May 18, 1951

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting to you a thesis written by James Earl Cockrum entitled "A Study of the Development of Organized Religion in Jefferson County, Tennessee (1785-1950)." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Education.

J. L. Forbes
Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer acknowledges a debt of gratitude to the members of his graduate committee: to Dr. James M. Buchanan, Dr. William E. Cole, Dr. LeRoy P. Graf, Dr. Rene V. Williamson, and Dr. Lillian E. Worley, for encouragement in the project; to Dr. Earl M. Ramer, chairman and advisor, for help with the details of the course; to Dr. Stanley J. Folmsbee for patient guidance during the writing of the thesis.

He also feels indebted to the staff of the James D. Hoskins Library and to the staff of Lawson McGhee Library, for help in finding and selecting materials, and to Miss Pollyanna Creekmore, of Lawson McGhee Library, for making available numerous items in the McClung Historical Collection.

Limitations of space prohibit the addition of other names, but the writer wishes to thank all those who encouraged or helped in any way in the making of this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present work is based on a study of the growth and development of organized religious bodies in Jefferson County, Tennessee. The idea of such a work originated in a course of study in the social sciences, combined with courses in education, and especially in a study of the social and cultural history of the United States. It is an attempt to discover the relationship of religion to other social and cultural factors in the history of a single county.

Reasons for Making the Study

In making this study of organized religion, an attempt was made to keep two objectives in mind.

First, it was hoped to discover as much as possible of the way in which religion has operated with other factors in the development of current social conditions within a limited territory. This objective, as it is the one most readily seen in the work, will not be discussed further at this point.

Second, it was hoped that the results might be helpful in teaching local history in the secondary schools. While it is recognized that certain schools and individual teachers have made profitable use of local material, it is felt that more general use should be made of possibilities close at

hand as a basis for helping the student develop a better understanding of the social situation most closely affecting him in his own immediate vicinity.

The simple life of the local community can help in understanding the more complicated life of the nation or the world. Before the student can comprehend the forces behind the westward movement of population, he can see why pioneers moved into his own vicinity because of fertile soil, defensive position, or easy means of transportation. He can understand the social forces which affect himself, his family, and his companions, before he can be expected to understand the same forces as they operate at a higher level. His interest, caught by the stories of his own community and the landmarks associated with them, is more easily expanded to include a larger field.

No attempt has been made to present a teaching plan for the use of such local material in schools. Some classes have based projects in English, history, or civics on their own city, county, or neighborhood history. But the particular method used depends on so many local factors that it should be developed by the individual school or teacher.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The present work is concerned with the organized expression of religious feeling in one Tennessee county.

It attempts to trace the historical development of religious organization in its geographic setting and to discover some of the social, political, and economic factors which have influenced the direction of development. It also seeks evidence as to the influence which organized religion has exerted on development in directions not usually associated with religion.

Limitations of time and space prevented exploration in minute detail of many historical points of much interest. As points of reference for help in evaluation of materials and conclusions an effort was made to keep in mind the following phases of the subject:

1. The broad outline of the historical development of religious organization.
2. The relative importance of religious organization in the total pattern of development.
3. Evidences of the place of religious motivation in social processes.
4. The way in which denominational configuration of the county has developed.
5. Significant interplay of forces within denominational groups.
6. The influence of geography on religious development, as to both general outline and denominational pattern.
7. Social factors affecting religious development.

8. The place of religious history in the social studies.

Methods of Investigation

Any attempt at exact measurement of religious influences in history and of their effect on society encounters much difficulty. One method of evaluation involves the observation of religion as it expresses itself in formal organization. The person who uses this method must bear in mind the fact that non-religious factors may influence formal organizations, so that the amount and kind of organization is not always a true measure of religious feeling or of religious influence. At best the conclusions will represent to some extent the subjective judgment of the investigator. But Sweet, among others, seems to have made valuable use of this method.[1]

The present study approaches the point of evaluation and conclusion from three directions.

1. A separate study was made of each denomination of significance in religious organization in the county. The history of the organized group was traced from available sources, with special attention to the

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[1] William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931-1946), and other works by the same author.

periods of its history which were thought to hold special significance. In some cases the sources were so limited that the results were far from complete from an historical viewpoint, but the investigator felt that the direction of development could be seen clearly enough to make valid conclusions possible.

2. A comparative examination was made of the way in which denominations or groups developed in relation to each other.
3. An attempt was made to integrate the knowledge thus obtained of the separate and comparative development of religious organizations with other historical and sociological factors which were operative in the county at the same time.

The County Under Study

Jefferson County is located in the Appalachian Region of East Tennessee, near the foothills of the Great Smokies. On each side is a length-wise extension of rolling lowland bordering a system of broken-up river and creek bottoms associated on the north with the Holston River and on the south with the French Broad. A low ridge known as Bay's Mountain runs generally through the middle section of the county. The county has an area of 322 square miles and a

population of 18,621, according to the census of 1940.[2]

The county has always been heavily agricultural. The largest town is Jefferson City, formerly Mossy Creek, with a population of only 2,576 in 1940.[3] Other small towns are New Market, Dandridge (the county seat), and White Pine. Strawberry Plains is in the county but on the border of Knox County. In 1940 the population included 1,276 Negroes, of whom 359 were in Jefferson City.[4]

Early settlers came into the county from two directions. One stream of migration came down the French Broad River, spreading away from the river when it reached more level land, as around Dumplin Creek. The other came down the Holston River, forming settlements near the mouths of the larger creeks through the present Hawkins and Granger Counties. It spread inland along Bent Creek, in the present Hamblen County, and moved up Lost Creek as far as the present site of New Market, to form one of the earliest Jefferson County settlements.[5]

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[2]United States Bureau of the Census, Population, 1940 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), VII, p. 592.

[3]Ibid., p. 940.

[4]Ibid., pp. 604 and 683.

[5]James G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Charleston: John Russell, 1853), p. 94. Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, "Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications No. 18 (1946), pp. 47-49.

Organization of Material

After the introduction and historical background in Chapters I and II, the development until the Civil War is treated by separate denominations, as follows:

1. Chapter III, the Presbyterians (1785-1860).
2. Chapter IV, the Baptists (1785-1860).
3. Chapter V, the Methodists (1787-1860).
4. Chapter VI, the Quakers (1787-1860).

For development after 1860 an attempt is made to integrate the denominations and treat them by periods as follows:

1. Chapter VII, the Civil War and Reconstruction (1861-1871).
2. Chapter VIII, the period of readjustment (1871-1900).
3. Chapter IX, the twentieth century (1901-1950).

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND FOR DEVELOPMENT

In 1740 the last hunter's cabin seen by men on the journey westward into the Cherokee Country for trade with the Indians was on the Otter River, in Bedford County, Virginia. In 1748 Doctor Thomas Walker of Virginia, with a company of explorers and hunters, discovered Cumberland Gap, passed through Powell's Valley, and named the Cumberland Range and the Cumberland River after the English Duke of Cumberland. In 1756 Edward Pendleton was granted three thousand acres of land in what is now Sullivan County, Tennessee, then considered a part of Virginia. In 1761 a party of hunters, chiefly from Virginia, spent some time in what later was Carter's Valley, now in Hawkins County, Tennessee. They hunted for a period of eighteen months on the Clinch and Powell Rivers, and named Walden's Creek and Walden's Ridge for one of their leaders.[1]

Tensions between colony and mother country and between seacoast and backwoods combined with other causes in driving the frontier settlers westward. Indian treaties had expanded the territory that could legally be settled, but advance of settlements caused the retreat of Indian territory.

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[1]James G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Charleston: John Russell, 1853), pp. 64-67.

In 1769 William Bean was living on Boone's Creek in upper East Tennessee. Within the next twenty years settlements appeared along the rivers of East Tennessee and on the Cumberland. According to Ramsey, Jefferson County was settled in 1783:

> 1783 . . . Jefferson County, as known at present /1853/ received its first settlers in this year. These were Robert McFarland, Alexander Outlaw, Thomas Jarnagan, James Hill, Wesley White, James Randolph, Joseph Copeland, Robert Gentry, and James Hubbard. The first of these made a crop in 1782, at the bend of Chucky, and the next year moved his family to that place. Capt. Jarnagan settled four miles above the mouth of Chucky, on the north side; James Hill, a mile lower down; Wesley White, immediately opposite Taylor's Bend; Robert Gentry, four miles above Dandridge; Joseph Copeland settled this year south of the French Broad, seven miles above Dandridge.
>
> 1784 . . . The settlement had reached as far as Long Creek, in the present Jefferson County, as at this session of the court "Thomas Jarnagan hath leave to build a mill on Long Creek."[2]

Conditions of government were uncertain for settlements west of the mountains during the early years. Being isolated from the rest of North Carolina, the settlers along the Watauga River set up, in 1772, their own organization for local government, the Watauga Association. Watauga and the other western settlements were recognized by North Carolina, in 1776, as Washington District, which became Washington County in 1777. In 1779 the region north of the Holston was formed into Sullivan County. In 1784 North Carolina

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[2] Ibid., p. 277.

ceded her western territory to the Continental Congress to be formed into new states, whereupon its people proceeded to organize themselves into the State of Franklin. But North Carolina soon rescinded her action, and from 1785 to 1788 both North Carolina and the State of Franklin tried to function in the same territory. During most of that time the people of what is now Jefferson County were in Greene County according to North Carolina, and in Caswell County according to the State of Franklin. The confusion was ended when the State of Franklin collapsed in 1788, and in 1790 Congress accepted North Carolina's second cession of the lands. In 1796 Tennessee was admitted as a state.[3]

When Tennessee became a state social and economic conditions were those of the pioneer community. Settlements were mainly along the rivers and the larger creeks flowing into them. The settlers lived by farming and by hunting. Indians were a constant danger. In such a society schools and churches were of necessity few and far apart.[4]

At the beginning of the state's history in the closing years of the eighteenth century, Jefferson County contained a number of settlements at favorable spots along the French

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[3]William H. Combs and William E. Cole, Tennessee, A Political Study (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1940), pp. 1-11.

[4]Ramsey, op. cit., pp. 62-300.

Broad and Holston Rivers. More venturesome pioneers had begun to extend the settled territory up the creeks toward their headwaters. These were people who attached much importance to religion. Many of their ancestors, no doubt, had become immigrants and pioneers to maintain their freedom of belief and action in matters pertaining to religion. But at that stage of the county's development facilities for the outward expression of religious sentiment were lacking to a great extent. There were few ministers and fewer churches. The people were uneducated for the most part but not lacking in intelligence. They had few loyalties as to creeds but such as they did hold were stoutly maintained. It was in such a setting that the story of organized religion in the county began.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESBYTERIANS (1785-1860)

In the Early Settlements

Ramsey places a Mr. Mulky (or Mulkey), a Baptist preacher, in Carter's Valley in 1775.[1] But it was 1779 before Tidence Lane organized a Baptist congregation and a house for public worship was erected at Buffalo Ridge.[2] There is evidence of religious services in the settlements at an earlier date. Moore and Foster state that: "Rev. Charles Cummings, who located in Wolf's Hills, Abingdon, Virginia, as early as 1772, served two congregations in what is now Sullivan County."[3]

And from the pen of one of the Watauga settlers we have the following information:

> In April, 1777, Rev. Charles Cummings, a Presbyterian minister from Wolf Hills settlement, came to Watauga and preached three days. . . . . He urged the settlers to build a house of worship which we decided to do. . . . . The house was completed by July, 1777, and was known as the Massengill House of Worship. Rev. Cummings and Rev. Mulky preached

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[1]James G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Charleston: John Russell, 1853), p. 144.

[2]Ibid., p. 182.

[3]John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, Tennessee, The Volunteer State (Chicago: The S. J. Clark Pub. Co., 1923 p. 329.

several times to the settlers.[4]

From the same source it is learned that the house burned during one of the periods of trouble with the Indians.

The Rev. Samuel Doak was one of the leading Presbyterian ministers in the early settlements. Ramsey states in his notes for 1779 that "Rev. Samuel Doak was preaching through Washington and Sullivan Counties."[5] In 1785, writing of Martin Academy, "Rev. Samuel Doak was founder and first President."[6] For 1794, Samuel Doak is listed as a trustee of Greeneville College.[7] In 1795, "Washington College established, Samuel Doak, President."[8]

Samuel Doak was one of the influential members of Abingdon Presbytery, which was organized from the Presbytery of Hanover (Virginia), in 1785. In 1786 Transylvania Presbytery was formed to include the congregations in the Cumberland region. In 1796, when Presbyterianism was divided into "Old Side" and "New Side" factions by the struggle over

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[4]From the papers of Henry Massengill, quoted by Rhea Anderson in The New Bethel Susquicentenial, 1782-1938 (Kingsport: New Bethel Presbyterian Church, 1937), p. 3.

[5]Ramsey, op. cit., p. 182.

[6]Ibid., p. 293.

[7]Ibid., p. 627.

[8]Ibid., p. 641.

rigid and liberal interpretation of Calvinism, an "Old Side" minority of ministers seceded from Abingdon, but returned in 1797.[9]

Of the early Presbyterian ministers in Tennessee, those belonging to the "Old Side" group were Charles Cummings, Samuel Doak, Edward Crawford, Joseph Lake, and James Balch. Those of the "New Side" were Hezekiah Balch, John Cossin, Samuel Carrick, Robert Henderson, and Gidian Blackburn.[10]

It is of interest to compare the above lists with the following note pasted in the back of the first volume of Presbytery of Union Records:

> At Mt. Bethel near Greenville Tennessee, November 21, 1797, the Synod of the Carolinas granted the petition of Abingdon Presbytery for division & Rev. Messrs. Charles Cummings, Samuel Doak, Joseph Lake, & James Balch were set off to compose Abingdon Presbytery, to meet at Salem. Rev. Messrs. Hezekiah Balch, John Cossin, Samuel Carrick, Robert Henderson & Gidian Blackburn to compose the Presbytery of Union to meet at Hopewell on the 2nd Tuesday of February, 1798. Mr. Carrick to preach and preside.[11]

Presbytery of Union included the territory westward from the mouth of Lick Creek.[12] "New Side" ministers were

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[9]Moore and Foster, op. cit., p. 329.

[10]Ibid., p. 329.

[11]Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1799-1808 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[12]Perez D. Cowan, "Abingdon, the Mother of Presbyteries," in The Knoxville Sentinel, January 16, 1909.

in the new Presbytery; those of the "Old Side" remained with Abingdon. Such a division of ministers probably explains the fact that there was afterward relatively little trouble between the two factions in either Presbytery.

The "Mt. Bethel near Greenville" mentioned above was one of the few churches in the section divided into two congregations by the controversy. It was organized in 1783 by Hezekiah Balch, who was its pastor for several years. His sermon in 1786 on "Gospel Liberty in Singing the Praises of God," favoring Watt's hymns, indicated his willingness to accept change. In 1796 he was converted to "Hopkinsianism," or the "New Side" doctrine. For his change of views he was brought sixteen times before Presbytery, four times before Synod, and once before the General Assembly (1798). In 1798 Presbytery of Abingdon installed James Witherspoon as pastor of that part of Mt. Bethel Church which was opposed to Balch. Mr. Witherspoon's church kept the name of Mt. Bethel. Dr. Balch's was called Harmony, which was changed to Greeneville Presbyterian Church in 1840.[13]

The husband of the eldest daughter of Hezekiah Balch was the Rev. Robert Henderson who was the first pastor of the first Presbyterian church in Jefferson County.[14] That

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[13]Perez D. Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), p. 107.

[14]Ibid.

was Hopewell Presbyterian Church, at Dandridge, organized in 1785.[15]

The earliest record available of the exact size of the Hopewell congregation is the following:

> 21 April, 1807
> In pursuance of a late order of the Genl. Assembly Mr. Henderson reported that the total number of persons in communion belonging to Hopewell Congregation is 96, & in Westminster Congregation 80.[16]

This is the first mention in Presbytery of Union records of Westminster Church, located between Dandridge and Morristown, near the present village of White Pine. According to the Rev. W. H. Lyle, it was organized in 1787, probably by Hezekiah Balch.[17] For a period, after 1807, Hopewell and Westminster were usually mentioned together:

> Shunem Meeting house Sep. 2nd 1811.
> On motion of Mr. Snoddy seconded by Mr. Bradshaw, Presby resolved that the Churches of Hopewell and Westminster hereafter be considered as so united that one representative in Presb be sufficient.[18]

Mr. Wear accepted the pastorate of Hopewell and Westminster on April 14, 1812, and resigned on October 23, 1814.

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[15] Moore and Foster, op. cit., p. 822.

[16] Presbytery of Union, op. cit., p. 63.

[17] Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee, op. cit., p. 155.

[18] Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1808-1822 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), p. 106.

About the same time the records of Presbytery indicate a change in grouping of churches:

> October 12, 1814.
> Ordered that Mr. Robert Hardin supply as much as is convenient in St. Paul's and Westminster Churches and in Newport or vicinity giving one sabbath as a supply to Hopewell Church.[19]

Later references are usually to "Westminster and St. Paul's" or to "Westminster including St. Paul's." The early history of St. Paul's, first mentioned in Presbytery records in 1809, is obscure. The church is located in the Lowland Community, which is now included in Hamblen County, about five miles southwest of Morristown.

The meeting place of Presbytery for 1811 is given as Shunem meeting house. Shunem was also in Jefferson County. Tradition assigns thirteen original members, but no exact date of organization. The group first met under some trees near the Holston River at a spot known as "the stand."[20] The group moved its meeting place to the head of Lyon's Creek, about 1797, for the convenience of those members living on the French Broad, and assumed the name Shunem (sometimes Shumum). It moved down Lyon's Creek about three miles in 1805. A house was built in 1808, but part of the

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[19] Ibid., p. 130.

[20] Laura E. Luttrell, First Presbyterian Church, Strawberry Plains (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), p. 4.

congregation held meetings on the hill at Strawberry Plains. The Rev. John McCampbell was pastor at both places. The house on Lyon's Creek was abandoned in 1818.[21] Sometime later the name Shunem was changed to Strawberry Plains, but after the Civil War the name Shunem again appears in the records in references to the same church.

New Market and New Market Valley were originally called Lost Creek and Quaker Valley. About 1819 the Rev. John McCampbell preached the first Presbyterian sermon there, at candle-lighting, in the public house kept by Capt. James Tucker. He continued to preach at intervals for several years. In 1825 a house of worship was erected and on September 30, 1826, New Market Presbyterian Church was organized with fifty members.[22]

The records of Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, located near the eastern border of the county and about six miles southeast of Jefferson City, begin as follows:

> November 20, 1841 - By order of the Presbytery of Union, the Rev. John McCampbell organized a church at the schoolhouse near R. D. Rankin's by ordaining four Elders, Vis, William Rankin, Richard Bradshaw, Christopher Rankin, and John Newman, Jr. Also at the same time five persons were chosen to act as trustees, Vis, William Rankin, William Massengill, Sr., Richard D. Rankin, Josiah E. Rankin, James Newman. In the

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[21] Sermon by the Rev. L. R. Janes, in Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee, op. cit., p. 122.

[22] Ibid., p. 133.

> organizing the church the following members in full communion in Hopewell and New Market Churches fell within the bounds of the Church, Vis, ...

There follows the above entry a list of forty from Hopewell and twenty-seven from New Market, with 191 added from that time until April 13, 1860.[23]

Concord Church, between Strawberry Plains and the French Broad River, was organized in 1853.

From the above it is seen that before the Civil War the following Presbyterian churches were organized in the county: Hopewell, at Dandridge, in 1785; Shunem, at Strawberry Plains, before 1800; Westminster, at White Pine, in 1787; St. Paul's, near Morristown, before 1802; New Market, in 1826; Mount Horeb, near Jefferson City, in 1841; and Concord, near Strawberry Plains, in 1853.

Number of Presbyterian Members

Session minutes, when available, usually give the number of original members of a church. Additions are easy to determine, as new members had to be accepted by the session, but losses were not often so carefully recorded. For example, the records of Mount Horeb session list 256 received through April 13, 1860, but it is fairly evident

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[23]Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, Records (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), p. 1.

that not all the losses appear in the minutes. Thus it is difficult to determine the exact number of members at any one time from the session minutes alone.[24]

After 1806 an informal report of membership was expected from ministers in meetings of the Presbytery but the reports were not always made a part of the Presbytery minutes. It was not until 1841 that statistical tables were made a part of the Presbytery minutes.

However, from session minutes, Presbytery minutes, and a considerable number of items in the notes of the Rev. Perez D. Cowan, it is possible to reconstruct what seems to be a fairly accurate picture of membership in some of the churches at various times.[25] The following tables present the information thus obtained as to the number of members in communion in various churches for certain years:

Strawberry Plains:

1824 - 13	1840 - 107	1853 - 105
1830 - 65	1843 - 151	1857 - 95
1833 - 121	1846 - 113	1858 - 88
1834 - 185	1849 - 109	
1839 - 105	1851 - 96	

Hopewell:

1816 - 85	1830 - 152	1837 - 160	1857 - 113
1821 - 118	1831 - 139	1838 - 155	1858 - 177
1826 - 151	1832 - 143	1839 - 149	1859 - 186

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[24] *Ibid.*, *et passim.*

[25] Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee, *op. cit.*, *et passim.*

Hopewell (continued):

1827 - 237	1833 - 173	1840 - 171	1860 - 169
1829 - 163	1834 - 189	1852 - 126	

New Market:

1842 - 206
1843 - 222
1844 - 222
1845 - 223
1846 - 217
1847 - 217

Mount Horeb:

1842 - 67
1843 - 99
1844 - 93
1845 - 94
1846 - 93
1847 - 93

St. Paul's:

1842 - 92
1845 - 79
1846 - 112
1847 - 82

Westminster:

1840 - 88	1847 - 94	1852 - 115	1857 - 103
1841 - 84	1848 - 90	1853 - 115	1858 - 155
1842 - 81	1849 - 89	1854 - 115	1859 - 159
1844 - 88	1850 - 89	1855 - 124	1860 - 161
1846 - 74	1851 - 104	1856 - 109	

In 1807 the congregation in Jefferson County reported members to Presbytery of Union as follows:

Hopewell	96
Westminster	80
Shunem	39
TOTAL	215

(no report from St. Paul's).

By 1847 the number of Presbyterian churches had increased to six and total membership to approximately 700. In that year the report of membership by churches was as follows:

Strawberry Plains	113
Hopewell	97
Westminster	94
St. Paul's	82
New Market	217
Mount Horeb	93
TOTAL	696

The population of Jefferson County during the first half of the nineteenth century was as follows:[26]

1800 - 9,017	1820 - 8,953	1840 - 12,076
1810 - 7,309	1830 - 11,801	1850 - 13,204

It thus appears that during a period of approximately forty years, while the population of the county increased between 80 and 90 per cent, the number of Presbyterian churches increased 100 per cent and the number of members increased over 200 per cent.

"Old Side" and "New Side"

The liberal movement near the end of the eighteenth century which divided many congregations over interpretation of doctrinal points, seems to have affected Jefferson County hardly at all. Most, if not all, the congregations in the county prior to 1800 were organized by Hezekiah Balch, who was a strong supporter of the liberal side. They all had as pastor during much of the earliest period of their existence Dr. Robert Henderson, a son-in-law of Dr. Balch, who also held liberal doctrinal views. After 1797 they were members of the Presbytery of Union to which had been assigned, at its organization, all the "New Side" ministers

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[26]Census Office, Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), I, p. 78.

of Abingdon Presbytery. It can not be known to what extent these ministers were held in the territory by the knowledge that their views would not be so welcome in surrounding Presbyteries. Dr. Henderson conducted a school or college near Cave Spring, in Jefferson County, in which prospective ministers could be trained.[27]

The Cumberland Presbyterians

The religious awakening in the period around 1800, known as the "Great Revival," caused a demand for an increased number of ministers which could not be supplied by the educated and trained men upon which it was the policy of the Presbyterian denomination to insist. The revival also created a demand for a faith less fatalistic than the Calvinistic faith of the Presbyterians.

In 1801 a few men organized an association called the Transylvania Presbytery, chiefly to ordain to the ministry some young men without classical education. Transylvania Presbytery divided in 1802 with one part taking the name Comberland Presbytery. After a long contest with the Synod of Kentucky, Cumberland Presbytery was dismissed, in 1809, from the regular Presbyterian Church.

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[27]Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee, op. cit., p. 155.

In 1810 three regularly ordained Presbyterian ministers met in Dickson County, Tennessee, and constituted a new Presbytery, known as the Cumberland Presbytery, on condition that no candidate for the ministry should be required to subscribe to so much of the Westminster Confession of Faith as teaches fatality, nor to stand an examination in any language other than English. This was the origin of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

In 1819 the Cumberland Synod was formed, and in 1820 a Confession of Faith adopted. The first general assembly met in 1829, in Lexington, Kentucky. By 1875 there were in Tennessee fifteen Presbyteries of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, with over 22,000 members.[28]

Although Presbytery of Union was more nearly unanimous than most Presbyteries in the holding of liberal views, it was not prepared to go as far as the Cumberland Presbyterians. It differed with the Cumberland group mainly in two respects.

First, it did not depart as far from the doctrines of Calvinism, as the following extract indicates:

> Washington Church, October 8th 1810
> Mr. Blackburn and Dr. Cossin were appointed to write a letter to the session of Goshen Church respecting their conduct toward the persons calling themselves the Cumberland Presb, in answer to a request from some members of that session. The following letter being introduced was read and adopted and is

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[28]Philip M. Hamer, Tennessee, A History, 1673-1932 (New York: The American Historical Society, 1933), II, pp. 811-813.

as follows, Vis., -

To the Session of Goshen Church, -
Dear Brethren, -
having heard of the danger in which you are, of being solicited to irregular communion and connection with the men formerly styled the Council but now the Cumberland Presby, we think it our duty with tender love and fidelity to address you on a subject we think of material importance to the Course of Gospel Truth and Order and the Welfare of your church, as well as of the Presbyterian Church in general.

The body of the letter contains a discussion of the importance of the doctrines of election, etc., and ends thus:

Zealous Christians and Ministers may mistake their duty. We wish not to excite or indulge unfriendly surmises against the gracious character of the men who call themselves the late Cumberland Presb, but while they stand upon disorderly ground which they must either give up or permanently have no connection with us, we wish to be orderly and regular in our conduct towards them.[29]

Second, while the Presbytery was willing to accept men as candidates for the ministry who had not been educated in regular Presbyterian schools, it was not willing to accept men with no classical education at all. The Presbytery kept a careful watch over its ministry:

Tuesday, 28th October 1800
Presbytery being informed that a certain man by the name of Brice Miller has been within our bounds proposing himself under the character of a minister of the Gospel & whereas public fame represents the said Miller as an eminently immoral character & as

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[29]Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1808-1822, op. cit., p. 91.

he has not taken any steps to be regularly connected with our body, we think it our duty to warn the churches under our care against encouraging a disorderly man in the ministry & do hereby enjoin it upon all our members to give as extensive information as possible to our churches of the rules used by our churches in admitting foreigners to regular standing.

The conduct of pastor and congregation was expected to merit mutual respect. There is a faint note of rebuke in this notation:

> Greenville College, April 16 /1822/
> No report was received from the session and Trustees of Shunem and Hopewell Churches respecting the discharge of the mutual duties of pastor and people--although their pastor was present.[30]

Trials for the Ministry

The Presbytery exercised a strict supervision over the entry of candidates into the ministry. The person offering himself as a candidate had to undergo a period of investigation, examination, and questioning extending over several months. Requirements for the minstry may, perhaps, be best understood by following a young man through his candidacy.

Mr. Matthew Donnell was proposed as a candidate for the ministry by the Rev. Robert Henderson on March 17, 1801. Mr. Donnell was a member of Hopewell Congregation of which Dr. Henderson was pastor. In the minutes of Presbytery of

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[30] Ibid., p. 203.

Union are numerous entries concerning his candidacy.[31]

Presbytery enquired into Mr. Donnell's moral character and his having received a liberal education & having had satisfactory information on these points they proceeded to hear a narration of his religious experience & his views in offering himself for the Gospel ministry. All which Presbytery approve and agree to take him on farther trial.

Presbytery examined Mr. Donnell on his skill in the latin language & agree to sustain his performance as a part of trial.

Presbytery proceeded to examine Mr. Donnell on Geography, unanimously agree to sustain it as part of trial. Mr. Donnell is appointed to prepare a exegeses on this theme, - "An Detur Punatum Originale & In Quo Consistet?" & likewise a presbyterial exercise on John 3:16 as farther parts of trial.

Mr. Donnell read an exegesis and also a presbyterial exercise on the subjects assigned him at our last. The consideration of them deferred.

Presbytery having carefully examined Mr. Donnell's exegesis cannot with clearness express their high approbation of it as a latin performance but with pointing out to Mr. Donnell what we conceive to be its blemishes we agree to sustain it as a part of trials. Presbytery having examined Mr. Donnell's presbyterial exercise agree to sustain the same as part of trial to recommend it to Mr. Donnell to pay greater attention to accuracy in composition for the future.

Presbytery examined Mr. Donnell on the Greek language and on moral philosophy and agree to sustain his examination as part of trials.

Mr. Donnell is appointed to prepare an homily on the following question, - "What is the kingdom of Christ?" and a lecture from 2 Cor. 5 Chapter 11th verse to the end against our next.

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[31]Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1799-1808, various extracts from March 17, 1801, to January 17, 1803.

Ordered that Messrs. Carrick, Henderson, & Rhea be a Committee to examine Mr. Donnell on natural philosophy, Astronomy, and Rhetoric & report tomorrow morning.

The Committee appointed to examine Mr. Donnell reported that they have examined him very extensively on natural philosophy, Astronomy & Rhetoric & were highly pleased with his answers. Presbytery agreed to sustain the examination as a part of trial.

Presbytery proceeded to hear the homily & lecture assigned to Mr. Donnell & the lecture assigned to Mr. Anderson at our last . . . . and agreed to sustain them as a part of trial.

Mr. Donnell is appointed to prepare a popular sermon on Rom. 5:5 to be delivered at our next.

The Moderator of our last session being absent Presbytery was opened by Mr. Henderson with a sermon from 2nd Peter 3:9 after which Messrs. Donnell and Anderson delivered their popular discourses as appointed at our last.

Presbytery proceeded to examine Messrs. Donnell and Anderson carefully on Theology & having considered their answers & also the popular discourses did unanimously agree in sustaining the same as parts of trial.

Presbytery of Union having received sufficient testimonials in favor of Messrs. Matthew Donnel and Isaac Anderson of their having gone through a regular course of literature of their good moral character & of their being in communion with the Church proceeded to take the usual parts of trial for their licensure & they having given satisfaction as to their accomplishments in literature, as to their experimental acquaintance with religion & as to their proficiency in divinity and other studies, the Presbytery did and hereby do express their approbation of all these parts of trial & they having adopted the confession of faith of this church & satisfactorily answered the questions appointed to be put to candidates to be licensed, the Presbytery did and hereby do license them, the sd. Matthew Donnell & Isaac Anderson to preach the gospel of Christ as probationers for the holy ministry within the bounds of this Presbytery or

wherever they shall be orderly called.

Messrs. Donnell and Anderson are appointed to supply in our vacancies betwinxt this and our next regular meeting.

The Presbyterian policy of insisting on high moral character, excellent mental ability, and sound doctrinal belief in its new ministers no doubt gave the Presbyterian Church a factor of strength for meeting many of the stresses imposed on religious organizations by the conditions of the nineteenth century. But when there came opportunities for rapid expansion, such as the period following the Great Revival and that following the Civil War, this same policy may have placed the denomination at a disadvantage. This point is discussed more fully in Chapter VIII.

The Slavery Issue

There is evidence of sympathy for the Negro but not of active participation in the controversy over slavery in the churches of the county and in the Presbytery. For example:

Hopewell Meetinghouse, 27th October 1806

. . . . . .

Mr. Blackburn having informed Presbytery that a certain black man named Jack formerly but whose name is now changed to John Cloucester by the County Court of Blount, according to act of Assembly of Tennessee and who is freed by said court according to law, wished to obtain leave from the Phy to

preach to the Africans. Phy agreed to receive him under their care.[32]

The minutes of the February 12, 1807, meeting of the Presbytery state that "The Phy entertain an high opinion of the piety and parts of John Gloucester" but since there is difficulty with his meeting the requirements for the ministry agreed "to ask advice from the Genl. Assembly." Final disposition of the case is indicated in the minutes for the autumn session of 1807:

> Dandridge 22nd October, 1807.
> . . . . . .
> The case of Mr. John Gloucester which was referred at our last spring session to the Genl. Assembly for their advice. When it appeared from sufficient documents that all the difficulties that lay in the way of his licensure were removed, Phy having duly considered his case and his having answered such questions as are usually put to candidates in such cases did and do hereby license him, the sd. John Gloucester to preach the Gospel of Christ as a probationer in the holy ministry.[33]

Presbytery of Union meeting at Lebanon Church on October 25, 1813, passed the following resolution:

> Resolved that it be recommended to those who hold slaves in our communion, that they endeavor to teach their slaves to read the Scriptures, and repeat the Catechism, and to see that they attend family and public worship.[34]

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[32] Ibid., p. 57.

[33] Ibid., p. 68.

[34] Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1808-1822, p. 117.

The Rev. Elijah Eagleton, in 1825, was reprimanded by the Presbytery for his violent preaching against slavery. Aside from the fact that the minister involved was rather intemperate in his words on the subject it seems to have been a case not of the Presbytery being sympathetic to slavery but of its wanting to prevent division in the churches over the issue. But this concern of the Presbytery indicates that opinion in the Presbyterian churches was divided. It is a matter of credit to the wisdom and temperance of the Presbyterian leaders of the county and the Presbytery that the division was prevented from becoming an open split until passions were aroused by the Civil War. The eventual split is discussed in Chapters VII and VIII.

The Ministry

As has been shown, entry into the Presbyterian ministry is under control of the Presbytery, which is a representative body composed of the pastor and one or more elders from each congregation within a limited territory. The General Assembly, the national body, lays down general rules but the Presbytery determines the case of the individual candidate. The local group makes its choice for pastor known to the Presbytery which passes the request on to the minister. The minister and the congregation concerned

are encouraged to reach an agreement for the approval of the Presbytery. If that fails, Presbytery decides the case as it thinks will be for the best interest of the church in general. Congregation and pastor make their own arrangement as to service and pay but when made the Presbytery expects each party to live up to the agreement. The Presbytery records show that it was customary at each session to ask for reports from both pastor and congregation as to their mutual relationship. This seems to have been more than a formality. Thus it was possible for an alert Presbytery to anticipate any disharmony and prevent its going far enough to injure either pastor or congregation. The county was fortunate in having from the first a group of able Presbyterian ministers who were to serve its congregations well during the early period.

Ministerial Pay

Presbyterian congregations subscribed a definite sum for the minister's services. Westminster and St. Paul's subscribed $301.00 for Mr. Hardin for 1820.[35] For 1824 Westminster, including St. Paul's, paid Robert Hardin $204.00.[36] In 1843 St. Paul's reported "that they have promised to pay the Messrs. Minnis and Hood fifty dollars

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[35] Ibid., p. 198.

[36] Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1823-1828, p. 21.

each toward their temporal support."[37]

Multiple Pastors

It was common practice among Presbyterian congregations in the county prior to the Civil War for a single congregation to have two men serving as pastors at the same time. Each had a certain day or certain days in the month for preaching and a certain sum subscribed as salary. At one time New Market Church reported payment to three part-time ministers. The report brought on a discussion in the Presbytery as to the wisdom of employing several ministers at the same time.[38]

Summary

The early Presbyterian churches in the county were organized by men who were all of the same side of the "New Side" controversy. They were soon placed in a Presbytery whose ministers were all on the same side. It thus avoided the divisions which came to Presbyterians in many regions about 1800. The county largely escaped the emotional excesses of the Great Revival and it was well supplied at an

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[37] Presbytery of Union, Minutes, 1840-1860, p. 22.

[38] Ibid., p. 67.

early date with able Presbyterian ministers who were popular with the settlers. Similarly the county was not seriously involved in the Cumberland Presbyterian movement a few years later. Churches and Presbytery favored the New School group in 1837, but there was no division apparent. Presbyterian churches in the county also avoided serious disturbance over slavery.

It is not possible, from available records, to make exact comparison between denominations as to number of members. It is possible to compare two of the larger groups for 1834. In that year 416 Baptist members were reported to the associations and 374 Presbyterian members were reported to the Presbytery. However, this seems to include all the Baptist churches in the county in that year, but includes only two Presbyterian churches out of five. Though there is no positive statistical proof, it seems clearly indicated that Presbyterians outnumbered any other denomination in the county up until the Civil War.

CHAPTER IV

THE BAPTISTS (1785-1860)

Early Beginnings

Ramsey lists a Mr. Mulky (sometimes spelled Mulkey), a Baptist preacher, as one of the pioneers in Carter's Valley.[1] Tradition has it that at the time of the very earliest settlement in the state there were two Baptist churches on the Clinch River, which were dispersed when the members were forced to return eastward because of the Indians. If the tradition is true, these were but temporary congregations. It is the consensus among many historians of the denomination that the first Baptist church in what is now the state of Tennessee was organized in 1779, at Buffalo Ridge, in Washington County, under the leadership of the Rev. Tidence Lane. Some, however, believe that the church on Sinking Creek, in Carter County, was organized even earlier.[2]

Some time after the organization of Buffalo Ridge, Lane moved to Bent Creek in what later became Jefferson County. There, in 1785, he helped organize the first Baptist church

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[1]James G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Charleston: John Russell, 1853), p. 144.

[2]Frank Merritt, Early History of Carter County (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1950), p. 73. This work was produced as a Master's thesis at the University of Tennessee.

in the county. The church has endured and is now the Whitesburg Baptist Church.[3]

In the next year, 1786, another church was organized. The records of the present Dandridge Baptist Church begin: "The Church of Christ on French Broad River Constituted March 25, 1786." Two months later occurs this entry: "Met the first Satterday in May. Chas Gentry Appointed to attend the Association on Kendrick's Creek on the fourth Satterday in May 1786. Adjourned till meeting in course."[4]

Prior to 1786, Baptist churches west of the mountains were associated with the Sandy Creek Association in North Carolina.[5] There is a tradition that Buffalo Ridge was a "walking church" whose members had migrated en masse and simply reorganized after reaching the western territory. The Association on Kendrick's Creek, Sullivan County, mentioned in the above extract, was the first meeting of the Holston Association, the first Baptist Association west of the mountains. Churches represented at the original meeting in 1786 were Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek,

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[3]James J. Burnett, Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Baptist Preachers (Nashville: Marshall and Bruce, 1919), p. 321.

[4]"Records of French Broad Baptist Church," in Historical Records Survey, comp., Records and Histories of Certain Baptist Churches in Tennessee (typed copy, Nashville: Works Progress Administration, 1936-1941).

[5]Lawrence Edwards, History of the Baptists of Tennessee With Particular Attention to the Primitive Baptists of East Tennessee (unpublished Master's thesis, Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1940), p. 19.

Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad.[6] Bent Creek and French Broad were in territory later included in Jefferson County.

No other Baptist church was organized within the present boundaries of Jefferson County until 1797. In that year the Baptist Church on Dumplin Creek was constituted with twelve members. Records of the Holston Association meeting at Coon's Creek in 1797 list three churches in Jefferson County. These were Bent Creek with forty-three members, French Broad with forty-five members, and Dumplin Creek with fifteen members.[7]

The Holston Association meeting at Bent Creek in 1799 listed twenty-five churches with 1,237 members. The three churches in Jefferson County had sixty-eight members.[8]

In 1803 the Tennessee Association was organized, leaving to the Holston Association the territory in the northeast corner of the state.[9] The Powell's Valley Association was organized in 1817.[10] The early associational

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[6]David Benedict, A General History of the Baptist Denomination (New York: Lewis and Company, 1848), p. 791.

[7]"Records of the French Broad Baptist Church," loc. cit.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Association for 1802 (typed copy, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Library).

[10]Edwards, op. cit., p. 105 ff.

minutes did not report the county in which each church was located. Churches were constantly being organized, disbanded, and merged. Some churches were commonly known by either of two names. Sometimes only part of a double name was given so that at this date we cannot know exactly to which church reference was made. "Buffalo" could mean Buffalo Creek, Buffalo Ridge, or Buffalo Run. Thus it becomes almost impossible to form a clear picture of the number and condition of Baptist churches during the early years of the nineteenth century. However, the denomination grew to such an extent that in 1828 the Nolachucky Association was formed from territory of the Tennessee. Thereafter, some churches in Jefferson County belonged to the Nolachucky Association and some to the Tennessee Association, with frequent cases of transfer from one to the other. This was possible because of Baptist stress on the independence of the local church which permitted the local church to belong to any association that would receive it.

By 1834 conditions of church organization had become more settled and records were being kept with more accuracy. It is possible to get a good idea of Baptist organization in the county as of that date.

Reporting to the Nolachucky Association, in 1834, were:

Mill Spring, with fifty members;

Antioch, with twenty-eight members;

Bent Creek, with 165 members; and

Black Oak Grove, with thirty-three members.[11]

Reporting to the Tennessee Association, in 1834, were:

Dumplin Creek, with sixty members;

Friendship, with thirty-four members;

French Broad, with nineteen members; and

Providence, with twenty-seven members.[12]

Thus the record shows that in 1834 four churches reported 276 members to the Nolachucky Association and four churches reported 140 members to the Tennessee Association, making a total of eight Jefferson County Baptist churches with 416 members in the two associations.

By the Civil War period Baptist churches were rather evenly distributed over the county. Those of record were:

Bent Creek, at the present Whitesburg, in Hamblen County;

Dandridge, the old French Broad, in the southern part;

Providence, near Knox County, a Primitive congregation;

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[11]"Minutes of the Nolachucky Association for 1834," in Historical Records Survey, Comp., Records of Various Baptist Associations in Tennessee (Nashville: Works Progress Administration, 1938).

[12]"Minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Association," in ibid.

Friendship, near Morristown, also Primitive;

New Market, in the town of that name;

Mill Spring, near the Holston River, on Rutledge road;

Mossy Creek, in the present Jefferson City;

Mansfield Gap, near Talbott;

French Broad (Oak Grove), on the French Broad;

Leadvale, near the Cocke County line; and

Dumplin, on the French Broad, near Knox County.

The Great Revival

The increase in religious activity and the shift toward a more emotional type of religious experience which created a stir among the Baptist churches in certain parts of North Carolina and Virginia and in the Cumberland Mountain region of Kentucky and Tennessee about the year 1800, was known as the Great Revival. Measured by increase in number of members it seems to have had little effect on the Baptist churches of Jefferson County, probably because of the isolation of the county at that time.

The Anti-mission Split

Whether viewed from within or without the denomination, it seems probable that one of the most significant events of Baptist history in the Southern Appalachian region was the

peculiar emphasis of sentiment which developed about 1830 and culminated in the "anti-mission split" just prior to 1840. Its outward manifestation was an intense opposition on the part of a portion of the membership to any ecclesiastical organization higher than the group of churches composing the local association. Opposition was especially violent toward the instruments through which a higher organization operated the "societies of the day." The objects of this opposition included state conventions, as well as missionary societies, Bible societies, and Sunday schools.[13] Since no association and few churches of the Baptist faith in the region escaped the effects of the division, it is necessary to examine it in some detail.

The churches of Jefferson County offer excellent illustrations of the three typical ways in which the situation was met in the local church.

In the French Broad Church, under the leadership of Duke Kimbrough who was a powerful figure among Baptists of the region, and one who seems to have been above the average as a minister in many ways, there can be found little evidence of the division. Whatever divergence of opinion may have existed among the members, there is no evidence that it ever resulted in an open contest of any great

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[13]Nolachucky Association of Primitive Baptists, Minutes, 1839 (copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, n. p., n. d.).

violence in the church.[14]

A different story is presented by Providence Baptist Church, located in the southwestern end of Jefferson County, near the Knox and Sevier borders. The reaction of this church to the movement is shown by three extracts from its records:

> August 1834, Brother Jonathan Elison motioned that the church should petition for a division in the Association. The church is to consider on it till on next meeting.[15]
>
> January 1837, We close our doors against all societies of the day to wit the ministers and members for joining the temperance society Baptist state convention tract society Bible society Sunday School union an Being friendly to it in its present form.
>
> February 1840 . . . The church was got information that John Lindsey and wife joined the Mishionary Baptist for which the church think them worthy of exclusion for which the church excluded them from her fellowship.[16]

In this case the anti-mission forces simply took over the church, apparently with little opposition, and it was afterwards a Primitive Baptist Church. Numbers of members were excluded over the years for having joined the Missionary Baptists.

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[14]"Records of the French Broad Baptist Church," loc. cit

[15]This was probably the first manifestation of anti-mission sentiment.

[16]"Minutes of Providence Baptist Church," in Records and Histories of Certain Baptist Churches in Tennessee.

An introductory note in the Antioch church book reads:

> Whereas a division took place in the church in 1839 on account principally the anti-mission part of this church took possession of the church book and it Became necessary for us to procure this book to keep our records in.[17]

The record then proceeds as though nothing had happened. Presumably, the anti-mission faction seceded, taking the church book with it.

These were small churches. The records of Dumplin Baptist Church show the effects of the split in a more firmly established church:

> State of Tennessee)
> Jefferson County) -4th Saturday of April 1839- at Dumplin Creek meeting house -Whereas there has much difficulty existed in the Baptist Church at Dumplin about Missionary Conferences and other Societies of the day and at March meeting a large number of our Brn. took into consideration the propriety of those institutions but laid them over till next meeting in course at which time they made any of the Societies of the day meaning the Baptist State Convention Temperance Society including furrin Missions Societies & C. and in their zeal extended their declaration to those that had fellowship with them. And we, the undersigned being a part of sd. church could not in all good conscience submit to any such principles -Therefore having met and after divine service proceed as follows. 1st. Entered into a protest and remonstrance against the act of our said Brethren -2nd. Resolved to meet them with it at the next meeting in course, and offer them terms of compromise -1st. Petitioned them to receive their act 2nd. to open the church doors to all orderly members whether Missionary Baptists or otherwise meening

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[17] "Minutes of Antioch Baptist Church," in ibid.

Baptist ministers which was all respectfully submitted to them on the 2nd Saturday of May 1839 - But all to no effect - they call father Kimbrough to act as Moderator to which he consented hoping that a compromise would be effected but they moved to appoint a new Clerk saying the old one had left them and gave to others - then father Kimbrough refused to serve as Moderator but they persisted in their course and chose one of their own party as Moderator and would not here us - Therefore on constitutional principles we consider ourselves to be the church and resolved in future to hold church meetings on the 4th Saturday of the month at said meeting house.[18]

May 4 - Saturday 1839

In pursuance of the foregoing arrangement the church met & after divine service proceeded to business - 1st Chose Br. Elijah Rogers Moderator 2nd. took up the case of our opposing Bro. we can only say they have withdrawn from us - 1st. because they have set up a new test of fellowship that our Constitution knows nothing of -2nd -they have rejected the advice of our Association (See number of 1837-Article 5)- "We advise our churches to not make the joining or not joining of such institutions any test of fellowship (meaning Baptist State Convention's Temperance Societies) but in all cases of discipline to adhere strictly to our Constitutional Principles and the Word of God" -3rd. -Whereas owing to the division in Dumplin Church - Father Kimbrough has declined being pastor for either party & believing he is with us as touching Missionary and other Societies of the day we can be consistent in inviting him to be our pastor if it can anyway meet his approbation & can change his meeting at French Broad Church so as to attend us, if not to visit us as often as possible -4th. - Ordered that the Clerk forward a copy of the foregoing Preamble and Resolution to Father Kimbrough - 5th. - Enrolled John Newman at his request - 6th. - resolved that the clerk have till next meeting to make a record.-

Elisha Cate-
Church Clk.[19]

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[18]Twelve members signed this statement when made; others signed later.

[19]"Records of Dumplin Baptist Church," op. cit.

Kimbrough declined to accept and James Langford became pastor. An unusual note is found in the record for March, 1852, which reads as follows:

> . . . Also received a note from the so called Primitive Baptists at this place informing us that their next Association would meet here and it came to the time of our meeting in course and request us to change our meeting at that time which is the 1st Saturday in Oct next which is granted.[20]

It appears that this congregation divided into two large parts, each of which then went its own way. That there later came to be at least some cooperation and tolerance between them is indicated.

An illustration of the way the split affected the associations is furnished by the Nolachucky Association. When the Association met at Concord, Greene County, in 1839, it was confronted with a difficult situation. Some churches had become anti-mission. From some others came two delegations, one missionary and the other anti-missionary, each claiming to represent the church. When in the contest over organization the pro-mission group was victorious, the anti-mission delegations withdrew to the nearby woods and there organized the Nolachucky Association of Primitive Baptists with fifteen churches represented. At least three of the anti-mission delegations were from Jefferson County, including one from Bent Creek which was the oldest Baptist

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[20] Ibid.

church in the county. As evidence of how deep the division went, it may be noted that the Rev. Pleasant Witt, of Bent Creek, had delivered the introductory sermon to the association in 1835. He had served as moderator in 1836, and again in 1837. Yet he was one of the leaders in the new anti-mission association, serving it faithfully for years.[21]

The division was not so dramatic in the Tennessee Association, perhaps because the association saw the issue approaching and took steps to meet it, as appears from the Dumplin record above. But the division did occur with the formation of the Tennessee Association of Primitive Baptists. These Associations of Primitive Baptists are sometimes referred to as Nolachucky Association No. 2 and Tennessee Association No. 2. The Powell's Valley Association did not split but took the Primitive (anti-mission) side in the controversy. Some of its member churches, however, transferred to other associations. It has since divided over other issues into three associations, each retaining the name, Powell's Valley, and usually referred to as No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3.[22]

The anti-mission uprising in Baptist churches approximates movements in other denominations, but has characteristics

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[21]Nolachucky Baptist Association, Minutes, 1835-37 (n. p., n. d.).

[22]Edwards, op. cit., p. 107 ff.

all its own. Sweet points out the part played by a feeling of resentment toward home missionaries in the minds of the uneducated backwoods preachers. It may be that workers sent out by the various "societies" were not always sufficiently tactful in dealing with this type of pastor. This jealousy, with the ground for its growth provided by frontier conditions of life, along with the spirit of isolation associated with the frontier, may have been contributing factors, which is all that Sweet claims for them.[23]

It is easy to assume that the conflict was not one of deep ideas because uneduated pioneers were not equal to the thinking required in a conflict of ideas. But through the heat of the resolutions, disputations, and discussions may be discerned a more solid base than is sometimes admitted. Many of the westward immigrants had brought Calvinism as a part of their nature. To them the idea that man had anything whatever to do with his own salvation was a denial of the power and majesty of God. This made missionary effort unnecessary. But missionary work might not have caused such violent opposition had it not been combined with another idea, - the fear of authority. To many pioneers, the higher organization by which missionary work was being directed carried a

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[23]William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931), I, pp. 58-76.

threat of ecclesiastical authority which they hated and feared. Neither of these ideas was far from traditional Baptist position. Even today the Baptist Conventions go to great lengths to emphasize the voluntary nature of participation in their activities.

The Civil War Period

Of the 7,840 inhabitants found in Jefferson County by the enumeration of 1795, only 776 were slaves.[24] Most of the churches listed an occasional slave as a member. In the matter of church privilege and discipline they seem to have been dealt with on the same basis as other members. In one case Dumplin Church postponed action for non-attendance on the part of a slave till it could be determined if the fault lay with the master, who was not a member.

The slavery question as such received little attention from the Baptist churches. In 1831 a query reached the Nolachucky Association as to what should be done in the case of a member who sold his colored brother to a slave trader, but a direct answer was avoided by giving advice that the church be governed by the teachings of Scripture.[25] Though the editor of the historical sketch in the centennial edition of the

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[24]Ramsey, op. cit., p. 648.

[25]Nolachucky Baptist Association, Minutes, 1831 (n. p., n. d.).

Minutes refers to that action as dodging the issue, it might also have indicated a reliance on individual conscience and local church rule not inconsistent with the traditional Baptist position on such questions.[26]

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[26] Ibid., 1927 (n. p., n. d.).

CHAPTER V

THE METHODISTS (1787-1860)

Beginnings in America

Methodism in the United States was very young at the time in which Jefferson County was being settled and organized. Only a few years earlier, in 1766, Philip Embury had begun to preach in New York. About three years afterward a Methodist church was built in New York, in 1768 or 1769. There is some question as to whether the New York building was the first Methodist house of worship in America. Some claim that a "meeting house" of some kind had been built in Maryland a little earlier.[1] This may well be true for at that time Methodists had been living in Maryland for nearly ten years. Dr. Isaac P. Martin, who has devoted much study to early Methodist history, states that "A house was built by Robert Strawbridge, on Sam's Creek, in Maryland, about 1760." Edward Cox came from Maryland, in 1773, to settle near Bluff City. He was one of the first Methodists in what is now Tennessee.[2]

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[1]John B. McFerrin, History of Methodism in Tennessee (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1872), I, p. 25.

[2]Isaac P. Martin, Methodism in Holston (Nashville: Parthenon Publishing House, 1944), p. 11.

Frame of Organization

The first General Conference of the Methodist Church was held in Philadelphia, in 1773. There were then only 1,160 members.[3] In 1783 a missionary was appointed "to Holston." "Holston designated, not a circuit, but a territory on the frontier including the settlements on the Holston, Watauga, and Nolichucky Rivers."[4]

Jeremiah Lambert was the Missionary appointed "to Holston" in 1783. His work was in Southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee.[5]

At the end of his first year Mr. Lambert reported sixty members. He remained in the Holston region another year before being sent to Philadelphia.[6]

Bishop Asbury was in the Holston country many times. In his Journal we find: "Apr. 30, 1790 . . . . thence to Smith's Ferry across the North Branch of Holston. Here I found some lies had been told on me; feeling myself innocent, I was not moved."[7]

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[3]McFerrin, op. cit., p. 25.

[4]Ibid., p. 87.

[5]Ibid., p. 28.

[6]Ibid., p. 29.

[7]Ezra Squier Tipple, ed., The Heart of Asbury's Journal (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1904), p. 297.

And again:

> May 12-14, 1792, - we were engaged in the business of Conference at Holston. I had a meeting with the men; a lively one with the women, most of whose hearts the Lord touched, causing them to rejoice in God.[8]

For the next year we find: "Apr. 5, 1793 - Rode to Nolichucky, and attended a meeting at Squire E's."[9]

And for the year following: "Apr. 27, 1795 - We hasted to F. Ernest's on Nolichucky River, in Tennessee, where we held our Western Conference."[10]

The American Conference, in 1785, became a separate body. It had 104 preachers and 18,000 members. At that time a new district was formed of which the circuits were Yadkin and Salisbury (in North Carolina), and Holston. In 1787, Holston was divided into two circuits, - Holston and Nolichucky. In 1788, two new circuits were added to the district, - New River and French Broad. French Broad Circuit included the settlements west and south of the main Holston River. Thus the settlements in what was to become Jefferson County were in French Broad Circuit.[11]

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[8] Ibid., p. 336.

[9] Ibid., p. 360.

[10] Ibid., p. 361.

[11] McFerrin, op. cit., pp. 25-87.

The next few years brought constant change in the number and territory of the circuits, so that it is not always possible to follow them accurately in the records. A further complication is the fact, almost always found in the records of religious organizations, that the year did not begin and end on the same dates for the various units within the denominational organization. It is this complication to which McFerrin refers when he states that "The Minutes of the General Conference were not always correct."[12] That is, they were reporting for periods of time which did not always coincide for the units involved.

In 1793, French Broad Circuit drops from the record and Greene Circuit takes its place. French Broad Circuit reappears in 1803.[13]

In 1799, the Western Conference was formed to include Tennessee and Kentucky. The two states were organized into separate conferences in 1812, with Holston District as a part of Tennessee Conference. In 1816, Holston District was divided into Holston District and French Broad District. In 1823, the name of French Broad District was changed to that of Knoxville District, and the Nolichucky District was added.

The Holston Conference, to include the territory in

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[12] Ibid., p. 268.

[13] Ibid., pp. 283-419.

the state of Tennessee which lay east of the Cumberlands, was formed in 1823 and held its first meeting in 1824. Within Holston Conference, until the Civil War, the churches in Jefferson County were included in Knoxville, French Broad, and Rogersville Districts. There was much shifting of circuits from one district to another.[14]

Early Congregations

It is generally accepted that the first Methodist Congregation in Jefferson County was Pine Chapel. It was located between Newport, now in Cocke County, and Dandridge. Speaking of Methodism south of the French Broad, McFerrin says:

> From the best information received, it appears that the first society was organized at Pine Chapel, in Jefferson County, Tennessee, on the south bank of the French Broad River, then in the Indian Nation. Emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina settled here about the year 1786. The society was organized in the year 1787 or '88, and composed of John Winton and wife, Arabella, Amos Lewis and wife Mary, George Lewis and wife Rachel, Arabella Cunnyngham and daughter Charlotte. John Winton was a local preacher, and did much in planting the gospel in this wilderness.[15]

William Garrett was one of the early Methodist ministers in East Tennessee. His son furnished, by request, some

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[14] Reports of the General Conferences, for various years.

[15] McFerrin, op. cit., II, p. 483.

recollections of the period around 1800 which Dr. McFerrin included as an appendix to one volume of his History of Methodism in Tennessee. He wrote from Coosa, Alabama, in 1869, as follows:

> In the meantime Methodism crossed the French Broad, into a region for a long time held as frontier ground, inhabited by Indians and adventurous white people. A society was formed, and church-house built, upon the road leading from Newport to Dandridge, in the "Turnley Settlement," Jefferson County, called Pine Chapel. This must have been in 1811 or 1812.[16] . . . The Pine Chapel Church and Society was for many years an outpost of Methodism south of French Broad, and from this point was dispensed an influence which was seen in after years in the establishment of societies, south, and a campground.[17]

The Rev. C. W. Sullivan, former pastor of Trinity M. E. Church, Knoxville, writing in the Knoxville News-Sentinel, recounts an incident of the Pine Chapel Congregation which illustrates the strictness of the early societies:

> Arabella Cunnyngham, who was a member of Pine Chapel on the south bank of the French Broad River, had been a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland. She was a lady of superior gifts and acted as class leader at Pine Chapel. She had a daughter, Charlotte, who was very pious and a beautiful girl. She married George Turnley who was not a member of the church. The discipline must be executed, so Charlotte's trial was set and a whole day was to be given to a "fair trial."
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> The day came and the whole community turned out in their best homespun to hear. When the time came,

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[16] It should be remembered that Mr. Garrett was advanced in years, and writing from memory. He may have had in mind the date when a building was erected.

[17] McFerrin, op. cit., II, p. 483.

> the facts were set forth in a very lengthy speech by one of the official members. After some ten hours spent in setting the legal forms of the trial, a lawyer was appointed for the prosecution and another one to defend. They were ready for testimony when the young husband, George Turnley, arose and said that he loved Charlotte and could not see her thus tried and expelled from the church and that he had been convinced of the error of his ways and if the church would receive him he would be baptized. After quite a parley this proceedure was agreed on. He was baptized and received, and made a splendid member of the church.[18]

A certain Mr. Tucker early established a public-house at the present site of New Market. McFerrin, recounting the experiences of John Adam Grenade, an early Methodist preacher, says that "On his way to preach at Tucker's, he asked the Lord to give him twenty souls that day; and he received thirty in Society." That was in 1801. There is little information on the congregation at New Market during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but when the Holston Conference met in 1825 it provided for the establishment of a seminary there.[19] The school which later became Emory and Henry College came very near being established at New Market.[20] Goodspeed dates the erection of a house of worship there at

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[18]The Rev. C. W. Sullivan, "Methodists Barred Marriage Outside Their Own Church," The Knoxville News-Sentinel, September 11, 1932.

[19]Goodspeed Publishing Company, History of Tennessee, East Tennessee Edition (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1887), p. 861.

[20]McFerrin, op. cit. Chaps. 1 and 2 of Vol. III contain a number of references to the controversy over location.

about 1832 or 1833 and gives the name as Elizabeth Chapel.[21]

Soon after the revival of 1810, Moore's Meeting-house was established "south of the Nolichucky, and not far from the mouth of that river," which places it in Jefferson County. No information is available as to the length of time it remained or as to the work which was done there.[22]

The site of Shady Grove Church is now covered by the waters of Douglas Lake. Mr. Garrett, in the letter previously mentioned, says that a camp-ground was established there in 1826. But an article in The Knoxville Journal, published at the time Douglas Dam was under construction, gives 1810 as the date of a camp meeting and the organization of the church, and 1826 as that of the first building.[23]

The Sulphur Spring Camp-ground was in Jefferson County, a few miles south of Morristown. Mr. Garrett gives the date of establishment as 1820 and proceeds to describe it as follows:

> The point was accessible to a large portion of country, and attracted the attention of persons from a distance, which gave it a larger patronage than any

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[21]Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 862. The name was in honor of Mrs. T. D. Knight.

[22]McFerrin, op. cit., II, p. 487.

[23]"Old Dandridge Church in Path of Dam Water," The Knoxville Journal, August 29, 1942.

> other camp-ground in all that country. The shelter for preaching was large, with wings all around, to be lowered at night, or in rainy weather, and hoisted in the day - all covered with shingles. The space for preaching was conveniently large, and surrounded by two rows of tents, mostly framed, and some two stories. Besides these stationary tents, or houses, there were scores of cloth tents scattered around outside. As might be expected, the assemblage of people was very great. To accomodate and reach them profitably, three or four sermons were preached at eleven o'clock Sunday, at different places. For near a period of ten years did this camp-ground hold such a position and patronage. . . . . The good order observed on such occasions was remarkable.[24]

The Rev. Creed Fulton is listed as president of Strawberry Plains High School in 1848.[25] This seems to indicate that a church was already established there. If so, it probably was in the New Market Circuit of Rogersville District.

Beth-Car Methodist Church near Leadvale was established, according to Goodspeed, in 1787 or 1788. It is not certain when a society was organized at Dandridge. A small brick meeting-house was built about 1828 on land obtained from Joseph Hamilton. A new building was erected in 1854.[26]

The site of Pleasant Hill Methodist Church is also covered by Douglas Lake. When disbanded, about 1942, it was

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[24]McFerrin, op. cit., III, p. 496.

[25]Holston Conference, Minutes, 1848 (New York: Sorin and Hall, 1850).

[26]Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 861.

known as a very old church, supposed to have been founded many years before the Civil War. Its location was about eight miles south of Dandridge. This seems to correspond to the location given by Mr. Garrett of a church founded by his father. If it was the same church, it was founded sometime prior to 1832.[27]

To summarize, the Methodist congregations of which it is possible to secure fairly definite information up until the Civil War are the following: Pine Chapel, organized in 1787 or 1788; New Market, probably about 1800; Moore's Meeting House, prior to 1810; Shady Grove, between 1810 and 1825; Sulphur Spring, about 1820; Strawberry Plains, sometime before 1828; Dandridge, before 1828; Beth-Car, sometime before 1800; Pleasant Hill, probably in the 1820's; Mossy Creek, not mentioned, but could well have been included in New Market Circuit.

Number of Members

Any attempt to enumerate the members of early Methodist churches is rendered especially difficult by two Methodist institutions, - the circuit system and the circuit rider. Thus factors of much importance to the rapid growth of Methodism in its early period hinder greatly the objective

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[27] McFerrin, op. cit., III, p. 503.

evaluation of that growth today. Dr. Martin has expressed the difficulty very clearly. He says:

> Without the circuit rider there would have been no Methodist Church. . . . . The next most important thing in early Methodism was the circuit. The record of the circuit was, likewise, preserved. This record is far less distinct than the record of the circuit rider. It is often difficult to make out the boundaries of the circuits, or the parts of which they were composed. Much of interesting and important history has been lost because of failure to preserve details concerning the circuits. No record was kept for many years of the number or names of churches in the circuits. The early circuits were made up of a number of "appointments" or "preaching places." As societies were organized and grew into churches, the aggregate membership for the circuit was reported annually; but this report was made by circuits; and it is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to follow the history of a circuit, much less of a church, because of the frequent changes of circuit boundaries.[28]

The years for which the following statistics are given are those which seem to show a significant trend as to numbers. The circuits listed are those in which the societies in Jefferson County (but not in Jefferson County only) would obviously be included. If there is a possibility of two circuits including separate portions of the county, both circuits are given.

Greene Circuit:	Date	Members
	1793	274
	1794	307
	1795	315
	1797	349
	1798	340

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[28]Martin, op. cit., p. 20.

Nolichucky Circuit:	Date	Number
	1802	694
	1803	694

French Broad Circuit:	Date	Number
	1802	707
	1803	707

Western Conference, 1804:

Circuit	Members	
	White	Colored
Nelson	780	52
Nolichucky	636	31
French Broad	648	14
Clinch	500	53
Powell's Valley	70	--
Nashville	637	87
Red River	289	11
TOTAL	3560	248

French Broad, 1811: 949 members.

French Broad, 1812: 1,344 members.

Nolichucky, 1823: 1,808 members.[29]

Date	Dandridge Circuit		New Market Circuit	
	White	Colored	White	Colorde
1847	716	100	869	141
1848	665	57	780	134
1849	702	41	647	97
1850	695	64	682	103
1851	772	81	649	6330

When the above information is condensed further, so as to show by years the membership of the circuits most likely

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[29]McFerrin, op. cit., I, p. 134, et passim.

[30]Martin, op. cit., p. 21. Holston Conference, Minutes, 1847-1851 (Nashville: Methodist M. E. Church, South, 1852).

to include Jefferson County, it gives the following results:

Date	Members	Date	Members
1793	274	1812	1,344
1794	307	1823	1,808
1795	315		
		1847	1,826
1797	349	1848	1,636
1798	340	1849	1,487
		1850	1,544
1802	707	1851	1,565
1803	707		
1804	662		

Bearing in mind the inexact nature of these figures, it will be noted that the membership remained rather constant from 1793 to 1798 and that it approximately doubled between 1798 and 1802. It almost doubled again from 1802 to 1812, and increased more than one-third by 1823. It must not be assumed that the denomination ceased to grow after 1823. The constancy in numbers until 1851 was probably more than accounted for by the gradual decrease in amount of territory covered by the circuits. On the other hand, it seems that the two circuits of the later years almost surely included many members outside the county. Probably the only assumption that can be made with assurance from the available information, as to the number of members, is that by the time of the Civil War the Methodists were at least equal in numbers to the other main denominations, - Presbyterians and Baptists. They may have been ahead in membership; they can hardly have been far behind.

The Great Revival

No denomination in the region of East Tennessee reaped such benefit from the religious excitement of the period around 1800 as did the Methodists. For the circuit which included Jefferson County the membership increased from 274 in 1793 to 340 in 1798, and to 707 in 1802. Expressed in another way, the increase was approximately 28 per cent for the four years preceding 1798 and over 108 per cent for the four years following. Almost as much an institution of early Methodism as the circuit rider was the camp-ground. The camp-meeting revival was familiar to the pioneers of the region. Mr. Garrett mentions 230 conversions in the camp-meeting for the year 1822.[31]

The Slavery Issue

The Tennessee Conference, upon its formation in 1812, resolved that:

> Every preacher who has the charge of a circuit shall, upon information received, cite every such member or members so buying or selling a slave or slaves to appear at the ensuing Quarterly-meeting Conference and submit his or their case to the judgment of such Quarter-meeting Conference, who shall proceed to determine whether the person or persons had bought or sold such slaves in a case of justice and mercy.[32]

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[31] McFerrin, op. cit., III, pp. 497-498.

[32] Ibid., II, p. 283.

The position was reaffirmed by the Conference of 1816:

> We most sincerely believe, and declare it as an opinion, that slavery is a moral evil . . . . If any member of our Society buy or sell a slave or slaves in order to make gain, or shall sell to any person who buys to sell again for this purpose, such person shall be called to an account as the Discipline directs, and expelled from our Church.[33]

MrFerrin thinks the stand on the slavery question caused the slowing down in the rate of growth which happened about 1820. He says:

> The strong and determined manner in which some of the early Methodist preachers opposed the institution of slavery closed the door of accession to many families in Kentucky and Tennessee. Slavery, whether in itself right or wrong, was found among the people, and they . . . . were firmly persuaded that ministers of the gospel had no right to interfere by Church discipline with the civil institution of slavery. When, therefore, no-slave-holding was made a test of church membership, or as some urged a condition of salvation, many were turned away from the Methodists, and sought connection with those churches that were less strenuous on this subject.[34]

The way in which the problem was handled in the local church depended largely on the minister in charge. Speaking of James Axley and Enoch Moore, Presiding Elder and Minister in Charge, respectively, who served just after 1800, Mr. Garrett says:

> So far did they go in proscription that a man who owned slaves was not allowed even to lead a public

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[33] Ibid., II, pp. 401-402.

[34] Ibid., I, p. 151.

> prayer meeting; and thus many good men, who were in a condition to be useful, were held back from exercising their gifts until this *regime* passed away.[35]

But in speaking of George Ekin, Presiding Elder in 1822, he says:

> Mr. Ekin, by his skill and prudence in the administration of discupline, and earnest, faithful preaching, and active, kind pastoral intercourse, was successful in putting it /the slavery feeling/ to rest and bringing the church fully up to the line of active Christian duty.[36]

Whatever difficulty it may have caused, the slavery controversy did not reach that stage of bitterness in which congregations split into two bodies until war actually came. The Plan of Separation, by which northern and southern territory was divided, was in operation by 1847. Holston Conference went with the southern section of Methodism. But single churches were not split, in this section, until after 1860.[37]

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[35] William Garrett in *ibid.*, II, p. 495.

[36] *Ibid.*, II, p. 497.

[37] Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUAKERS (1787-1860)

A religious organization of great interest, and of no little importance in the early period of the county's history, is the Lost Creek Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, located on Lost Creek near the present site of New Market. The story of its beginning is fascinatingly told by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert in an article published by The East Tennessee Historical Society.[1]

The Beginning

The main group of Friends, or Quakers, in North Carolina was in Guilford County. The Meeting was known as New Garden. One of the largest off-shoots of the New Garden Meeting was at Westfield, on Tom's Creek, in Surrey County. The Westfield group was closely connected with that at New Garden. Early in the settlement of what was to become Tennessee, Friends from Westfield and New Garden migrated to a location on the Nolichucky River, where they were set up as a meeting for worship in 1786 and as a monthly meeting in 1793.[2]

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[1]Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, "Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications No. 18 (1946), pp. 47-58.

[2]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

The fact that a few who were not of the New Garden or Westfield Meetings joined the Nolichucky settlement caused the following in the Minutes of Western Quarter for August 5, 1784:

> New Garden Monthly Meeting requests advice of this Meeting whether it will be best for them to receive Every Certificate that may be produced by members of Other Meetings who have removed to Nolachuna or Elsewhere upon the western waters. Which this meeting takes notice and gives it as its sense and Judgment that it will be best for them to receive no such Certificate until further care be taken.[3]

The expression "or Elsewhere upon the western waters" is the first reference to the Quakers who had settled on Lost Creek, within the territory that was to become Jefferson County. At that time it was still in Greene County. In the New Garden Monthly Meeting for October, 1787, mention was made of the Friends on Lost Creek on the Holston River "who Remain members of Divers monthly meetings in this Quarter from whence they have Removed and are desirous to hold meetings among themselves." By November of the next year the request had been considered by a committee of the Western Quarter which recommended "that their request be not granted at this time." The record of the Western Quarter continues:

> And this meeting being informed that truths testimony Doth and is Likely to Suffer on account of the above mentioned friends conduct by reason of their

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[3] Ibid., p. 49.

> setling on Land yet in contest Therefore Recommends to Each Monthly Meeting from whence these Members have removed to advise such friends to move of /off/ said Land within the compass of Peacable possession.[4]

The lands were in contest because of Indian claims which had not been finally settled. The Quakers on Lost Creek did not remove from the land as instructed. But in July of 1791 the Treaty of Holston removed the Indian claims from that part of the Territory. In October of that year the New Garden Monthly Meeting granted certificates of dismission to its members who had settled on Lost Creek. They were still, however, under the direction of Western Yearly Meeting. In 1792 they were allowed the privilege of holding meetings for worship. In 1795 they were granted a preparative meeting under the care of the meeting on Nolichucky, called New Hope. On May 25, 1796, John Mills deeded the Meeting a three-acre tract as a site for a meeting-house, a school house, and a grave yard. On May 20, 1797, a Monthly Meeting was set up, with Abraham Woodward and Sarah Mills as Clerks.[5]

Until 1802 the Lost Creek Monthly Meeting was attached to New Garden Quarterly Meeting. But in 1803 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting established the Lost Creek and New Hope Quarterly Meeting. The Lost Creek and New Hope Quarterly Meeting alternated its meetings between the two places,

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[4] Ibid., pp. 50, 54.

[5] Ibid., pp. 56-58.

meeting twice a year at each place.[6]

At least four smaller meetings in the region were under the care of Lost Creek in its early years. The Lower Settlements, a section now in Blount County, was granted a meeting by Lost Creek in 1801. This was at first a meeting for worship but it went on to become a preparative meeting and later Newberry Monthly Meeting. Presently known as Friendsville, it still exists as a strong Quaker community.

A preparative meeting was set up in Grassy Valley in 1802. Although the Grassy Valley settlement was across the Holston in Knox County, many items of business of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting concerned members in Grassy Valley. Charles Osborn, one of the leading Tennessee Quakers while he remained in the state, first appears as a member from Grassy Valley. Also connected with Lost Creek were a meeting at the head of Panther Creek and a meeting of "Friends south of the French Broad River." The Grassy Valley Meeting was discontinued in 1815 and the other small meetings seem to have disappeared at about the same time.[7] In the minutes of the Women's Meeting of Lost Creek, however, there is vague reference to a meeting south of the French Broad as

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[6] William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1936), I, p. 1101.

[7] Ibid., p. 1102.

late as the 1850's.[8]

Each organized religious group presents its own peculiar difficulties to the establishment of numerical strength at any specific period of time in the distant past. There are a number of such difficulties in the case of the Quakers. Their system of records makes the attempt a problem in genealogy. The intimate connection of church and community makes it difficult to separate the two as to membership. The peculiar technique for discipline makes it hard to determine in some cases whether the individual is officially in or out of the church.

At the risk of a seeming disgression, it is necessary at this point to clarify certain terms and explain certain customs in order to prevent future confusion. In no other organization studied were worship and business kept so completely separate. The most frequent meeting for worship was the First Day Meeting, though other worship meetings might be added if desired. Important decisions of the local business meeting were publicly read at the First Day Meetings. Permission to establish meetings for worship was readily granted to any group of settlers who were in good standing with the parent bodies.

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[8]Minutes of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting of Women Friends (from typed copy in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, made from the original which is now deposited at the Friend's Yearly Meeting House in Richmond, Indiana), and hereafter referred to as Record of Lost Creek Women's Meeting.

Preparative meetings were not worship meetings but were, as the name implies, meetings in preparation for the local business meeting known as the monthly meeting. The preparative meeting was a meeting for exchange of information and for free discussion as to the "state of truth" in the group. Matters of sufficient importance were referred to the monthly meeting, to which representatives were chosen, for deliberation and determination. The monthly meeting might include one preparative meeting or several. Settlements of several families separated from the main group by a considerable distance usually had their own preparative meetings. A number of monthly meetings were combined to form the quarterly meeting, and a number of quarterly meetings made up the yearly meetings. It is only in recent years that the five year meeting on a national scale has come into being as a combination of yearly meetings in approximation of the Methodist General Conference or the Presbyterian General Assembly.

Because in the early period the quarterly and yearly meetings kept no statistical records of membership, such information must come from records of the monthly meetings. The basis of this information is found in certificates of membership which correspond roughly to church letters of other groups but were attended to more carefully. Certificates of membership were issued to members in good standing

who left the territory of the local meeting for either travel or settlement, but they stated for which purpose issued and if for settlement to which meeting issued. If for travel, the letter was presented to each meeting attended, endorsed by it, and returned as evidence of attendance and satisfactory conduct while away. If for settlement, it was presented to the meeting designated as the basis for obtaining membership there, though each meeting was the sole judge as to whether it received an applicant on certificate. The difficulty in determination of membership by these certificates is that they were often issued on a family basis rather than to individuals.

Determination of the number belonging to a meeting at any given time involves more than the addition of certificates received and subtraction of certificates granted. It is the dropping of members by disciplinary action and their re-entry which complicates any attempt at statistical determination of membership. When fellowship was withdrawn it was nearly always stated to be until such time as the individual should see the light and publicly condemn his behavior. It was such condemnation and re-entry which seems to have slipped by at times without notice in the records.

Number of Members

Gilbert, on the basis of certificates issued by

parent meetings in North and South Carolina, definitely places forty-four persons at Lost Creek before 1800.[9]

Hinshaw, on the basis of certificates received at Lost Creek, places forty-three other adults there by about 1800.[10]

The minutes of Lost Creek name fifty-four men and thirty-seven women not listed in the certificates mentioned above who were received as members before 1800. Most of these were children of the families to which the certificates listed by Gilbert and Hinshaw had been issued who were received as members on the request of their parents. For example, on June 17, 1797, Eunice Wilson appeared before the Men's Meeting to request membership for her two sons and before the Women's Meeting to make the same request for her five daughters.[11]

Six members were granted certificates by Lost Creek before 1800.

Reliable records thus show 178 received and six lost, leaving a minimum net membership, in 1800, of 172.

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[9]Gilbert, loc. cit.

[10]Hinshaw, op. cit., pp. 1109-1114.

[11]Records of Lost Creek Women's Meeting; also Records of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting, - Men's Meeting (from typed copy in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, - made from the original now deposited in Friends' Yearly Meeting House, Richmond, Indiana), hereafter referred to as Records of Lost Creek Men's Meeting.

From 1800 to 1805, inclusive, 109 men and seventy-two women were received, while twelve families consisting of at least forty-four members were granted certificates to meetings in other states. The net increase on certificates was approximately 137 which, combined with the number belonging by 1800, gives a membership of 309. Although an absolutely accurate analysis of membership by means of certificates would require a check of two records, - that of the meeting granting the certificates and that of the meeting receiving them, yet the figure of 137 as the gain for the six year period can not be much in error.

By this time, however, certificates did not tell the whole story. Some members had "married out," some had been dismissed by disciplinary action, and a few had been received on request and investigation. Allowing for these factors of uncertainty, it seems clear that by the close of 1805 about 300 persons were officially members of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting.

Only five years after Lost Creek was established as a monthly meeting the out-migration of members began. In 1802 Amiziah Beeson and family were granted a certificate to Westland Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. From 1803 to 1810 twenty-five certificates were issued to Miama Monthly Meeting in Ohio, and ten to other meetings in Ohio. After 1810 the migration was mainly to Indiana. Fifty certificates were issued to meetings in that state by 1830. From 1827 to

1832 ten certificates were issued to meetings in Illinois. It is estimated that close to 500 persons removed from Lost Creek to other meetings in the thirty year period from 1802 to 1832.[12]

So it seems that by about 1835 the main body of this Quaker migration had swept over Jefferson County and moved on to the west. For the next fifteen years certificates were granted frequently, but in nothing like such numbers as before. By the middle of the century the congregation had become more stable in size with the gains and losses just about balancing. In 1859 a report to the quarterly meeting on the use of intoxicating liquor showed for Lost Creek fifty non-drinkers and none who drank. The implied membership of fifty is probably correct for that year.[13]

The Quaker Influence

Lost Creek was the only Quaker church in the county. But its importance was probably greater than this would indicate, for several reasons. Probably no other denomination exercised so great a "care" for the details of the daily life of its members as did the Society of Friends. While the

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[12]Hinshaw, op. cit., pp. 1111-1112.

[13]Records of New Hope and Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, 1803-1871 (from typed copy in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson-McGhee Library), p. 118.

greatest concentration of members was in the valley of Lost Creek, known then as Quaker Valley, many members were scattered over a large portion of the county. As has been shown, the members in some sections were of sufficient density to justify separate preparative meetings. The Quakers took a very firm stand on two of the greatest problems of the time - slavery and strong drink. They placed emphasis on education at an early date. They placed women on much the same level as men as evidenced by the fact that the women had their own meeting, could become elders and preachers, and selected members of their sex as representatives to the quarterly and yearly meetings. And like other denominations they had persons of ability among their members.

Thomas Chapman and Charles Osborn

Listed as being received in 1793 on certificate from Cane Creek were Thomas and Margaret Chapman and son Miles. Thomas Chapman was a prominent Quaker but seems to have developed an interest in political affairs. In 1779 he was disciplined by the Cane Creek Meeting for holding office as a justice of the peace. He must have removed to Tennessee soon afterward for in 1785 he was elected clerk of the lower house of the Assembly of the State of Franklin. In 1786 he was a member of the commission to the North Carolina Assembly.

In 1792 he was qualified as the first register of Knox County. It is said that because of Friend's testimony against office holding /he/ lost importance as a Friend as he gained prominence in governmental affairs in Tennessee."[14]

Charles Osborn, as will appear later, was a leader in the anti-slavery movement in Tennessee. He appears frequently in the records of Lost Creek Meeting as having been granted certificates to visit the Friends in this and other states. While there is nothing in the record to show that these visits were in the interest of the anti-slavery movement, we may assume such to be the case.

Care of Members

An outstanding feature of the monthly meeting was the care taken as to the daily lives of the members. A good illustration is found in the case of a couple wishing to marry:

> 18 of the 11th Mo 1797
> Isaac Hammer and Hannah Mills appeared at the Meeting and Declared their intention of Marriage with Each Other and this Meeting appointed William Sumner and Joseph Thornbrugh to Inquire into his Marriage Ingagements with others and what Else may be Need full and report to next meeting.
>
> 23rd of the 12th Mo 1797
> Isaac Hammer and Hannah Mills appeared at this

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[14]Gilbert, op. cit., p. 53.

Meeting and Declared they continued their Intention of Marriage with Each other and nothing appearing to obstruct their proceedings they are left at liberty to Accomplish their Marriage according to the good order used among friends William Sumner and Joseph Thornbrugh is appointed to See that it is orderly accomplished and report to next Meeting also bring the Marriage certificate to be recorded.

20th of the 8th Mo 1798
The friends appointed to attend the Marriage of Isaac Hammer and Hannah Mills report that it was orderly accomplished also brought the Marriage Certificate.[15]

The couple desiring to marry appeared before both the men's meeting and the women's meeting. Two attendants were appointed from each meeting but the marriage certificate was returned to the men's meeting.

During the first few months after the establishment of the Lost Creek Meeting complaints were made against various members for such offenses as "hiring a substitute to serve in his place in the military service," "accepting of an office in the military service," "accomplishing his marriage contrary to the good order used among friends," "taking too much strong drink," and "fighting and using profane language."

Some attention was paid to finances, for on Dec. 12, 1798: "There was Eleven Shillings and Five Pence Halfpenny collected at this meeting which was Directed to be Handed to the Treasurer."[16]

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[15]Record of Lost Creek Men's Meeting, pp. 7-8.

[16]Ibid., p. 18.

Advice from the Yearly Meeting was duly considered:

> 3rd of the 1st Mo 1801
> The extracts of our Last Yearly Meeting were read in this Meeting, part of which is necessary to be recorded and are as follows:
> The Committee appointed at the first sitting of the Meeting to take into Consideration the State of Society as handed up in the reports from the Quarters, Report as follows (Vis) that being met and after a time of weighty deliberation agree to propose to the Yearly Meeting that it be recommended to the Quarterly, monthly and preparative meetings that they more strictly attend to the Discipline in laboring & dealing with those of their members who are deficient in attending religious meetings, and those that do deviate from plain ness in Language, Dress, and Address, also those who are in the practice of importing, distilling, or Common use of Spirituous Liquors; and those that do not moderately treat and incourage in virtue the Black People under their care, And do further recommend to Quarterly, Monthly, and preparative meetings, that friends in a more particular and ardent labour treat with those that are deficient in respect to the support of love and unity, for want of which loss is sustained in meetings and Neighborhoods.[17]

The yearly meeting continued to be concerned for the Negro, as shown in the following extract from the report which was read at Lost Creek on November 28, 1807:

> Also the neglected situation of the Black People under friends care, is a subject which has claimed our serious attention; we earnestly recommend to friends in a collective capacity, & those who have them under care, strictly to attend to that Christian duty of doing unto them as we would they should do unto us.[18]

The congregation did not stop with approving the resolutions of the yearly meeting concerning the "Black

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[17] Ibid., p. 46.

[18] Ibid., p. 98.

People." Among the Friends of Lost Creek was organized the first anti-slavery society in Tennessee.

The story is told by Hamer, thus:

> In December of this year [1814] eight citizens of Jefferson County met at the home of Elihu Swain and effected the temporary organization of an anti-slavery society. At a meeting in the following February, in the Lost Creek Meeting House of Friends in Jefferson County, this society adopted a constitution, elected officers, and named itself the Tennessee Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves.
>
> Each member pledged himself to vote for no man for Governor or legislator whom he did not believe to be in favor of emancipation. He promised to display the following statement in the most conspicuous part of his house: "Freedom is the natural right of all men; I hereby acknowledge myself a member of the Tennessee Society for the Manumission of Slaves."[19]

The Manumission Society of Tennessee was organized at Lick Creek Meeting House of Friends in Greene County on November 21, 1815, with the following objectives: (1) amelioration of the condition of slaves; (2) encouragement of voluntary freeing of slaves; (3) promotion of legislation for gradual abolition of slavery; (4) colonization of free Negroes in Africa. Charles Osborn was one of the leaders in the organization of this society.[20]

The decline of Lost Creek in numbers by reason of removal of its members prior to 1832 has been discussed. After 1830 the congregation continued to decrease both by removal

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[19]Philip M. Hamer, ed., Tennessee, A History, 1673-1932 (New York: The American Historical Society, 1933), I, p. 457.

[20]Ibid., pp. 457-458.

and by dropping members as a means of discipline. In 1859 the Meeting claimed only fifty members over eighteen years of age.[21]

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[21] Records of New Hope and Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, p. 118.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCHES DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION (1861-1870)

Twenty-seven churches are known to have existed in the county at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Baptist churches were Antioch, Bent Creek, French Broad, Friendship, Leadvale, Mansfield Gap, Mossy Creek, Dandridge, Mill Spring, New Market, and Providence. Presbyterian churches were Concord, Hopewell, Mount Horeb, New Market, St. Paul's, Shunem, and Westminster. Methodist churches were Beth-Car, Dandridge, Mossy Creek, New Market, Shady Grove, Sulphur Spring, Pleasant Hill, and Strawberry Plains. Lost Creek was the remaining Friend's Meeting.

For reasons which appear in earlier chapters it is possible that some Baptist congregations may have escaped notice in the records of that time, and even more possible that some Methodist societies may have done so. The territory in which were located Bent Creek, Friendship, and Leadvale Baptist Churches, and St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, was taken from the county in 1870 to become a part of Hamblen County, established that year.

From the records it is possible to learn something of the effect of the war on these organized religious bodies.

The Baptists

Baptist churches, as has been indicated, seem to have given little notice to the slavery issue.[1] There was clearly a decline in church activity during the war years, though most of the associational meetings were held.[2] One of the few reflections of the atmosphere prevailing in those years is found in an entry in the records of the Antioch Baptist Church. It reads as follows:

> August the 1st Satterday 1865 - The church at Antioch met and after sermon by Elder G. G. Sims the church sat in conference - after opening the way for the reception of members - then proceeded to the selection of the delegates to the Association to wit - appointed the following Brethern - J. H. Denton - G. G. Sims - James Free - Wm. Strange - John House.
>
> Owing to the past condition that our country has been in caused by the rebellion of the treason leaders of the South which causes a space of two years between our records - it not being safe even to meet at the house of God, as the war seeking the life of the followers of Christ as well as others, therefore ordered the clerk to prepare a letter to our Association against next meeting and to be read at the same. So we adjourned till next meeting.
>
> J. B. Denton - Mod. Wm. Strange - Clerk.[3]

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[1] <u>Supra</u>, p. 48.

[2] The minutes of the Tennessee Baptist Association for each year until about 1916 list all previous meeting places of the association since 1802. According to this list the association met throughout the war years. How well attended the meetings were is not indicated.

[3] "Records of Antioch Baptist Church," in Historical Records Survey, Comp., Records and Histories of Certain Baptist Churches in Tennessee (typed copy, Nashville: Works Progress Administration, 1936-1941.

The Presbyterians

Probably few congregations received harder blows during the decade than that of Strawberry Plains Presbyterian Church, formerly Shunem. Its house of worship was burned by the Federal army in 1864. The building which replaced it was destroyed by fire in 1867. And the congregation was split over issues raised by the war.[4]

In 1860 the congregation of St. Paul's Church expressed gratitude for a new brick church edifice and for a revival which added thirty members. The church reported ninety-two members in 1861.[5]

After five years of war the session made the following explanation of its report to the Presbytery:

> The state of the church being such at this time owing to the fact that so many of the members were gone to the war on either side of the question that it was impossible to make out a true statistical report to Presbytery.[6]

St. Paul's recovered quickly, only to decline again. A revival in 1866 added fifty members, bringing the total to 111, but by 1870, even with another revival, the number of

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[4]The Rev. L. R. Janes, sermon delivered July 9, 1876, in Perez D. Cowan, Notes on Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[5]Records of Westminster and St. Paul's Church (typed copy in McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library), p. 3.

[6]Ibid., p. 17.

members had dropped to ninety-five. Joan Vincent, a Freedman, was mentioned as a member in 1867. A Methodist minister assisted in the last mentioned revival.[7]

Mention has been made of the fact that Presbyterians in Jefferson County and the surrounding region were fortunate in remaining through periods of disunity for the denomination in general.[8] Any attempt to understand the course of action followed by the Presbytery of Union in dealing with the problems raised by the slavery crisis and the war is difficult at best, and can lead easily to wrong conclusions. The basic position of the Presbytery seems to have been close to that of the Baptist associations.[9] But the problem of the Presbytery was greatly complicated because of its having to deal with a higher body, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, whose influence over the Presbytery was much greater than that of the Baptist convention over the association.

Against slavery the general assembly passed resolutions which became stronger year by year until the Presbytery complained that such resolutions caused embarrassment to southern delegates and placed southern churches in a difficult position. As early as 1853 the Presbytery reacted with a resolution of

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[7] Ibid., p. 20, et passim.

[8] Supra, pp. 22-23.

[9] Cf. supra, pp. 48-49.

its own that "the assumption that the constitution of the Presbyterian Church condemns the holding of slaves is utterly false."[10] The Presbytery of Union sent delegates to the Richmond Convention of 1857 to help "organize another General Assembly in which the question of slavery will not be agitated." It withdrew from the General Assembly and went with the South in the United Synod.

A change of allegiance as to higher organization did not solve the problem for the Presbytery. Meeting at New Market in May, 1863, it received the following report from its Committee on Narration:

> Political differences, as in the preceeding year, continue to disturb in a greater or a less degree all the churches under the care of Presbytery. And while the word has been preached regularly in our churches, prayer meetings attended, and Sabbath Schools sustained, Still we have to lament a marked decrease in many congregations.[11]

At the same meeting this resolution was proposed:

> Resolved that this Presbytery will neither license, nor ordain, nor receive from another Presbytery, any man who does not sympathize with the South in her present struggle for independence, or who holds that slaveholding is sinful and ought to be abolished.[12]

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[10]Records of Presbytery of Union, 1850-1863 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library), p. 67.

[11]Records of Presbytery of Union, 1863-1870 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library), p. 2.

[12]Ibid., p. 3.

Sixteen voted for the resolution while two elders refused to vote on the ground that they did not know the will of their congregations and so did not feel at liberty to vote either way.

In less than a year and a half there was a complete reversal of position. At the Fall meeting in 1864 the Presbytery voided the previous resolution and passed another which read:

> Resolved: That we deeply regret and lament that so many of our brethern have been so far forgetful of the imperative demands of patriotism and humanity as to range themselves on the side of wrong and injustice, and against their country and freedom; and we sincerely hope that they will reconsider their action, be brought to see their great wrong, and abandon principles which are evidently at war with Christianity, civilization, and humanity.[13]

At this meeting the Presbytery voted to leave the United Synod and to apply for readmission to the General Assembly from which it had withdrawn in 1857.[14]

Meeting at Mount Horeb, Jefferson County, in September, 1865, the Presbytery passed a strong resolution of condemnation against those who had aided the South, and excluded seven ministers who had done so. The prohibition of membership in the Presbytery was later extended to include ruling elders who had given aid to the rebellion.

The reaction of one church to the proceedings of the

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[13] Ibid., p. 8.

[14] Ibid., p. 10.

Presbytery is indicated by an entry in the records of Mount Horeb for February 11, 1866:

> Resolved by the session of Mount Horeb Church that we endorse the action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in relation to the sin of Rebellion and also the action of Union Presbytery in endorsing the same in having additional testimony in relation to the great sin of Rebellion yet believing that many honest hearted Christians may have been led into the Rebellion by force of surrounding circumstances and without due reflection or consideration.
>
> Therefore resolved that we as a church session believe that under all circumstances it is not necessary to require of any of the members of this church who may have participated in said Rebellion or who may have sympathized with the same any further proof that they have been led to see their error in this respect than what may be made manifest by such members by hereafter cheerfully and heartily co-operating with their brethern and Sisters harmonizing and building up the church together and in living in the faithful discharge of their duty as Christians in the future.[15]

In April, 1866, New Market Church sent a question to the Presbytery in regard to granting letters to persons who had aided the rebellion. Presbytery replied:

> Rebellion against a just, liberal, and beneficient government is a henious sin. . . . . Church members guilty of it have forfeited their good standing. Letters of dismission cannot be granted . . . . until they have given satisfaction.[16]

The harsh policy indicated seems never to have been carried out very thoroughly by most of the churches, and the Presbytery meeting at St. Paul's Church in 1869 readmitted the

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[15]Records of Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, p. 37.

[16]Records of Presbytery of Union, 1853-1970, p. 19.

seven ministers to membership.

The following table shows the membership of the Presbyterian churches in the county as reported to Presbytery in 1863 and again in 1870:

Church	Members - 1863[17]	Members - 1870[18]
Concord	11	No report
Hopewell	96	105
Mount Horeb	186	40
New Market	122	112
St. Paul's	70	97
Strawberry Plains	85	72
Westminster	85	30
TOTAL	922	644

The Methodists

The records of Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church mention a revival conducted in 1868 by a Mr. Graves, a Methodist minister. The records of Lost Creek mention several members who were dismissed after having joined the Methodists. The reports of Holston Conference show that the circuits in the section had pastors even during the war years. But any attempt to determine the activity of particular Methodist congregations in this period encounters the same difficulty as the attempt in relation to earlier periods, - that is, the fact that records were kept by circuits rather than by churches,

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[17] Ibid., p. 9.

[18] Ibid., pp. 90-91.

that the circuits crossed county lines, and that it is not clear what churches they include.

It has been seen that the Methodist Church was active in the early anti-slavery agitation, but when the general conference divided in 1844 Holston went with the southern portion. The effect of the slavery controversy on the local groups cannot be determined in the absence of local records for the period. But general conditions must have affected the churches in the county.

Writing for the Tennessee Historical Society, Asa Earl Martin has this to say about the relation of the denomination to the slavery issue:

> Up to 1824 probably no religious denomination having a foothold in the South, with the exception of the Quakers, had been so steadfastly opposed to slavery. . . . . A study of the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church shows a gradual change in its policy toward slavery. At first it was bold and outspoken in its opposition, then cautious and conservative, and finally it warmly espoused an institution it had once unshrinkingly condemned. Because in all things it belonged to the masses, its consequent wheeling about with public opinion is easily understood. Therefore, when, in 1844, the question of whether or not a bishop could own slaves came before the National Conference of the Church, the majority decreed that he could not. Thereupon the Southern members withdrew and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church of the South. The delegates from Tennessee and indeed all the members from the slaveholding states, except five from Baltimore and one from Texas, voted against the action of the majority and supported the Southern organization.[19]

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[19]Asa Earl Martin, "Anti-slavery Activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Tennessee," Tennessee Historical Magazine, II, 2 (June, 1916), pp. 108-109.

Writing on "Methodism and Reconstruction in Tennessee," W. B. Hesseltine says:

> From 1818 to the separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844, the Methodists of East Tennessee held a reasonably consistent record of opposition to slavery. . . . . In 1844, the Holston Conference went with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but many of its ministers continued to oppose slavery.[20]

The Plan of Separation, by which the general conference divided its territory in 1844, was rejected by the general conference of the North in 1848, but the United States Supreme Court afterward upheld the Plan in so far as it affected church property. It seems that no effort was made by the Methodist Episcopal Church to organize the territory of the Southern Church before the Civil War. When Tennessee fell into the hands of the Union Army Secretary of War Stanton placed all houses of worship of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which a "loyal" minister was officiating at the disposal of Bishop Ames of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This was in November of 1863. In 1864 a convention of loyal Methodists met in Knoxville to plan for a connection with the Northern conference. Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at Athens on June 1, 1865. It was admitted to full membership in the National Conference

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[20]W. B. Hesseltine, "Methodism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications No. 3 (January, 1931), pp. 43-44.

of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1868.[21]

Concerning the rivalry between the two great branches of Methodism during the period, Hesseltine continues:

> Paralleling the political conflict was the struggle between the two Methodist Churches. When the Holston Conference of the Southern Church appointed its ministers to charges which were already filled with preachers of the Northern Church, and when the governor of the state urged returning soldiers to violence against them, the lines of battle were clearly drawn. Under such conditions, it is surprising to find that, although there was plenty of violence, the conflict between the churches was mostly verbal.[22]

For 1860 the membership by circuits was as follows: Mossy Creek and Beth-Car Station, 170 white and sixty-nine colored; Dandridge, 418 white and fifty-three colored; Strawberry Plains, 787 white and eighty colored.[23]

In 1861, Strawberry Plains circuit was dropped from the record. Evidently it was placed with another circuit but which one is not indicated, - whether Dandridge circuit or Knoxville circuit. Number of members listed for that year was: Mossy Creek, 209 white and ten colored; Dandridge, 1,073 white and ninety colored.[24]

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[21] Ibid., p. 46, et passim.

[22] Ibid., p. 61.

[23] Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Conference Reports, 1857-1865 (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1870), p. 218.

[24] Ibid., p. 310.

For 1865, the figures were: Mossy Creek, 245 white and fifty-two colored; Dandridge, 1,175 white and ninety colored.[25]

Without knowing the exact number, it may be assumed from the above that there were many members of Methodist Churches in the county during the period. This is also the only denomination in the county during the period whose records show a clear indication of provision for colored members.

The Quakers

During the two decades preceding the Civil War Lost Creek congregation lost many members on certificates while gaining but few in that manner. Also, members were dropped for disciplinary action and for joining other denominations so that by the war years the meeting was relatively small. The records of the Quarterly Meeting give an estimate of fifty adult members for Lost Creek in 1859, and of sixty in 1870.[26]

The Quarterly Meeting at Newberry on May 10, 1862, reported "The representatives present from Newberry, No

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[25]Ibid., p. 551.

[26]Record of New Hope and Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, pp. 118 and 132.

account from the other meetings." Meeting at Lost Creek on August 9, 1862, it reported "The representatives were present from Lost Creek. None from the other meetings."

The records of the Men's Meeting at Lost Creek for the period after 1841 have been lost. The record book for the Women's Meeting has the following entry after the minutes for July 26, 1862: "NOTE The reason for the non attendance of the following five Monthly Meetings was the war and the condition of the country on that account."[27]

There is a record of meetings for each of the first five months of 1863, followed by the entry: "The two following meetings not attended on account of war." The record for the November meeting is as follows:

> Lost Creek Monthly Meeting of women friends having been for some time suspended on account of the Rebellion in our country is now resumed and held 11th Mo 25, 1865. This meeting concludes.[28]

The record for December, 1865, is as follows:

> Lost Creek Monthly Meeting of Women Friends held 12th Mo 30th 1865.
> Owing to the small number of friends composing this meeting men and women friends are united in transacting the business of the monthly meetings jointly and Smith Pierce and Rachel Wooten are appointed clerks.[29]

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[27]Record of Lost Creek Women's Meeting, p. 174.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., p. 175.

The men's and women's meetings were held jointly until August, 1865, after which the meetings were again held separately. In January, 1867, a committee was appointed "to have the care of First Day School," along with a committee on education. Also, in 1867, a new house of worship was completed.[30]

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[30]Record of New Hope and Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting, p. 126.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF READJUSTMENT (1781-1900)

In spite of uncertainty concerning minor details and of difficulty in establishing the exact relative strength of the denominations for specific dates, the general pattern of development of organized religion in Jefferson County until 1870 is fairly clear.

One current of Quaker migration to the West paused in the county for a period of more than twenty years during which the Quakers constituted one of the largest religious groups in the county. After 1830 the Quaker group declined steadily in numbers to such an extent that by the time of the Civil War it was noted more for its historical interest and the difference in its methods than for the size of its membership.[1]

The Presbyterian congregations grew rapidly in membership until about 1820 after which they held their own through the first half of the century in spite of serious divisions in the denomination in general.[2]

The Methodists started late and grew slowly during the

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[1] Supra, Chap. VI, pp. 75, 81.

[2] Supra, Chap. III, pp. 20-22.

eighteenth century. But the Methodist Church profited, especially by the Great Revival and by the camp-meeting technique of evangelism. By the decade preceding the war the Methodists compared favorably with any other groups.[3]

The Baptists grew rapidly in number of churches but slowly in number of members. Just as the denomination was beginning to become established in the third decade of the century it received a blow by the anti-mission split which it did not recover from until after the war.[4]

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century a definite change in the trend of denominational development began to make itself felt. One of the most important influences in determination of the direction of religious development during the period was the reaction of each denomination to conditions in the region arising from the Civil War. And the main determinant of that reaction was found in certain basic assumptions of the denomination and in the structure of denominational organization.

Assumptions as to the Church

Baptists stress the independence of the local congregation. When a Baptist refers to the denomination as

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[3] Supra, Chap. V. pp. 62-63.

[4] Supra, Chap. IV, pp. 38-47.

the "Baptist Church" it is only in a manner of speaking. The "church" when he is being exact, means the local congregation in its organized capacity and can mean nothing else. While it is the duty of the deacons to advise the church, especially when requested to do so, they have no authority by virtue of their office. Decisions are made by vote of the local members. Any authority in particular matters delegated even to the deacons must be granted by vote of the members and may be withdrawn in the same manner. Neither does the pastor have any authority which adheres to his office, though he may have delegated to him authority to act in certain cases. The pastor is elected by the local group and the group can license or ordain ministers. In any attempt to understand Baptist behavior, it can hardly be overemphasized that the church is the final authority and the church is always the local body.[5]

To the Presbyterian the Universal Church, including all saved people, overshadows the local group, which is only one congregation of the larger church. The Presbyterian Church is only one branch of the larger church. All the members of the local church are known as the congregation.

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[5]E. Y. Mullins and H. W. Tribble, The Baptist Faith (Nashville: Baptist Sunday School Board, 1935), pp. 16-18. George W. McDaniel, The People Called Baptists (Nashville: Baptist Sunday School Board, 1925), pp. 47-52.

Ruling elders are elected by the congregation. These elders, with the minister, determine issues involving the "keys of the Kingdom," or church membership, and discipline, doing so in the name of the whole body of Christ, not the local congregation only.[6]

Methodism had its beginning in England as a reform movement within the framework of the Episcopal Church. Until recently local groups were referred to as either societies or churches, but Methodists hold an idea of the Universal Church similar to that of the Presbyterians. Final authority, however, is vested in the Episcopacy, which tends to be a self-perpetuating body rather than a representative one.[7]

From assumptions as to the nature of the church, among other causes, have grown forms of denominational organization. Because for Baptist churches within a given region there are problems of mutual concern, the churches join together to form the local association which is a voluntary group. No church is required to belong to the association or to accept its action, and any church can withdraw

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[6]Leonard J. Trinterud, The Forming of An American Tradition, A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), p. 18.

[7]Nolan B. Harmon, The Organization of the Methodist Church (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), p. 21. ff.

without discredit. The peculiarity of Baptist organization which seems to have significance for this study is the relation of local association to state and sectional convention. The local association is composed of the churches within a small region, which desire to belong; the state convention of such churches within a state; the sectional convention of such churches within a larger section of the nation. In each case the local church retains the same independence of action.

The governing body for the Presbyterian churches within a given region is the Presbytery, composed of the pastor and session of each member church. The session of the local church selects one or more of its members to represent it in Presbytery. The Presbyterian organization corresponding roughly in size to the Baptist state convention is the Synod which is composed of delegates from each Presbytery and each church within its territory. The largest organization, the general assembly, is made up of representatives from each Synod and each Presbytery. Thus the direction of authority in the Presbyterian church is both upward from the congregations and sessions and downwards from the general assembly.

The functional unit of the Methodist church is the circuit rather than the single church. Circuits are established by the annual conferences which in turn are established by the general conference. If all the churches of a circuit

are in the same location it is referred to as a station. In some cases, of course, a station may consist of one church with a full time pastor.

Organization of the Quaker congregation has been discussed in a previous chapter.[8]

Background of Action on Slavery

Slavery as a political issue only no doubt would have affected the churches. But the churches were also confronted with slavery as a moral issue. It was an especially difficult issue in territory where sentiment was mixed.

Whenever specific cases involving slavery came up, the Baptist associations consistently turned them back to the local churches. The association probably felt that since it could not enforce a decision there was no point in making one.[9] The question of whether a home missionary could own slaves precipitated the split of the Baptist convention into Northern and Southern sections in 1845. But the voluntary nature of Baptist organization made it possible for the convention to divide its territory without placing additional strain on the individual churches. Not many small churches,

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[8] Supra, Ch. VI, pp. 70-71.

[9] Supra, Ch. VI, pp. 48-49.

especially in rural areas, were members of the convention. It is doubtful if any Baptist church in Jefferson County, with the possible exception of Mossy Creek, had ever been represented at a state convention prior to the Civil War.

With the Methodists, as with the Baptists, there does not seem to have been a great amount of hard feeling between the two sections within the national organization. Southern conferences realized they could not go as far in the direction of anti-slavery as the national conference wished and still maintain their position in southern territory. It hardly seems likely, in view of its previous anti-slavery attitude, that Holston Conference could have been sympathetic to slavery. But, believing that its interest as a religious organization lay more with the southern group, it went along with it as a body and there was no split in the conferences or its churches until a later period.

The Quakers

By 1870 Lost Creek Monthly Meeting had become a small congregation. To the estimated sixty adult members of 1869 thirty were added in 1870, with about twenty lost in various ways. On February 25, 1871, fourteen new members who were apparently from non-Quaker families were received on their own request. At the same meeting:

> The following named friends were appointed to visit in the Love of the gospel those who have been lately

> received into membership and inform them of their reception into membership also to visit those around us who have been religiously awakened and to attend to such other service as truth may point out and report to the meeting from time to time of the results of their labors.[10]

In March and April of the same year twenty-five additional new members were received. The reason for such an influx of members from non-Quaker families is not clear. Since that time, Lost Creek seems to have gone alone in the usual manner of a small rural church.

The Presbyterians

Indications are that Presbytery of Union tried to hold a moderate position on the slavery question. As the national conflict approached, it grew dissatisfied with what it considered the extreme anti-slavery position of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church. So when, in 1857, southern Presbyterians withdrew to set up another general assembly, Presbytery of Union went along in the hope that here "the question of slavery would not be agitated." But after war came the southern general assembly grew extreme in the opposite direction, demanding sympathy with the southern cause from its ministers and elders. In 1864 the

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[10]Records of Lost Creek Women's Meeting, p. 193.

Presbytery went back to the northern general assembly. But the northern assembly had also grown more extreme in wartime and had even come to insist that ruling elders who had been in sympathy with the South make a confession of sin and receive forgiveness before being allowed to continue in their offices. This seems to have been quietly ignored by most churches of the Presbytery in the case of existing elders, but there were new elders to elect from time to time. It was almost inevitable that a clash should occur.[11]

In 1871 the six Presbyterian churches in Jefferson County reported 644 members.[12] It is recorded that Rutledge Church, in an adjoining county, was dropped from the rolls that year to connect with Holston Presbytery, of the Synod of Nashville, which was of the southern branch. In 1872 it was noted that one of the prominent ministers of the Presbytery was not acceptable to the "Southern" members of the church at Westminster.[13]

The post-war split of Presbyterianism in the county is dramatically illustrated by Mount Horeb Church. After 1870 the membership of Mount Horeb began to decline slowly in

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[11] Supra, Chap. VII, pp. 84-88.

[12] Presbytery of Union, Records, 1841-1925 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library), p. 76.

[13] Ibid., p. 101.

numbers. The church had 186 members in 1871, 174 in 1872, and 163 in 1873. The first indication of trouble within the church appears in connection with a dispute over the selection of a certain member as ruling elder. Shortly thereafter the elder who had been clerk of the session for years resigned his position. Following this the acts of one session meeting were often reversed by another until finally the following appears:

> September 13, 1876.
> The following members having joined other churches without applying for letters of dismission It was resolved to drop their names from the roll of this church.

The list of members dropped consists of eighteen men and twenty-two women, forty in all.[14]

It is difficult to trace the record of a church during a time of division because in most cases both groups sincerely claim to be the true successor of the original organization. The next volume of the Mount Horeb record drops back nearly two years to begin as follows:

> May 30, 1874.
> We the undersigned being or desiring to become members of the Presbyterian Church and believing that it will be for the glory of God and for the good of our common unity to have a Presbyterian church organized at or near Mt. Horeb, Jefferson County, Tennessee, and desiring said church to be in connection with Holston Presbytery and Synod of

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[14]Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, Records, 1841-1925, I, p. 67.

> Nashville of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, do hereby petition the proper authority of said Holston Presbytery to aid us, at as early a day as may be practicable, in effecting said organization according to the rules and usages of said Presbytery.[15]

The above is signed by twenty-nine persons, thirteen men and sixteen women. A commission of Holston Presbytery, on the same date as the above, proceeded to organize a church by election of elders, deacons, and a clerk of session.[16]

Some three months later one group at Mount Horeb informed Presbytery of Union of the situation in the following letter:

> Jefferson County, Tenn.,
> Sept. 8th, 1874.
>
> To Presbytery of Union:
>
> Whereas, two ruling elders and a goodly number of the members of Mt. Horeb Church have withdrawn therefrom and have been organized into two separate churches, one in connection with the Southern Presbyterian Church, and the other in connection with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and,
>
> Whereas, the church and congregation of Mt. Horeb now existing are engaged in erecting a new house of worship at a point near four miles distant from the old house of worship,
>
> Therefore, the undersigned Ruling Elders and members of Mr. Horeb church would respectfully petition the Presbytery to drop from its rolls the name Mt. Horeb and insert instead thereof the name Hebron.[17]

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[15] Ibid., II, p. 1.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, op. cit., p. 98.

The above petition was signed by four elders and fifty-five members. So, at the end of the century, there were three Presbyterian churches in Mount Horeb community.[18]

Strawberry Plains had been known during the Civil War as the "Lincoln Church," having had only nine southern sympathizers in a membership of 100.[19] Yet a southern Presbyterian church was located there in the early seventies. Southern churches were found also at Dandridge and Mossy Creek.[20]

The Methodists

It has been noted that Union Presbytery went as a body with the United Synod in 1857 and returned as a body to the northern general assembly in 1864, after which various groups withdrew to units with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States - the southern branch.

Holston Conference also went as a body with the southern group of Methodists when the Plan of Separation was adopted in

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[18]Note: Mount Horeb was readmitted to Presbytery of Union in 1911. Mount Horeb and Hebron were united into a single congregation in 1923.

[19]First Presbyterian Church (Shunem) of Strawberry Plains, Records, 1853-1878 (typed copy in Lawson McGhee Library - compiled by Laura E. Luttrell, 1926), p. 39.

[20]Mount Horeb Presbyterian Church, op. cit., p. 5, et passim.

1845. Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, did not return to the northern branch of Methodism, but in 1865 a conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized for East Tennessee and part of Virginia, which was also named Holston. Thereafter two Holston Conferences were in the same territory, - one north and one south in affiliation. As East Tennessee was strongly Union in sentiment, a majority in many congregations voted, when the opportunity came, to affiliate with the northern branch of Methodism. The split was made more bitter by the dispute over church buildings and other property. It was natural for the majority group, in many cases that of the North, to expect to retain the property. The opposite group felt that the property legally belonged to the Methodist Church, South, under the terms of the Plan of Separation.[21]

Though the dispute does not seem to have directly affected Jefferson County, the harm it did to the denomination throughout the region was doubtless relfected in the county.

In 1859 Mossy Creek and Beth-Car Station had been set off and later formed the basis of Mossy Creek circuit. In 1865 Morristown and Mossy Creek circuit was established, but there was no preacher in service on the circuit that year.

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[21]R. N. Price, Holston Methodism (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1914), p. 74 ff.

Morristown and Mossy Creek station was established in 1868, with two preachers in charge.[22]

For 1876 Mossy Creek station reported 136 members and one Sunday school. Dandridge station reported 105 members and one Sunday school. This seems to place 341 members at Mossy Creek and Dandridge. Strawberry Plains circuit reported 450 members and five Sunday schools, which indicates that the circuit served four churches in addition to Strawberry Plains. It is not shown what churches they were.[23]

From 1880 to 1899 statistics for Mossy Creek station and Strawberry Plains circuit are as follows:[24]

Date	Mossy Creek Station		Strawberry Plains Circuit	
	Churches	Members	Churches	Members
1880	---	124	---	491
1885	2	120	5	375
1890	2	225	5	325
1895	4	298	2	206
1899	5	326	6	428

The Baptists

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[22]Ibid., p. 61.

[23]Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, The Holston Annual, 1876 (Knoxville: The Tribune Office, 1876), p. 54.

[24]Note: These statistics are from the statistical tables of The Holston Annual for the years listed. Like most such publications, the Annual was printed by various job printing firms from year to year. The McClung Historical Collection of Lawson McGhee Library contains an almost complete collection from the Civil War to the present.

For meeting conditions such as prevailed in East Tennessee for several years following the Civil War, the loose organization of the Baptist denomination was a distinct advantage. The Southern Baptist Convention exercised no authority, and at that time probably very little influence, over the Baptist churches in the county. Each congregation took its own position on questions raised by the war without regard to outside authority or higher organizations. No Baptist church in the county is shown by available records to have been split into two congregations over slavery or the war.

Prior to the war, Baptist churches, so far as the records, indicate, showed little interest in Sunday schools. But the Nolachucky Association meeting at Morristown in 1871 passed the following resolution:

> Resolved, that the pastors and especially the missionaries of this Association be requested to organize a Sunday school in every church or neighborhood where there is none; and that each church report every year the number of such schools in their borders.[25]

At this meeting $540.00 was appropriated to pay two missionaries to labor with the colored people, among whom 285 conversions were reported for the previous year.

The following conditions were reported in some of the

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[25]Nolachucky Association of Baptists, Proceedings, 1871 (Knoxville: Press and Herald Printing Office, 1871), p. 7.

Jefferson County churches: Friendship, report Sunday school of interest; Leadvale, greatly revived, increase of fifty, contributed over two thousand dollars for beneficient purposes; Mansfield Gap, report Sunday school of 100; Mill Spring, need help; Mossy Creek, very flourishing condition, sixty-eight additions; Providence, no report.

The statistical reports showed a total of 1,096 members in the county in 1871, and 1,139 members in 1879. In 1870 the county had lost Bent Creek and Leadvale with a total of 206 members to the newly constituted Hamblen County.[26]

The seven churches in the Nolachucky Association alone reported 804 members for 1882.[27]

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[26] Ibid. Tennessee Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1871 (Knoxville: Chronicle Office, 1871), p. 10. Nolachucky Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1879 (Dandridge: O. B. Davis and Co., 1879), p. 14. Tennessee Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1879 (Knoxville: Ogden Brothers, 1879), p. 19.

[27] Nolachucky Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1882 (Knoxville: T. Haws, 1882), Appendix.

CHAPTER IX

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1901-1950)

By 1900 the population of Jefferson County had become stabilized at around 18,000 inhabitants, where it has since remained.[1] And by that time the trend of denominational development had become established as it was to continue with relatively little change through the first half of the twentieth century.

The Quakers

It has been noted that in 1871 a surprisingly large number of individuals from non-Quaker families were added to the church at Lost Creek.[2] While it is interesting to speculate as to the outcome had the Quakers been as evangelistic in method as the Methodists or the Baptists, evidently the church did not press its advantage and Lost Creek remained a small congregation. The report of Lost Creek Monthly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting in 1934 showed fifty-nine

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[1] United States Bureau of the Census, Report of Population, 1940 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 592. United States Bureau of the Census, County Data Book, 1940 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 348.

[2] Supra, Chap. VIII, pp. 102-103.

members, of whom twenty-two were non-resident and six associate.[3]

The Presbyterians

In 1900 white churches in Jefferson County affiliated with Presbytery of Union, Synod of Tennessee, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, were as follows: Hopewell, at Dandridge, with ninety members; Westminster, at White Pine, with sixty-two members; New Market, in the town of that name, with 114 members; Hebron, in the Mount Horeb Community, near Talbot, with 110 members; Shunem, at Strawberry Plains, with forty-two members. Colored churches in Presbytery of Union were: Bethel, at Dandridge, with forty-eight members; St. Luke's, at New Market, with forty-three members; Calvary, at Strawberry Plains, with forty-two members. Thus, there were 533 members, including 114 colored, of churches affiliated with the northern branch of Presbyterianism.[4]

"Southern" Presbyterian churches, affiliated with Presbytery of Holston, Synod of Appalachia, of the

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[3]William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1936), I, p. 1113. Newberry, in Blount County, which started as a branch of Lost Creek, reported 266 members in 1934.

[4]General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Minutes, 1900 (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1900), p. 689.

Presbyterian Church in the United States, were: Mossy Creek, at Jefferson City, later referred to as Jefferson City, First; Mt. Horeb, near Talbot; Concord, near Strawberry Plains; White Pine. Census reports show 224 members of these churches in 1906.[5]

Lebanon, in the Mt. Horeb community, with about 100 members, more than half of whom were non-resident, was the only church in the county affiliated with Presbytery of East Tennessee, Synod of Tennessee, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.[6]

The Synod of East Tennessee was set up in 1905 for the colored Presbyterian churches in the southern Appalachian region, with Jefferson County included in the Presbytery of Le Vere. Bethel, St. Luke's, and Calvary were transferred to Le Vere from the Presbytery of Union. Through the years, these churches have remained fairly constant in size with a membership of about fifty each.

Mount Horeb Church left the southern assembly and was readmitted to Presbytery of Union in 1911. In 1925 the Mount Horeb congregation united with Hebron with the peculiar stipulation that the old Mount Horeb building should be kept in

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[5]United States Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1906 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), II, pp. 355-356.

[6]General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Minutes, 1904 (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1904), p. 122a.

repair and a service conducted there at least once each year. By 1915 the congregation of Lebanon Cumberland Presbyterian Church had declined to forty resident members. It remains affiliated with the Cumberland group but is often supplied by ministers of the other Presbyterian assemblies.

In 1934 there were twelve Presbyterian churches in the county, with over 668 members. Churches and members in Presbytery of Union (U. S. A.) were: Hopewell, eighty-one; Hebron, eighty-one; Shunem, fifteen; New Market, eighty-one; Westminster, eighty-four. Those in Presbytery of Le Vere (U. S. A., Col.) were: Bethel, fifty; St. Luke's, thirty; Calvary, thirty-nine. Those in Presbytery of East Tennessee (U. S.) were: Strawberry Plains (Concord), fifty; Jefferson City, 120; White Pine, twenty-seven.[7]

The Methodists

By 1900 three of the eighty-four pastoral charges of the Holston Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church were circuits located in whole or in part in Jefferson County. In 1906, although the two Methodist conferences had nearly the same number of churches in the county there was a wide

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[7]General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Minutes, 1934 (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, 1934), pp. 515, 840. General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Minutes, 1934 (Richmond: Presbyterian Publication Committee, 1934), statistical tables.

difference in the number of members. The nine churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church had 1,191 members, while the seven churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had 542 members. In addition there were two African Methodist churches, located at Jefferson City and at New Market, with 216 members.[8]

The census of religious bodies reported 2,926 Methodist church members in the county in 1916, and 3,037 in 1936.[9]

The union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Protestant Methodist Church, in 1939, placed all the Methodist churches in the county in the same conference - Holston Conference of the Methodist Church.[10] The conference report for 1940 gives 2,703 members for all the circuits which include churches in Jefferson County, but these circuits also include seven churches not in the county.

Jefferson County churches which came into the new conference from the Methodist Episcopal Church were Chestnut

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[8]United States Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1906 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), I, pp. 355-56.

[9]United States Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1916 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), I, pp. 309-310; also Ibid. for 1936, I, pp. 675-76.

[10]Holston Conference of the Methodist Church, The Holston Journal (no publisher listed, 1940), pp. 1-10 and statistical tables.

Hill, Hill's Chapel, Chestnut Grove, Ebenezer, Shady Grove, Wesley's Chapel, Jefferson City, - First, Black Oak Grove, and Cedar Grove. Those from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, were Strawberry Plains, New Market (Loy Memorial), Jefferson City, - Second, Beth-Car, Wooten's Chapel, Dandridge, and White Pine. The lake formed by Douglas Dam, built during World War II, covered the sites of Hill's Chapel and the Southern Methodist Church at Dandridge, while Cherokee Lake caused the disbanding of Black Oak Grove.[11]

The conference report for 1949 gave 2,141 members for the circuits covering Jefferson County.[12]

The Baptists

As has been mentioned, six Baptist churches in Jefferson County reported 995 members to the Nolachucky Association in 1900, while six other churches reported 776 members to the Tennessee Association for the same year, making a total of 1,771 members of the Baptist churches which sent reports to the two associations.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the

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[11]"Old Dandridge Church in Path of Dam Water," The Knoxville Journal, August 29, 1942.

[12]Holston Conference of the Methodist Church, The Holston Journal, 1949, statistical tables.

exact date of organization of Baptist churches, because no organization higher than the local church is specifically responsible for the keeping of church records. For that reason it is not possible to know exactly how many small, rather informal, Baptist congregations may have been meeting in the county in 1900 in addition to the six reporting to the association.

After the Spanish-American War Americans began to be more conscious of other parts of the world and American churches came to a greater realization of missionary opportunities (and obligations) in many countries. The extension of rural free delivery of mail brought knowledge of national and world events within reach of the people on farms and in small villages. Better communication and transportation facilities brought communities into closer touch with one another. And people became more conscious of the importance of organized effort to gain desired objectives in any field. The isolated country church was concerned less and less exclusively with its own members and its own limited community. While in 1900 only the larger Baptist churches in the county indicated much concern with the association, and some did not even bother to belong, by the time of World War I almost every church kept up its membership in the association, at least nominally. By that time the two associations covering the county, neither of which had undergone any significant change in territory since 1828, had become too cumbersome

for the increased number of churches and the more intensive type of work which the churches desired to carry on through the association.

When it became apparent that the associations covered too much territory and included too many churches for effective work the division into new associations tended toward use of the county as the territorial unit of organization. The Tennessee Association became the Knox County Association in 1917.[13] Churches still belong to the association of their choice. Thus Strawberry Plains Baptist Church, though in Jefferson County, belongs to the Knox County Association, while Talbot Baptist Church, in Hamblen County, belongs to the Jefferson County Association. But such cases are now an exception to the general trend.

In 1919 the Knox County Association granted Dumplin, Beaver Creek, and Piedmont churches letters to unite with the newly organized Jefferson County Association of Baptists.[14]

In 1923 there were in Jefferson County, belonging to the Jefferson County Association of Baptists, twenty churches with more than 2,000 members.[15] In 1935 the association

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[13]Knox County Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1917 (Knoxville: R. Stubley & Son, 1917), pp. 1-3.

[14]Ibid., (1919), pp. 1-10.

[15]Tennessee Baptist Convention, Minutes, 1924 (Nashville: Southern Baptist Convention, 1924), pp. 25, 71.

consisted of twenty-five churches with 3,943 members.[16] Shady Grove Baptist Church disbanded before its site was covered by Douglas Lake.[17] Making adjustment for the churches at Talbot and Strawberry Plains, there are now twenty-four Baptist churches in the county. Mill Spring, Jefferson City, and Piedmont have outlying missions which may in future become independent churches.

The following table combines some information already given, not all for the same date but for a recent date in each case.

Denomination	Churches	Members
Presbyterian	12	668 (with one out)
Methodist	17	2,703
Baptist	24	5,938

In fairness to other denominations it should be remembered that probably almost half the members of the First Baptist Church of Jefferson City as well as a smaller proportion of the members of Northside Baptist Church at Jefferson City, are students in Carson-Newman College who are only temporary residents of the county. Also, the Baptist churches in that year made no separation in their report of resident and non-resident members. In 1944, when such a separation

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[16] Ibid., (1935), p. 293.

[17] Glen A. Toomey, The Romance of A Susquicentennial Church (Kodak: Dumplin Baptist Church, 1947), pp. 81-82.

was made, they reported 965 non-resident members.[18] It should also be mentioned that the Presbyterian reports include only resident communicants.

Church membership, like population, is fluid and cannot be stopped at a single point for an exact count. But, regardless of exact numbers, it is clear that more than 90 per cent of the church members in the county belong to churches of three denominations.[19] It is also clear that Methodist church members are over twice as numerous in the county as Presbyterian members, and that Baptist churches have almost twice as many members as do Methodist churches.

Church of God

Organized religion in the county has been almost completely dominated by the three denominations mentioned. The Church of God (referred to commonly as Holiness, Sanctified, etc.), began with a small group near Jefferson City in the early years of the century. This is the Cleveland, Tennessee, branch which is not as fanatical in practice as

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[18] Jefferson County Association of Baptists, Minutes, 1944 (n. p., n. d.).

[19] United States Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1936 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), pp. 820-822; also the same work for the years 1906, 1916, and 1926.

some other groups. It now has churches near Strawberry Plains, at Mansfield Gap, and both white and colored congregations in Jefferson City. For practical purposes this group is the same as that designated in the census reports by the term "other Protestant bodies." Its growth can be seen by noting that it climbed from less than 1 per cent of the total church membership in the county in 1906 to slightly over 6 per cent in 1936.[20] In terms of its own membership the group increased in numbers more than 1000 per cent in the same period. The number of members was forty-four in 1906, 113 in 1916, 283 in 1926, and 499 in 1936.[21] However impressive this growth may appear in isolation, it has not yet become very significant in the total religious life of the county. How significant it may become in the future remains to be seen. The outlook for the newer religious groups is a special problem in itself which has been well discussed by Clark and Braden, among others, in recent works.[22]

Summary[23]

Due to its geographical situation and the limited

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[20]United States Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies for the years 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Elmer T. Clark, The Small Sects of America (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949). Charles S. Braden, These Also Believe (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

[23]These are reactions of the writer to the facts presented; the reader may be equally justified in drawing different or even opposite conclusions from the same facts.

means of transportation at the time, early settlers into the county came from a single direction. The only settled territory was to the east and the only relatively easy pathways were those provided by rivers -- the Holston and the French Broad. Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families from the Carolinas, English Baptist families from Virginia (sometimes by way of North Carolina), and New England Quaker families by way of the Carolinas comprised the first settlers.

The Quaker Church at Lost Creek was an incident in a Quaker migration that started in New England, moved southward to North and South Carolina, crossed the mountains, came down the valley of the Holston, and continued on to the mid-west and west. That a portion of the stream paused for a period of years at Lost Creek added much of interest to the history of the county, but permanent influence on its organized religious life was small.

The Methodist circuit system was especially adapted to pioneer conditions and the Methodist societies were the only religious groups in the county, except the Quakers, with an appeal to those persons who disagreed with Calvinism. It is unfortunate for the historian that the early Methodists did not place more emphasis on records of the individual church, so that the exact number of churches and members in a county could be determined, but the evidence indicates

that for some parts of the period before the Civil War Methodism was the largest in numbers of any denomination in the county. Holston Conference was further north than most of the territory affiliated with the southern general conference. Methodism was unfortunate in East Tennessee both in the general reaction toward its churches and members while the war was in progress and in the violent internal dispute afterward while both general assemblies were establishing conferences covering the same territory. About the beginning of the twentieth century the Methodist Episcopal Church began to gain rapidly but Methodism in the county never overcame the war and post-war setback. What progress may result from the union of the two branches remains to be seen.

The Presbyterian church was established early in the county, with a Presbytery composed of young ministers who were in unusual agreement on theological issues. Presbyterianism in the county was fortunate in avoiding the disputes and splits which affected the denomination as a whole at least three times before the Civil War. Two practices of Presbyterianism, while good at the time, may have hindered its growth later. Restrictions were placed on the organization of new churches within the territory of an existing church. It was made difficult to qualify for ordination for the ministry. The story of damage to Presbyterianism

in the county during the period of post-war adjustment has been told in a previous chapter. But the Presbyterians did not have the back-log of relatively unused ministers and small local church groups upon which to rebuild as did the Methodists, and, to an even greater extent, the Baptists. By the time the wounds incident to the war were healed Calvinistic doctrine may have become less popular. Although the Presbyterian churches in the county have declined greatly in number of members, they still exist as functioning organizations. What the future holds for them is another question that only time can answer.

The Baptists had an early start in Jefferson County but were somewhat slow in expanding. Of the twenty-four missionary Baptist churches in the present territory of the county, only three were organized before 1840. The two streams of Baptist doctrine, one slightly Arminian in character and the other strongly Calvinistic, which were united in Holston Association, were separated again in the anti-mission division. That event, which was a temporary set-back, was probably beneficial over a long period. Like the division of Abingdon Presbytery, it placed each faction in a separate group. The missionary group which believed in a certain amount of organization and in an evangelistic method was more free to develop in its own way. As was mentioned previously, lack of any strong organization left

each local church free to meet the stresses of post-war adjustment as it thought best. For one who felt the call to the ministry it was fairly easy to gain ordination and established churches were usually ready to organize even small groups into new churches. Not being set into anything like a rigid pattern, the Baptists were ready to expand when post-war troubles slowed the activity of the Methodists and Presbyterians. The two Baptist conventions were not in competition for territory, while the anti-mission element had declined in numbers so much as to be an almost insignificant part of the total life of the county. The Baptist position was made stronger by the location in the county of Carson-Newman College, a Baptist educational institution. Whether the Baptist denomination will continue to expand in the county, or will simply maintain its position, or will decline relative to other groups, is also a question for time to answer.

It is even a question whether relative position of denominations will be considered of as much importance in the future as it has been in the past. There is evident in the county some indications of less stress on doctrinal belief and advancement of each denomination, and of more emphasis on the results desired, regardless of which group is instrumental in bringing them about.

Conclusion

The writer is keenly conscious of gaps in the present work, realizing that many stories have been left untold and many questions left unanswered. The detailed history of almost any church mentioned would make a complete work within itself. It is hoped that a beginning has been made toward the integration of facts into a unified picture of the total religious development in this one county.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Note on Boundaries

By an ordinance published by William Blount, as Governor of the Southwest Territory, on June 11, 1792, Greene and Hawkins Counties were circumscribed by a line as follows:

> Beginning on Nolachucky river, at the place where the ridge which divides the waters of Bent and Lick Creek strikes it, thence with that ridge to Bull's Gap of Bay's Mountain, thence a direct line to the place where the road that leads from Dodson's ford to Perkin's iron works crosses the watery ford of Bent Creek, thence down that road to the head of Panther Creek, down the meanders of that creek to the river Holston, thence a Northwest course to the river Clinch.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The County of Jefferson to be butted and bounded by the above described line from the eastern boundary of the territory to the river Holston, and down the river Holston to the mouth of Creswell's mill creek, thence a direct line to the mouth of Dumplin's Creek on French-Broad, thence up the meanders of French-Broad to the mouth of Boyd's creek, thence south twenty-five degrees east to the ridge which divides the waters of Little Pigeon and Boyd's creek and with the said ridge to the Indian boundary or the eastern boundary of the territory as the case may be and by the eastern boundary.*

It can thus be seen that Jefferson County, as originally established, included the western portion of what became Cocke County and the eastern portion of what became

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*Clarence Edwin Carter, The Territorial Papers of the United States (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), IV, p. 448.

Sevier County as well as a large section of the present Hamblen County.

But though Jefferson County had a number of changes in boundary, the only change of significance to this study was that caused by the formation of Hamblen County, in 1870. The newly established county included at least three established churches which had formerly been in Jefferson County. They were Bent Creek Baptist Church, near the creek of that name, St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Friendship Baptist Church, somewhere to the south of Morristown, and St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, in the present Lowland Community, between Morristown and White Pine.