Splits Again

So for much of the decade of the nineties, there is no information on Emmanuel's contributions or reactions to important church developments on the national or Diocesan levels. No great loss on such national trends as the increasing Roman influence in Church ceremony or the amply spread out still-developing ecumenical movement. There is collateral evidence aplenty. But on such significant happenings in the Diocese as its division once again in 1892, this time into Virginia and southern Virginia parts, we have no clue as to how our undoubtedly knowledgeable communicants felt. The creation of the new Southern Virginia Diocese was approved without difficulty at the Richmond Convention because of "the rapidly increasing needs and demands of a growing church." The Virginia Diocese was now less than one-third of its original geographic size. Bishop Francis Whittle continued as leader of the Virginia Diocese. Assistant Bishop Alfred M. Randolph became Bishop of Southern Virginia.

The Emmanuel vestry's housekeeping material dealt largely with finances, how to assure the timely honoring of commitments on the part of both contributing communicants and dispensing vestry. The allocation of these resources toward the laying of sidewalks, construction of fencing, etc. Also repairs--always repairs to roofs, floors, windows of the church and the parsonage. And how to use rental incomes. For protracted periods, the rectors chose to live in Aldie, thus making the parsonage available to renters. As early as 1873 there were vestry discussions on the desirability of enlarging the church sanctuary. They would recur every few years. Committees would be

appointed. But nothing was to happen until well into the next century. Until the cutoff on information in 1892, the Aldie congregation, holding services in the free church there, was being given increasing attention. How best to divide the rector's responsibilities to both congregations, how to share incomes where both may have a claim, and so forth. But no mention of the new church building--their very own sanctuary--in the offing. The neat wooden structure, named Church of Our Redeemer, currently serving some sixty odd communicants, just appeared in 1897.

The church records of burials inevitably started to include the old stalwarts. Colonel Lloyd Noland succumbed at 81 in April, 1871; William Benton at 92 in July, 1881; Colonel Hamilton Rogers at 80 in August, 1882; Burr Powell Noland at 71 in October, 1889; and Dr. William Cochran at 90 in July, 1898. They were gradually replaced in Emmanuel's councils, notably the vestries, by such as the Haxalls, Dudleys, McCoys, more Nolands--a number from the very clans who removed themselves to social Baltimore during the cold, boring fin de siecle Middleburg winters.

The continuing tightening of constraints on black citizens in the first decades of the 20th century, particularly in the South, did not bypass Middleburg. As elsewhere, the prohibitions, at first extra-legal, were eventually reinforced by law. If the town's few negro voters felt uncomfortable, even threatened at the polls in the 80s and 90s, it was not fear of threatening white supremacists that kept them away in the early 1900s. It was the Virginia Constitution of 1902 with its poll tax and "literacy test"--the law of the state--that effectively deprived blacks the vote. In 1935 Middleburg--its sizeable literate, skilled worker, and mercantile class of blacks notwithstanding--had one registered black voter, smithie Charles Fisher.

### **'He worked out fine 'til the Klan started picketing"**

Still, the conscientious black citizens were generally less hemmed in than in most other, even northern Virginia communities. Self-help was available through their energetic lodges. Their successful business community seems an indisputable testament to this fact. But harassment even, and in some cases particularly, of the upwardly mobile was also a fact of life. Mr. Scheel noted, in regard to the young black soda jerk hired by former Washington pharmacist W. H. Bradfield in the drug store he opened here around 1920, "he worked out fine until the Klan started picketing the store." Presumably they felt this "an encroachment on a young white person's preserve. Or the time white idlers at the Leesburg Railroad Station enjoyed just watching visiting wagoner and sole Middleburg black voter, Charles Fisher, being harassed by an angry dog. It should be remembered, in terms of gaging the national temper, this was the period in which the Ku Klux Klan could stage a full-scale parade, with perhaps a thousand participants, down Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital.

Withal, until relief arrived on a national scale with the civil rights movement of the sixties, blacks in Middleburg had a self-sustaining community life that might have been envied in a majority of Southern, indeed Virginia, communities. Even tense situations, such as the 1932 brutal murder of Agnes Boeing Ilsey and her maid, Minnie Buckner, with the ultimately proved direct involvement of George Crawford, attack former employee of the much beloved Mrs. Ilsey, were managed legally without civil disobedience. The two local negro men's lodges, Aberdeen Odd Fellows and the R. P. Dawson Elks, assisted in the apprehension and probably in the conviction of the twice before imprisoned (for robbery) Crawford. He was ultimately found guilty of, at the least, participation in the murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. Eugene Scheel noted that nearly all of white Middleburg attended some part of the trial at the old Leesburg Court House. Sometime Emmanuel communicants Edith Kennedy Sands and Eugenia Fairfax had their chauffeurs drive them to every court session. The skillful, reasonable black defense attorney, Amherst (Phi Beta Kappa) and Harvard educated Dr. Charles H. Houston, thought the verdict fair. He was later directly responsible for persuading circuit court Judge John R. H. Alexander to bring qualified blacks onto a completely new jury list (April 1935) for the first time in Loudoun County.

### **Creature Comforts Slow in Coming**

From the 20s on, the Middleburg area was becoming increasingly attractive as ideal riding and fox hunt country to outside wealthy New Yorkers, New Englanders, Marylanders. This was to pump new air into the ailing retail and particularly the service industries. The small manufacture and processing was allowed simply to die out as the now readily accessible large plants in nearby cities took over. The transition period witnessed a relatively slow availability of basic 20th century amenities. An exception was the telephone, which, as we have seen, was readily accessible to town dwellers by the latter 1880s. But because of its dependence on power lines, it had to

await rural electrification, starting in the late thirties, to reach the outlying farms. The increasing number of large farms and estates taken over by the incoming sportsmen, of course, made their own private arrangements. Many of the more comfortable in town houses, including the inns and hotels, had their own wells and pressure tanks. Certainly by the teens, running tap water was available. Flush toilets had also arrived. Both of these creature comforts came to the rectory in 1918-19, according to vestry records. But it was not until 1937 that Middleburg boasted a water system tapping into Little River, with purification plant and water tank--a central system into which all houses might tap. In the interim there had been a ram system pumping water up from a spring to a centrally-located cistern from which residents could draw water. The modern sewer system was completed the same year. Electric power arrived for traditional Middleburg--the citizens without the resources to buy generators--shockingly late in the game. It must be remembered that Thomas Alva Edison first brought electric lights to New York City in 1882. By the turn of the century all of the North, East, Middle and Far West urban regions--roughly three-quarters of America's cities--were lit up. A not inconsiderable portion of the urban South was too. But the light bulb did not truly arrive in Middleburg until the mid 1920s.

Leesburg completed the transition from the gas lamp to the electric light bulb in 1902. The Wires then followed at a snail's pace the Washington and Old Dominion railroad's telegraph poles to Hamilton, Purcellville, and Bluemont, not arriving there until 1920. Recognizing the inadequacy of such "progress" and prodded by the increasingly influential monied sporting set, Middleburg's town council posted a bid to wire the town in 1916. There was no adequate response. Finally, c. 1920 the Loudoun Light and Power Company slowly began extending its lines southward, coming to such tiny hamlets as Lincoln, Philmont, Mountville, Pot House, and, indeed, the Foxcroft School (Miss Charlotte had influence) four, three, two years before reaching Middleburg. At last, in 1925, the wires arrived in town. To be sure, Deico gas-powered generators were fairly prevalent since about 1910-in the spacious homes of the well-off, in some businesses and professional offices, in some churches. The directors of the recently opened Middleburg National Bank (a 30x55 rectangular stone vault of a structure on the southeast corner of Washington and Madison Streets, built 1924-25 with stones from the just-demolished old Dover Mill) advertised for sale its barely one-year-old Delco generator in February 1926. That same year town-wide streetlights went up. As in many other parts of the country, including rural sections of the more prosperous North, central electrical grid systems had to await F.D.R. and the Rural Electrification Administration to reach most outlying farms in the late thirties and early forties. Exceptions, as noted, were the increasing number of large farms and estates of the incoming well-to-do. They all had their own generators or privately paid for extensions to the grid.

The somewhat slow pace of the arrival of the automobile revealed a by now essentially rural town at ease with its rural farming surroundings. A well-off avid fox hunter, Dr. Homer A. Spitzer, came to Middleburg in 1903 both to practice medicine and fulfill his sporting yen. About 1908, this fashionable newcomer bought the area's first car, a Star. Despite the arrival on the American scene in 1909 of Henry Ford's Model T, there were no more than a half dozen cars in town by 1915. But by then this increasingly attractive tourist magnet might draw two dozen cars from Washington on a balmy Sunday.

That was the banner year Middleburg's Joe Martin assembled and sold one hundred top-of-the-line Babcock Buggies for \$160 apiece, just a bit less than half the price of a Model T. Horse-drawn stages still provided the public transportation locally to the railroad stations in The Plains and Leesburg. Not until 1917 was the Model T first used to deliver the local mail. But in 1918, the Ford Motor Co. brought its twin philosophy--cheap reliable cars with readily available service--directly to Middleburg. Emmanuel communicant, Samuel Preston Luck, opened the Middleburg Garage--the area's first. He sold Ford cars, trucks, and tractors. Factory-trained local, Will Ferguson, serviced them.

## The Hunt Comes to Middleburg

Finally, in the 20s and 30s, thanks measurably to a changing economy and the influx of an ever-increasing number of wealthy fox hunting New Yorkers and New Englanders, literal horse power was replaced by the "horseless carriage" across the board. By the later teens, buses very tardily displaced the stage and trucks were shortly to displace the freight wagons. As elsewhere in rural America, the Model T was soon seen everywhere, augmented by increasing numbers of Chevrolets, while the rich and powerful sporting people arrived with their Buicks, Cadillacs, Chryslers, and, indeed, Rolls Royces. Another Middleburg was taking shape, infusing the traditional town with a new economic drive in the form of tourist and catering industries.

During these early 20th century years, Emmanuel's communicants brought entrepreneurial skills to the modernizing, changing economy. As already seen, they were part of the cutting edge in the early introduction of the telephone and the tardy arrival of automobiles. They were to be similarly involved in the now developing horse culture and its economic support mechanisms such as veterinary care, real estate, and insurance, and the service industries that accompanied this growing tourist attraction, notably the inns and restaurants. Maintaining their role in education, our parishioners continued in the forefront. Their conspicuous contributions, however, remained, for the time, with the private schools, even after the relatively late development of public education in Virginia.

## Foxcroft Founded

The outstanding figure for this period, and several decades to come, was Charlotte Haxall Noland, bearing two of Emmanuel's most prominent names. "Miss Charlotte" founded Foxcroft School in 1914. By far the most expensive in the area up to that time, it was also of high quality for that time. The courses included four years of Latin and/or four years of French and/or four years of German, sciences, including biology, chemistry, some physics, mathematics, art, and de rigueur, The Bible. The teachers were well qualified. An early Oxford auditor and acquainted with Bryn Mawr educators, Miss Charlotte, saw to that. Athletics were stressed. Tuition, board, and riding expenses cost \$1,000, a very large sum for that time. In addition, "outside expenses are one hundred dollars a year for music lessons, fifty dollars a year for church sitting, fifty dollars a year for laundry and mending, two dollars per trip for pupil and trunk between school and railroad station. Pupil's own horses can be boarded at the school stables for twenty-five dollars a month, which includes shoeing."

The school opened its doors on September 25th, 1914, with 24 boarders, five day students, and a faculty of four. The outbreak of World War I in Europe and the resulting restriction of access to Switzerland's schools did help Miss Charlotte fill her vacant places that first year.

If the girls came from well-heeled families, as they did, Miss Charlotte always considered wealth as much a responsibility as a privilege. Her numerous involvements with the community understandably focused on education. With the full public school program in the vicinity finally underway, if not yet out of the woods, Miss Charlotte's girls would visit periodically the new four-room brick school house just north of Middleburg on Pot House Road. There they would help conduct outdoor exercises for the elementary classes during their morning recess.

A four-year public high school program inaugurated in 1908 and having a total of some 20 students was then occupying one room. Two other rooms were occupied respectively by grades one to three, and four to eight. For the public schools the "one room school house" was still to have a run. Under Miss Charlotte's watchful eyes and tutelage one may assume the young athletic coaches did not patronize. The formidable school mistress and many of her girls, down through the years, were committed communicants of Emmanuel Church. Photographs of those early students, decked out in their green blouse and cap and tan skirt, depicted a fetching, vibrantly healthy, somewhat serious group. Eugene Scheel quotes this memorable letter written by Charlotte Haxall Noland--who was to head Foxcroft for 40 years--to her alumnae in 1919: "Keep up with the times, don't be narrow, have few rules, good hard work, and much fun, pile up traditions, and remember--with God all things are possible".

## The Great War

The vestry minutes of Johns Parish for the period 1917-1918 thankfully reveal something beyond the eternal housekeeping chores. We discover some of the impact of the Great War on this community. As of April, 1918, Old Glory was to fly proudly for the duration in Emmanuel's sanctuary. Once-upon-a-time Confederate gunnery sergeant, Sam Duffey, signed off, on the project with apparent enthusiasm. This perennial Emmanuel vestryman, enthusiastic director of music for the Methodist Church, and successful town jeweler had had his claim that he fired the last shot at Gettysburg authenticated (essentially) by General Longstreet. The nation was coming together again at last, thanks to "the hun".

It will be recalled that the spring and early summer months of 1918 witnessed the Imperial German Army's last great effort to win the war in France before American strength could be brought fully to bear. Reinforced by its troops from the Eastern front--a victor's peace had just been concluded with Russia--it very nearly succeeded. Almost matching its 1914 gains when the French Government felt forced to move from Paris to Bordeaux, a now outnumbered, outgunned, and nearly exhausted German Army advanced on a broad front, again crossed the Marne and again threatened the French capital. With no reserves and the fresh American troops now pouring into France, the German High Command knew that if the effort failed they would lose the war. It failed just 37 miles short of Paris. The American forces at Chateau Thierry played a major role.

Some three score men from the Middleburg area went off to war, perhaps half of them making it to France before the war's end. Of the latter, four did not return, including Emmanuel's Major Bolling W. Haxall, Jr., who died of a war-connected injury shortly after the Armistice--following his father's death here in Middleburg by only a few weeks. The town, with its numerous Anglophiles and Francophiles and only a couple of ambivalent souls of German extraction,

supported the war effort vigorously. Foxcroft's Loudoun Girl Scouts learned the manual of arms, drilled with wooden rifles, and helped sell Victory Bonds. Their headmistress, Miss Charlotte, was commissioned a colonel by the State of Virginia in its Womens Land Army, and went out with local ladies to sell Bonds and help pick the peach and apple crops.

That Emmanuel's communicants were four square behind the doughboys could be gleaned from a further between-the-lines reading of those housekeeping minutes. Rector Robert A. Goodwin (1917-1918, 1918-1919) departed for France in the late spring of 1918 to help support the A.E.F. as a Y.M.C.A. chaplain. He shortly resigned his post at Johns Parish to continue working with the troops in France. Vestry records fail to indicate who, if anyone, filled in, but the vestry called him back in 1919 a few months after the war's end, and he did return.

Vestry minutes also suggest that the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, which claimed many more lives than the war, may have taken its toll among Emmanuel's stalwarts. Serving vestrymen William B. Haxall and W. Irvine diZerega both died at its peak in early 1919. During this period the combined Vestry of Johns Parish consistently met at the leased rectory in Aldie. Meade Parish (Upperville) had its own rector since 1904. The small brick Oatlands Church was now included in Johns Parish. The November 1917 vestry minutes revealed that "after a discussion of how the expenses at the Parish should be borne, it was agreed that Middleburg should pay 4/10, Aldie 4/10, Oatlands 2/10." Possibly because of its central location regarding the three churches now being served, Aldie is where Emmanuel's rector resided. The Middleburg parsonage was rented out.

## The Roaring 20s

The roaring Twenties did not roar excessively in Middleburg. Only the Klan, on a couple of occasions, got seriously out of order, but with no lasting consequences. Encouraged by a continuing permissiveness toward extra-legal and illegal social forays, they may have allied themselves locally with, or at least sought favor from the bootleggers we know were about. In a couple of ugly incidences in 1923 the KKK targeted two pastors, one Methodist (white) and one Baptist (black). Both were outspokenly opposed to illegally purveyed booze. In addition, the Baptist may have been a precursor civil rights advocate. And he was black. The Methodist was president of Loudoun's League of Law Enforcement, specifically organized to fight the contraband liquor traffic. The Baptist, after responding with dignity to a scurrilous KKK attack--a local journal carried both the attack and the reposte--then wisely lay low and escaped injury. The feisty Methodist was ambushed on the road and in the ensuing gun battle got off four shots from his own revolver at the assailants. He too miraculously escaped injury.

While clearly disapproving of the Klan in this, their last period of protracted favor with, or at least indulgence by large segments of white America, the local Episcopalians were not unduly molested. Possibly the power and prominence of some among them protected the group. By now these captains of both the hunt and of finance, commerce, and industry were joined by resident Brigadier General "Billy" Mitchell and frequent hunt visitor, Colonel George S. Patton.

There were, to be sure, fewer "drys" amongst the Episcopalians than the Methodists and Baptists. With all "intoxicating liquors"--fermented as well as distilled in the minds of the law makers--prohibited, our co-religionists certainly chaffed. The better off, notably the horse people, took longer vacations in Europe and, increasingly, elsewhere in the world. Closer Canada and Latin America experienced something of a well-heeled tourist boom. One may safely conjecture that good French wines and Canadian and Scotch whiskies found their ways into the homes of some urbane mainstays of the Protestant Episcopal community.

## Energetic Rector

Emmanuel's patriotic rector and doughboy chaplain, R. A. Goodwin, was succeeded by David Campbell Mayers. Called by Johns Parish Vestry in 1921, he was to be our longest-serving rector, occupying our pulpit for a quarter of a century through Prohibition, the Great Depression, and World War 11. He retired

in 1946. A man of many talents, he designed and built Emmanuel's altar rail. Rector Mayers may also have been the most consistently involved in Mercer District civic affairs, while his interest in Middleburg's business life calls to mind his predecessor, Rector Arthur S. Johns, our long-ago telephone man. On close, friendly terms with the founders of the Middleburg National Bank in 1924, his involvement in the selection of its first board of 13 directors may only be conjectured. Approximately half of the local merchants and landed newcomers were Emmanuel communicants, including early feminist activist Charlotte Haxall Noland.

## Emmanuel Enlarged

Around this time, May 1926, to be exact, Emmanuel, Foxcroft, a wealthy New York benefactor, and the half-century-long wish to enlarge the church came together. Rector Mayers, on good terms with Miss Charlotte, was, nonetheless, impressed by the space taken up at Sunday worship services in the tiny edifice by increasing numbers of Foxcroft girls. Its 1843 capacity of "40 odd souls" hadn't changed much. He again opened the debate on enlargement. Serendipitously, Mr. Thomas Davis of New York, whose daughter worshipped at Emmanuel some years earlier when a student at Foxcroft, expressed his desire to present the church with its first pipe organ. That did it. To accommodate the instrument the church was enlarged by a third with a brick extension, at a cost of \$8,516. The neo-Gothic rectangular structure was brought to its present dimension of 30'x60'. The first service in the enlarged church was held the first Sunday in October 1927. Now able to seat some 70 odd souls, further remodeling in 1976, to accommodate yet another more compact organ, would bring it to its present capacity of 115.

Rector Mayers, with children in the public school, involved himself vigorously with support of public education. While Miss Charlotte and her girls filled Emmanuel's sanctuary and choir loft each Sunday, our rector personally supported the whole educational establishment. He was elected president of the public school PTA. In this capacity he rallied influential newcomers such as General Mitchell and his wife, Elizabeth, to help sustain the financially strapped local public schools during the Great Depression (1929- 1940). They managed to keep sparsely attended Middleburg High, which first offered its four-year course in 1908, and graduated its first class of four in 1912, open until 1934. The last class matriculated six young locals. Subsequent secondary students were obliged for a time to make their way to Aldie High School. They could obtain a driver's license at 14 for this purpose. Then in the more prosperous 1940s came bussing and the large central Loudoun County High School in Leesburg.

While the Mitchells helped their rector, in his capacity as PTA president and executive of the Middleburg School Patron's League, cope with the cost, maintenance, and accessibility of public school classes, they were important actors in the founding of Hill School (1928- 1929), the first private coeducational elementary and (initially) high school since the demise of the Middleburg Classical School in the mid 1880s. Other principal founders were Mrs. Thomas Atkinson, Mrs. William Holbert and Mrs. Oliver Iselin, Emmanuel communicants all. Here is where they sent their children. The year Hill School opened at its present site (1929) was the year the Loudoun County School Board elected to build a brick wing onto the combined Middleburg Public Elementary and High School. Under PTA President Mayers' leadership \$1,100 was raised to furnish it. General Mitchell was the principal speaker at the auditorium's dedication.

The Middleburg town Council had been around a very long time. The records of the meetings, however, could be described, at best, as informal-- sketchy, incomplete, or nonexistent. The real beginnings of orderly and concise minute taking at the January 1932 session coincided with the election of Reverend Mayers to the council as recorder. Among the body's first actions was the hiring of town Sergeant E.W. Bosher. This establishment man, "of a good Richmond family", came recommended by General Mitchell. He did not work out. With a flare for the histrionic, including jumping on unsuspecting motorists' running boards with the command "follow that car" and pistol firings in the air, the cocky cop finally had to go. He was replaced in 1936. by a new man, George "Webfoot" Canard. But he promptly offended a number of councilmen with alleged misconduct and negligence, including "failure to chlorinate the water supply." In a bad-tempered Council meeting to ascertain his fate, five of the members called for his resignation. Among his three defenders against such quick, drastic action was our rector and Mayor George Vogel. Still, he was tossed. Resigning from the Council in protest was our rector, the mayor, and Oscar Hooe, the other opposing councilman.

Nineteen thirty-seven was also the 200th anniversary of the birth of Middleburg's doughty Episcopalian founder, Leven Powell. And of his wife, Sarah Harrison, too. It was on this occasion that the large stone tablet, spelling out the milestones of his march through life, was mounted conspicuously on Emmanuel's sanctuary's east wall. The notice given the event outside our loyal Protestant Episcopal milieu seems to have been minimal.

## Middleburg Health Center

One other important civic initiative of the Great Depression years was almost an Episcopalian preserve. But then these were the people with financial as well as ethical resources. The Middleburg Health Center had its origins under Miss Charlotte's sponsorship in October 1935. Our strong-willed communicant opened the Foxcroft Social Service Clinic in the Pink House at Pot House. With nurse Lea McDonald in charge, the clinic dispensed medical aid to the indigent, white and black. On a broader scale, the clinic worked toward obtaining improved hospitalization and living conditions. Impressed with these beginnings, Paul Mellon, in 1938, took up the cause. He bought the former Cochran home on Madison Street, equipped it with modern tools of the profession, and helped staff it with a couple of physicians and a daily on-duty nurse. He incorporated the Middleburg Health Center with six directors: Charlotte Noland, Edith K. Sands, Elizabeth B. Iselin, Eugenia Fairfax, Daniel Sands, and Dr. Homer Spitler, only the last-named having no known Episcopalian connections.

## Take Down Those Signs!

Finally among the "good works" of this era undertaken by Episcopalians, if not exclusively Emmanuel communicants, must be considered the feisty extra- legal pulling up or cutting down of the early "highway advertising" road signs. Liveried chauffeurs did the work. They carried out the instructions of the grandes dames seated in the rear of their parked limousines. Started by Edith Sands of Pot Hose and Eugenia Fairfax of Oakham, the County Conservation Committee was soon joined by other Emmanuel and Our Redeemer stalwarts, including, but of course, Charlotte Noland. This effort led to several good things, including the founding of the Middleburg Garden Club and the initiation of town trash collection.

## The Ecumenical Movement

Enough for now of the worldly. Let us peek again at the spiritual. Just as Emmanuel's present day worship service, which may be characterized as ambivalently low church, reaches back for elements of its ritual to the Oxford Movement, so the ecumenical thrust of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. in the first half of the twentieth century had its roots in the Muhlenburg Memorial. Both of these important initiatives, one Anglican, the other Episcopalian, were thought to have run their course in America, particularly in Virginia, in the years just prior to the Civil War. Their re-emergence in the present century again reflects in part the relative open-mindedness of the Episcopalian bishops, or, stated differently, their preference for compromise over confrontation. Churchmen of the Anglican Communion assumed a leadership role in the growing ecumenical movement during the last decades of the 19th century. But other contemporary mainline Protestant denominations in America and abroad were clearly interested. The impulse toward federation and even organic union was particularly evident in the burgeoning missionary work of the period. An Anglican bishop, presumably serving on the Indian subcontinent, declared at the Lausanne Ecumenical Conference of 1927, "In the West Christian unity is something desirable; in the mission field it is a vital necessity. In the West disunion is a weakness; in the mission field it is a sin and a scandal."

Given the intensity of foreign missionary work in the early years of this century, strongly supported by the Virginia Diocese and Johns Parish, such input strengthened our leaders' resolve to reach out. Already in the last decades of the 19th century, bishops of the Anglican Communion were having decennial meetings in London's Lambeth Palace. Cordial progress there, including invitations to other Protestant prelates and notables, led to the first World Missionary conference of Protestant and Anglican Christendom held in Edinburgh in 1910. Although those of the Anglican Communion may be said to have been the prime initiators, they were not the first to come together. In the years just preceding the Great War and those immediately following, Presbyterians and Congregationalists were forming organic unions in India and China. Even in safe Canada the United Church was formed in 1925, comprehending not only the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations, but also the Methodists. Finally, in 1948, the Church of England in India joined the United Church of South India (Presbyterians and Congregationalists), the first and only instance on record of the organic union of episcopal and nonepiscopal churches. The issue, of course, was the survival of Christianity in newly-independent India. The sticking point for those in the Anglican Communion was and still is the apostolic succession. That a Christian Church must be guided by bishops whose manner of election assures they are the direct inheritors of the authority of previous bishops going back to the twelve disciples of Christ. The other three principles are open to some negotiation and compromise.

All four principles, as defined by American Episcopalian Rev. William R. Huntington, were adopted at the 1888 Lambeth Conference and called "The Lambeth Quadrilateral". They are: The Holy Scriptures are the Word of God; The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds are the Rule of Faith; 3. The Two Sacraments Ordained by Christ Himself are Baptism and the Supper of the Lord; and, the stickler, The Episcopate is the key-stone of Governmental Unity. Promising developments with the Swedish Lutheran and Greek Orthodox Churches are now in abeyance, but may well be resuscitated. Approaches to the Roman Catholic Church, at first rebuffed, then welcomed by Pope John XXIII to the conference stage, only to be rebuffed again by the present Vatican, look less promising. But the effort goes on. Why such attention to so broad a topic in a history of Emmanuel Church in Middleburg? Because it is a major preoccupation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. It is a subject dear to the heart of Rector Neale Morgan, as revealed in numerous sermons.

## Depression

If Middleburg's coping with the Great Depression was somewhat eased by the philanthropy of Emmanuel's better-heeled set, financial viability was hardly a prerequisite to Christian service. As seen, salaried Rector Mayers involved himself extensively in the town's civic affairs, specifically its government, public schools, health facilities, even business establishment with motives other than profit taking. Among his numerous extra-curricular civic functions, this moderate, intelligent man helped preside over the annual Confederate Memorial service, held at Emmanuel Church from the early 1930s forward after the itinerant, now dilapidated Confederate Hall was declared unsafe. It had been well built as an administrative and reception building in Jamestown for the ter-centennial celebration in 1907 and moved to Middleburg in 1909 to serve as the town's Confederate monument and civic hub.

Rector Mayers saw no inconsistency in the respect accorded this Southern town's history and his concerned efforts to have the county and state upgrade the separate but very unequal black public schools. Here he exerted his authority as councilman, PTA president of the segregated white public school, and courageous, empathic Christian. In his moral stance he proved the able precursor of two energetic civil rights activists to come: his successor as rector of Emmanuel, Ernest A. deBordenave (1955-1967) and Rene Llewellyn, the co-founder with Nancy Manierre, (both Emmanuel communicants) of Middleburg FISH, and principal mover of the Windy Hill Foundation low-cost housing reconstruction.

A review of election results up to and during world War II show the traditional townspeople to be pretty much in step with rural America. F.D.R., with his New Deal Administration, was highly favored through the thirties. Even though the depression lingered on and on, the man in the White House was obviously trying to ameliorate their plight. To much of the hunting set, however, one supposes it was THAT MAN in the White House, the "traitor to his class." But there were the Harrimans, the Stettiniuses, indeed, David Campbell Mayers.

## World War II

With the war came the long-awaited economic recovery and, of course, loyalty to the Commander in Chief. Even so, in 1944, F.D.R. beat Tom Dewey in Loudoun County by 1,807 to 1,484 votes, and in Middleburg by 123 to 97. Still a fairly comfortable lead, but nothing like the landslides of the earlier years of the Administration. It was F.D.R.'s unprecedented Fourth Term bid.

The war years brought again a mostly enthusiastic support for the allied cause. As in the Great War, partly because of the special local ties with England and France, this support came long before America's direct involvement. It galvanized with the defeat of France in May 1940 and the gallant defense of England by the R.A.F. fighter pilots.

As I follow our church into this period I am first aware of the threshold, still a couple of decades ahead, where history merges into events that are still unfolding. My French historiographic mentors would put it this way: from any given point of looking back, "the last two or three decades are not yet history."

Or as Leo Tolstoy, himself a disciple of this Voltaire-launched analytical school, stated in his monumental historiographic novel War and Peace: "events must first seek their niche along the banks of the river of history to be subject to historic analysis." This slipping into place takes a bit of time. I will, therefore, start by giving the events of World

War II, albeit momentous, somewhat shorter shrift. As we come to the post war decades, focus will be on signal church happenings. How these events either melded or conflicted with the still-evolving environment, I will let those who constitute this environment be the judge. My bolder colleagues may comment, "how eminently safe!" And practical, too, in helping me reach an expeditious FIN to this narrative portion of our history.

As Middleburg and Emmanuel enter the World War II arena, misty reminiscences already affect one's thoughts. When I read accounts of Middleburg's responses during the Battle of Britain--the local sewing bees, collections for British War Relief, Bundles for Britain, the contribution of mobile kitchens with Charlotte Noland in the forefront--the pulse quickens. Those local journal quotes: "The United States in general and Middleburg in particular are determined to thwart by peaceful means, the Hunnish onslaught on England." "Soon the heroic R.A.F. fliers will be wearing socks, helmets, and wristlets that were knit in Middleburg, Virginia."

Blessedly, much of Middleburg and Johns Parish did, early on, see the gripping current events in historic perspective. A meteoric exception to the rule. England alone was standing between Nazi depravity and civilization as we know it. An Emmanuel communicant recalls that the Union Jack flew alongside Old Glory, in front of Emmanuel Church since "long before Pearl Harbor".

Among those conspicuous pre-U.S. entry British and French supporters in our midst were Roberta Seipp and Gladys Tartiere, both Emmanuel communicants. The first local World War II casualty was Gladys and Raymond Tartiere's son, Lt. Jack Tartiere of de Gaulle's Free French forces, fallen in Palestine on June 9th, 1941. Not long after December 7th the casualties started coming in. Through the course of the war, Loudoun County lost 68 killed in action, Middleburg, three more after Lieutenant Jacques.

Along with the Great War, now increasingly being referred to as World War I, this second go around--in just a bit over two decades--for a world at war was taking on the appellation of World War II. Middleburg and Emmanuel rallied to the colors at least as vigorously as in the first go around. There were the same bond drives, cash contribution drives, even more Red Cross blood donations stemming from both improved science and a greater need, and enough volunteers who did not await the draft. As in the earlier war, women joined too, including Emmanuel's Mary Neville Atkinson, RN, Army Nurse Corps. In all these activities Loudoun served the nation well with Middleburg usually outstripping the other communities.

Here as elsewhere the nature and devastation of the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor quickly changed the minds of waverers on the need to go to war. And then, the Japanese were an alien race and early on showed traits of cruelty-- officially sanctioned--that were incompatible with Western rules of war. The Pacific war promptly took on a special visceral edge.

Concerning the Germans, it wasn't really until the war's end that their -bizarrely rationed genocide came to light. Still, there was enough "hunnish" grist for the mill to cancel out most ambivalence toward ap ethnicity that, noch, accounted for nearly a quarter of the American population and whose culture in happier times was part of the cutting edge in shaping the best in Western Civilization.

As in both the Civil War and World War I, a perusal of Vestry minutes alone sheds a little light on the local war temper. In July 1942, Rector Mayers, working through the Chaplain Corps, saw to the distribution of pocket-size prayer books to our servicemen. At the same meeting came the resolve to display Old Glory inside the church, but alongside our Church flag, for the duration. Also in one of these meetings Rector Mayers' honor roll plaque listing the names of our twenty-one communicants in the Armed Forces was approved and posted in the church. We continued to help sustain, with modest sums, both our British cousins and our foreign missions throughout the war. But the worthy vestrymen never lost sight of their primary mission--all those housekeeping chores that enabled Emmanuel to continue to function. These, according to the minutes, took the lion's share of their time and energies. Even in wartime, the purely pirochial life of the Church goes on. Our records tell us that the centennial of Emmanuel's founding was celebrated in the church on May 23rd, 1943. Octogenarian Rev. Dr. Arthur Kinsolving of Baltimore, son of our long-serving Civil War fourth rector, O. A. Kinsolving, preached the sermon. The minutes noted that those former Emmanuel rectors still alive were the Revs. Robert A. Goodwin (1917-1920). Claudius F. Smith (1898-1902), and Thomas C. Darst (1903-1905), the last-named having by then -donned the miter and matriculated to the Bishopric of North Carolina.

Finally in the war years, October 12th, 1943, Rector Mayer announced his intention to retire at the end of the year. There was the usual acceptance with great reluctance expressed by the vestry, the sincerity of which may be gauged by the fact that it was September 1946 before this longest-serving leader of our church was reluctantly allowed to go. Registrar Thomas Atkinson consistently (four times) spelled Kin(g)solving with a "g". He may have solved the mystery of O.A. Kinsolving's first name. He tells us it was 'Ovid", as with the Roman poet (43 B.C.-17 A.D.).

## Post War Recovery

The post-war years in the Middleburg vicinity, as elsewhere in America, were characterized by a sustained economic recovery and satisfaction of basic needs. In Virginia increased public revenues brought a belated improvement of public educational facilities and standards. Loudoun County soon saw the erection of two large central high schools, the first in Leesburg followed by another a decade or so later in Purcellville. Bussing became county-wide, with initially separate buses for the races, and schools for "colored pupils" somewhat upgraded. The one-room school and multi-class classroom was definitively on the way out. We've seen how Emmanuel's rector, in the early thirties, was already instrumental in effecting these changes. Rural electrification spread rapidly, while towns such as Middleburg acquired the full range of public utilities including garbage collection. The latter service has been effectively delivered locally for nearly three decades by the black-owned Grayson Refuse Service which in approved American entrepreneurial tradition has expanded to serve all of Loudoun, Fauquier, and Frederick Counties. It is headquartered in Middleburg.

## The Middleburg Spirit

Middleburg's capacity for self-help and voluntarism has already been seen. In the many acts of giving and of courage in two World Wars, in the black self-help lodges, pulled together in the constricting years of segregation, in the viable, much-used Middleburg Health Center. It continued with the opening of the Middleburg Community Center in late 1948. Tastefully designed and constructed, in just a little over a year, to accommodate a large auditorium or theater, a large board room, numerous reception rooms, and bowling alleys, it also featured an outdoor swimming pool and an outdoor theater. It proved an elegant paradigm for community centers elsewhere.

The creation of local architect Billy Dew, and heavily-backed by Dorothy Patterson Jackson, whose father, John H. Patterson, had founded the National Cash Register Company, the enterprise could claim important financial support from the Protestant Episcopal community. This increased when Paul Mellon's Old Dominion Foundation helped Mrs. Jackson in the late 50s and 60s cover the deficit occasioned by the center's high-minded effort to introduce a bit ahead of its time a too-high brow fare. But the effort paid off in the end with visits by guest artists, local balls and, notably, the introduction and overwhelming popularity of The Middleburg Players.

The Marshall Street Community Center, initially known as the "New Colored Center", emerged from a refurbished, added-on-to former school for black children. Here, too, Billy Dew was the architect. With considerably fewer amenities than its for-whites-only neighbor, it was, nonetheless, a shot in the arm to Middleburg's black community.

## Integration and Civic Progress

The gradual amelioration of the stark living conditions of the black community, here as elsewhere in the nation, was to stimulate that revolution of rising expectations that culminated in the civil rights movement of the 60s. Still, it might not have materialized as soon as it did without the sympathetic support of a growing number of white leaders. The churches, white and black, were in the vanguard.

Integration came early to Middleburg. President and Mrs. Kennedy's presence here on weekends prompted the NAACP and the Congress of Racial equality activists to try to integrate the town's lunch counters and restaurants in March and April of 1961. The expected white counter demonstration was stopped notably by Emmanuel rector Ernest A. deBordenave. An American Legion chaplain, also active in promoting and administering Little League baseball, which he had already integrated, he had access to the blue collar population. This respected man's stern requirement for restraint was helped particularly by president Kennedy's Roman Catholic priest, Father Pereira, who urged in his sermon that Sunday "understanding and love ...between the races ...that the negroes will have the opportunity of becoming first-class citizens." Then Rev. "Froggy" deBordenave (he was of French extraction), with a number of Emmanuel communicants, and black leaders William McKinley Jackson and Maurice Brittan King Edmead, MD, integrated without incident the Red Fox Inn over a reportedly pleasant luncheon. Rev. Froggy, as he is fondly remembered here, was an exceptionally well-liked rector. He had the common touch. He also, in not atypical Episcopalian fashion, was as comfortable socially with the well-heeled as with the down-at-the-heels, or vice versa. He was an astute man of affairs whose business acumen acquired for us the parish house next door in 1961. He was on the board of Hill School.

Emmanuel's active engagement in bringing civil equity to the community reached its next milestone with the coming into our midst of "Rene" Llewellyn. This indomitable lady of the Anglican Communion, born and raised in comfortable circumstances in Old England, took her religion and the commandment about neighborliness very seriously. Encouraged by then Mayor Loyal McMillan, she was the major force behind the Windy Hill Foundation, launched in April 1983. These public-spirited folk had no less a goal than the total renovation and upgrading of that segregated rural slum. Reaching out for support, they first brought in our old co-religionist Gladys Tartiere,

whose volunteer son, Jack, we remember, was Middleburg's first World War II casualty, killed while fighting with General deGaulle's Free French forces in the Middle East in 1941. This chronic friend of humanity walked through some of the houses, allowed as how "this is ghastly", and wrote a check for \$10,000. Equally taken aback by the deplorable slum conditions was Emmanuel's rector, S. Neale Morgan, a suitable continuator of the church's steady-as-you-go civil justice commitment. Emmanuel's vestry, at his suggestion matched the Tartiere gift. With support from Baptist Rev. H. Wadell Waters and Rev. Morgan, a board of directors was formed, which included two Anglican communicants. With a loan from the Middleburg National Bank, pro bono public legal assistance from local attorney Karen Dale-Kennedy, and a hefty grant from H.U.D., construction got under way. By the end of the decade the blight was gone, replaced by "renovated" neat little homes connected to an extended town water and sewer system, and containing utilities and amenities considered basic by middle class America. Continued support for the Windy Hill Foundation from Emmanuel communicants stems, in measure, from Rev. Morgan's continued commitment, as revealed in his humane, often elegant sermons.

Earlier, 1970 to be precise, Rene Llewellyn and Rector Neale Morgan teamed up with Emmanuel communicant and Foxcroft administrator, Nancy Manierre, to import an organization called FISH to Middleburg from her native England. Deriving its name from the fish symbol sketched in the sand by early sub rosa Christians, it was another successful experiment in voluntarism. FISH is expanding in both countries. Financed by local subscriptions and staffed by local volunteers, the organization buys and delivers food to the needy, helps pay medical and utility bills, and drives those without transportation to medical facilities. Middleburg FISH has had an able treasurer and chum for failing Rene these past few years, my wife "Peggy". The food distribution operates out of our home. Rene died at age 84, in 1992. Gladys Tartiere left us at 101 in 1993.

## Threads of Continuity

As I approach the end of this story of church and community over the 150 year haul, I would make two observations. The first has to do with continuums. Emmanuel Church, in its dealings with fundamental socio-economic and socio-political problems, has been a pretty steady representative of the Protestant/Episcopal Church in the USA. Through more than half of the nineteenth and almost all of the twentieth centuries we see a body of involved citizens who prefer consultation and compromise to confrontation and schism. Yet the term "fence sitting," which I, myself, sometimes use in jest, is not quite fair. In the antebellum period, in slave holding Middleburg, we did not eschew the institution. But some among us felt a distinct Christian responsibility toward our "servants" to the point of instructing them in basic literary skills in contravention of Virginia law. A century later, in the civil rights movement, we did not do all that much marching and demanding, but our rector, an eminent local black physician, and a handful of dignified supporters on both sides lunched at the Red Fox Inn, quietly integrating Middleburg.

Our many outreach programs over a very long period of time have been characterized by a generosity distinguished in its respect for the dignity of the recipients. The words "civilized," "dignity," "restraint" crowd my psyche as I type these sentences. I think not only of our local good works, such as FISH and Windy Hill, but of our missionary and ecumenical work over the years. This measured approach certainly carries over to ritual and ceremony as communicants with strong Protestant sensibilities (whilst swallowing hard) accept the permutations and additions to the ceremony that in nineteenth century

Emmanuel would have been considered inadmissibly Roman. With refined ecumenical sense they ask themselves, "is it really that important?"

Then there is the town of Middleburg. How typical of small town USA or small town South? A bit of both, actually, although characterized over the two-century haul by an unusually steady measure of moderation and wisdom. Ambivalent about slavery. Against secession. Pulled into the Southern camp only by the inexorable march of events. More moderate and much more wise than other Southern communities during the difficult years of Reconstruction. Consistently producing an outsized number of intellectuals and attainers for its very small population. Involved with vigor and commitment in the great national issues of this century--such as the two world wars. Treating the trials of Prohibition and the Great Depression with restraint, self help, and cooperation. Yes, a compatible backdrop to our Church. A pleasant enough symbiotic relationship.

My other observation concerns a particular pitfall for the historian who dares to intrude into current events: the identification of current, breathing, active individuals in our community. Given the dire risk, in so small a space still left me, of naming some movers while ignoring others equally deserving, I will lapse into what, in a slightly pejorative way, may be characterized as the Episcopalian mode. I will in this instance sit on the fence and name no one.

## Christmas Shop and Rummage Sale

Although primarily income-generating mechanisms for the Church, and, therefore, of seemingly less impact on overall community life, the annual Christmas and rummage sales must receive from Church beneficiaries, at the least, an appreciative nod. They do take up a lot of time and energy of both our volunteer communicants and well-motivated non-parishioners. These annual three-and-two-day events have celebrated respectively their 43rd (Christmas) and 50th (rummage) anniversaries. Since both are undertaken with the participation of Our Redeemer Church, the revenues gained are divided--two-thirds to Emmanuel and one-third to the Aldie church. The sums not only contribute significantly to the internal budget, but a share goes to the Diocese, to specified charities, and to Episcopalian missions overseas. The missionary and ecumenical outreach of the national Church goes on.

Additionally, the buffet with cocktails preceding the Christmas sale has become a neighborhood- social event. Over the years it has helped expand the clientele. Between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, many of them stopping over in the town's hotels and inns, shop in the concessions.

The rummage sale, dispensing at truly bargain prices the wares contributed by our parishioners and neighbors, helps the not-so-well-off while filling our coffers. The well-off have been known to exploit the bargains too. Our rector, Neale Morgan, the Protestant Episcopal Church's official photographer for the past several national conventions.

Among the other local or nearby community outreach programs **to** which Emmanuel contributes significantly are the Episcopal Preschool, a self-sustaining inter-denominational nursery school serving the whole community. It is located in Emmanuel's Parish House, with a staff of eight nursery school teachers, and has been ably run by an enthusiastic, caring communicant since its opening in 1986. It cares for some 50 local two-to-five-year-olds of all hues.

In these several community efforts of recent years, there is yet no historic perspective. The same may be said, at the national level, for the recent replacement of the 1928 prayer book with that of 1979, and the 1942 Hymnal with that of 1982. I have in this essay ventured, albeit lightly, into theological explorations in the earlier material. That is because such developments as the Oxford Movement, the Muhlenberg Memorial, and the ecumenical movement may be viewed with historic understanding. These recent innovations are too new. So certainly is the admission into our Church of women, first to the diaconate and then to the priesthood. Although here I will hazard the call that complete equality of opportunity in Church matters is the wave of the future. One other near current event that must be listed in this historic essay was Emmanuel's acquisition in 1976 of its present deBordenave Memorial Organ. Built by the Rieger Organ Company of Schwarzach, Vorarlberg, Austria, according to the design and specifications of James Ackright of Baltimore, its compactness allowed for a slight expansion of the sanctuary and the building of a small sacristy. Its mid-19th century American case work and stops location also enhance the verisimilitude of our small church interior dating from the period.

As for its glorious tone, an historic evaluation will be ventured. Our late choir director and organist Carolyn Boyd's consistently excellent playing of the instrument will be hard to duplicate. This outstanding Emmanuel communicant's contributions to the community, her giving so much of her time and her talent to The Middleburg Players, the Lions Club gigs, the countless public programs, etc., always accompanied by that infectious almost beatific smile, seemed transposed on the keyboard as she stretched and danced those too- small fingers in a faultless rendition of a Bach prelude.

## A Bibliography

Fundamentally a collation of old church records, this local history is offered in essay form. "A limited analytic composition" whose other source material should be "mostly in the author's head." As a trained historian, I am in this instance an authentic essayist. The piece draws largely from my baggage of knowledge and values, such as it is, and reflects a world view at peace with the ethical teachings of Christianity.

I am not, however, a church scholar. Nor have I deep roots in the South generally or Middleburg in particular. I have, therefore, filled both philosophic and substantive gaps/voids with material garnered not only from older, still remarkably clear-headed local citizens, but from a number of books and articles. The principal ones are here listed:

Eugene M. Scheel 1987 (includes a superbly executed historic map of the area)

Jas. Thayer Addison, The Episcopalian Church in the United States. 1789-1931 1950

\*Chas. N. Brickley The Episcopal Church in Protestant America. 1800-1860 1946

William G. Chisolm A Brief History of the Anglican Church in Virginia 1955

\*Robert W. Prichard Theological Consensus in the Episcopal Church, 1801-1873 1983

John Albin Stabb Why did the Colonial Swedish Lutheran Congregations become Episcopalian? article in ANGLICAN EPISCOPAL HISTORY. vol. LXI No. 4 Dec 1992

Wm. Warren Sweet The Story of Religion in America 1939

\* Unpublished doctoral dissertations at the Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, VA

### A Record

Brick of 1632

Brick of 1639

Brick of 1842

Brick T.S.V.

Falls Church  
Brick

The Bible -1840

The Altar

The Pulpit -1844 The Lectern Priest's Chair

Alms Basins (1843)  
of Principal Historic Gifts to Emmanuel Church

Over rear outside east door to Sacristy. From Church of St. Luke, the Physician, Isle of Wight County, Diocese of Southern Virginia, oldest Protestant church building in America in continued use.

Over rear outside west door to stairwell. From ruins of original Town's Creek Church in Surry County, Diocese of Southern Virginia.

On west outside wall where original wall joins 1927 addition, c. 5 ft. from ground. From demolished original (East wall) construction of Emmanuel.

Middle rear wall under the rose window. This darker brick is from oldest building at the Theological Seminary of Virginia.

Under T.S.V. brick. Also darker. From Old Falls Church where General George Washington was a vestryman.

One of two identical large morocco bound bibles (12 1/2"xlgD') purchased for the old Shelbourne Parish. The other is at St. James Church, Lcchburg. Camc to us with division of Shelbourne into

Shelbournfc and Meade Parishes (c. 1840). Title page of New Testament carries date 1770 A.D. )

Present altar of black walnut is an enlargement of the original 1844, 1924 altar dating presumably from 1844, almost the Church's beginning. This reconstruction, executed in 1924, by John Roche, was a gift of Mrs. T. U. Dudley, in memoria Boiling Walker Haxall (1851-1919) and his wife, Lena Noland (1852-1920).

Made of black walnut, very substantially built. Dates presumably from 1844.

Of same material and design as pulpit, also thought to date from 1844. Larger top built to accommodate Church's 1770 Bible.

hilt of mahogany; stained to match other black walnut furnishings.  
c. 1844 Gift from Burr P. Noland family.

Small pewter basins presumably in use since first services (in 1843).

The Font      Built of oak. stained to match other black walnut furnishings. Given (late 19th century) by Virginia Rowland Goodloc.

The Bell -1899      Cast by Henry McShane Bell Foundry, Baltimore, Maryland. Weight: 400 lbs. Built for Emmanuel Church on July 15, 1899.1

The Chancel Set in present black walnut frame when Church was remodeled in Rose Window 1927. Donated in memoriam to wife of the Bishop of Kentucky.  
Thomas U. Dudley, D.D.

Communion A flagon, a chalice. and a plate of silver in an oaken case. On each Vessels piece inscribed "In loving Memory of Catherine Powell Cochran". Gift of Mr. & Mrs. Charles P. Johnston (date unknown).

Altar Book Rest      Brass, bears inscription "Presented to Emmanuel Church by Hallie Dudley Goodloe, July 1894.

Brass candlesticks Antique, brass. Bought in Rome, Italy. Gift of Harry and Polly (1924) Whitfield.

Brass Vases Gift of Aldrich Dudley in memoriam to his mother, Mary Elizabeth (1924) Aldrich Dudley.

Altar Cross      Built of black walnut with square of olive wood from Mount of Olives on its crossing. Gift of Susan Haxall Frost of Baltimore. Bears brass plate "in memoriam 1851 Bolling Walker Haxall 1919, his wife, 1852 Lena Noland 1920, and their son 1884 Bolling Walker Haxall, Jr. 1919."

Bishops Chair Originally belonged to Mrs. George Wise, the mother-in-law of the "Cathedra" Rt. Rev. Thomas C. Darst, D.D., Bishop of East North Carolina and (1924) formerly rector of Emmanuel (1903-1905). Selected by Emmanuel's Rev. David C. Mayers (1921-1946) to match priest's chair, bought for church by Miss Charlotte Noland.

Hymn Board Black walnut to match top of Bishop's Chair. Gift of Mr. & Mrs. (1925) Morrison Harris of Baltimore, in memoriam to Bolling Walker Barton, M.D., 1845-1924.

Small Brass Vases Gift of Mrs. Aldrich Dudley, in memoriam to his mother.  
(1925)

Duffey Marble Gift of Duffey family on west wall over the pew occupied by  
Tablet (1927) Emmanuel stalwart and perennial vestryman Edward Samuel Duffey.

Gates	Antique gates and supporting brick columns were the gift of J. Alex
(1927)	Mayors of Cumberland, Maryland in memoriam to his wife, Violet
	Moore Mayers. Marble tablet on right column carrying date of
	Church founding donated by Mr. Winters of Middleburg.
Lanterns	Located at either side of Church entrance doors, old copper ship's 1927
	lanterns. Gift of Mr. Hcba Reginald Bishop of Middleburg.
Organ (1927)	Emmanuel's first pipe organ, built by Moller Organ Company of
	Hagerstown, Maryland, it brought on an enlargement of the Church.
	Has since been replaced (1976) by present organ. Original organ was
	gift of Thomas Bealle Davis in appreciation of Foxcroft School.
Santuary Lights	Constructed from fragments of an old chandelier and designed to
(1927)	harmonize with central light. Gift of Nina Carter Tabb in memoriam
	John Mackenzie Tabb.
Credence Table	Black walnut. Gift of Mr. & Mrs. T. U. Dudley in memoriam
(1927)	Boiling Walker Barton, M.D., 1845-1924.
Altar Rail (1927)	Black walnut. Designed and built by Rev. D. C. Mayers.
Balcony Rail	Outside rear of Church. Antiques, cast iron. Gift of William C.
(1927)	Seipp of Middleburg.
Alms Box (1927)	Black walnut. Designed and built by Rev. D. C. Mayers.
Water Cruet	Antique. For use at Holy Communion. Gift of Rev. D. C. Mayers.

(1929)	
Pewter Alms	Bavarian Pewter was Gift of Mrs. H.R. Bishop.

## Basin (1928)

Litany Desk . Black walnut. Designed by Mrs. D. C. Mayers. Built by Mr. Sam (1928) Grey, Gift of Mayers family.

Ascension Window (1930) Placed over front doors of Church portraying "Ascension" of our Lord." Executed by Franz Mayer of Munich, Germany. Gift of the Noland family, inscribed "To the Glory of God, and in memory of the Nolands of Middleburg 1724- 1929."

Front. Door Lock Brass lock made and vatcntcd by Carpenter, locksmith in England, C. 1800. Gill of Nina Carter Tabb.

Organ Chimes  
(1931)

Lectum Bible u772] and Books of Common Prayer [1770 & 17721 (1931)

Noland Marble  
Tablet (1934)

Processional  
Cross (1936)

Leven Powell Memorial Tablct (1937)

Front Brick Wall (1939)

West Brick Wall and Iron Rail (1940) Manufactured by the Dccgan Foundry, Chicago, installed by M. P.

Moller, manufacturer of Emmanuel's first pipe organ (1927). Gift of Mildred Greble Davis in memoriam to her father, Major General Edwin St. John Greble, U.S.A.

Pre-American War for Independence relics given by Rev. David C. Mayers in gratitude to God "for the privilege of years of service to this Parish."

Located on east wall near baptismal font. In memoriam to Major Burr Powell Noland, C.S.A. (1818-1889) and Susan Chapman Wilson, his wife (1827-1872). Gift of their grandchildren. This major symbol in Emmanuel Church, designed by Rev. David C. Mayers, from elaborately historic elements. Rev. Mayers and cabinet maker Sam Gray executed the design. Details in Emmanuel Church's Record of Gifts.

A 3'x 4' marble tablet on East wall of sanctuary showing milestones in life of Middleburg founder, Leven Powell (1737-1810) and of his wife, Sarah (1737-1812). Gift of Johns Parish communicants to celebrate bicentennial of Powells' birth.

Gift of Mrs. Robert McConnell. Erected December 193.

Paid for by popular subscription. The pair of gates were gift of Rev. David C. Mayers. Details in Emmanuel Church's Record of Gifts.  
Parish House (1960)  
Emmanuel Cemetery (1968)

Memorial Needlepoint Kneelers . (1975 -Ongoing)

deBordenave Memorial Organ (1976)

(1980) Yuletide Cutouts that light up Middleburg Piirish Housc, right next door lo the Church, acquired and redecorated through entreprncurial skills of Froggic dcBordcnave.

On 2.73 acres of land off East Federal Street contributed by Alice Mills and Bill Grasty, and surveyed by Emmanuel stalwart and long-time sustainer, Duncan Read, Emmanuel inaugurated its own burial ground. Its size was about doubled in 1972 through advantageous sale by Bill Grasty's widow, Rosalie Turner. Ongoing memorial needlepoint knelers project started. Consult red-covered Information on Kneelers book in back of Church. Please observe kneelers in place.

Several Emmanuel communicants, in addition to outside well-wisher, Molly Wiley, executed these meaningful, historic, worship objects.

Acquisition of deBordcnave Memorial Organ (see last two paragraphs of main essay). Built by Rieger Organ Company of Schwarzbach, Vorarlberg, Austria, according to specifications of James Ackright of Baltimore, Maryland. Partly paid for by generous communicant subscription.

As a final departure from the straight jacket of conventional exposition, I'll allow my essay form to drift here into the appendices. This last gift entry is not, in the orthodox sense, a gift (the lady was paid by the town), nor is its bounty restricted to Emmanuel Churchgoers. The large, compellingly executed Christmas cutouts hanging from street posts and other jutting main street

Honor Roll (1943) Large framed Honor Roll (now mounted above stairwell) listing appendiges, designed and executed by long-time Emmanuel stalwart, Emily Sharp, have an irrepressible universal appeal. For 5 weeks in December and January Middleburg's warm Yuletide glow is much enhanced.

	names of Emmanuel communicants in the U.S. Armed Forces.
Alms Basins (1 944)	Pair of brass alms basins. Gift of Mr. Gwynn Taylor and Mrs. Frank Littleton, daughter of Ann Montague (1 883-1 943), given in her memory.
Ewer for Baptismal Water (1944)	Gift of Colonel William and Mrs. Simms in memoriam Ann Carrington Montague.
Walnut Shelf	Shelf for the ewer made of black walnut. Fashioned and given by Rev. David C. Mayers. Includes a sconce with brass candlestick.

## Vraiment

FIN

Given <b>by</b> Thomas and Elizabeth Furness in memoriam to William and Jessie Furness and Thomas and Elizabeth Merrill.				
Given by Mrs.	Eileen Hackman.			
Desianed. executed. and donated <b>by</b> Mrs. Adelaide <b>Mi</b> <b>nstead.</b>				
Given by Mrs. "Rustv" Archibald in memoriam to her friend, Hestor Richon.				
Keyed to Church seasons. Given <b>by</b> Mrs. Jacqueline Watson in memoriam to her husbancf. <b>J.</b> <b>David Welch.</b>				
Given <b>by</b> Mrs. Mary Ann Morgan in memoriam to her stepfather and mother, Joseoh and Helen de Bruyn.				
Given by Mrs.	Evelyn McConnall.			
Given by Mr.	& Mrs.	David Hamson.		

Given by Mrs. Jean Cornwell , Mr. Robert Humphrey and Dr.  
**Rufus** Humphrey in memoriam to their mother, **Ethel**  
Humphrey.

Given **by** Ms. Leah **Milder** in memoriam to Carolvn  
Bovd.

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