The other side of the Regulation debate, the challenge of the Baptists and Quakers, also frayed the Dutch Settlement coalition. Both ethical and ethnic concerns vexed German families. The new behavior was manifest throughout backcountry Rowan, from the time of settlement in the 1740s to the working out of the Great Revival in the early 1800s. For example, in the midst of the Regulation, the Moravian missionary George Soelle made the rounds of the Heidelburg settlement midway between Salisbury and Salem. Soelle noted that men with different dispositions about grace and greatly divergent levels of pastoral preparation were attempting to hold services. As Soelle noted, some "overstressed seeing and believing", a reference to the emotive approach to salvation. The disputes at Heidelburg involved "many who run about in their own spirit and do themselves and others harm." [34] The junket to London and Hanover, as noted in the Rowan petition, was in part designed to counter those who practiced "a lamentable unrestrained life, which is constantly on the increase." In addition, supporters in Hanover learned, books needed to be sent over, because "a current of fanatic writings" were "flooding the country" and needed to "be checked." Later Lutheran pastors would write back to Germany repeatedly about how they were "exposed to the ridicule of the sectarians." A post-Revolutionary pastor, the Reverend James Bernhard, reported that those who spoke in the new religious dictum "traverse[d] the land . . . like roaming knights." The Yadkin region was, Nussman reported even in 1787, still "a rough, wild country." Likely, he referred as much to matters of the spirit as of society.[35]

That the "roaming knights" of the various "sectarians" made inroads into the Dutch settlement is substantiated by what happened after Nussmann left, when the first Zion Church was erected. For awhile, according to Bernheim, "Mr. Arends conducted divine services as lay reader" until the summer of 1775. Then, "Joachim Beulow[,] missionary and inspector over South and North Carolina[,]" apparently "happened to pass that way" and since he was in the neighborhood, "examined" Arends "in the presence of several deacons", then ordained him "before the whole congregation at their request." Beulow, a former merchant, left a letter "to recommend him therefore to the kind reception of all Christians at the North." The rub in all this, as more than one Lutheran historian has noted, is the question of Beulow's legitimacy. Was he just an ecclesiastical peddler, leaving a sort of receipt of his wares? Who besides the deacons of Zion Church had given him the authority to "inspect"? As Bernheim noted somewhat ruefully, "no records that have come to my hand do show. . .who appointed Buelow."[36] Certainly not Nussmann, who was not asked to be present for the laying on of hands.

The Lutherans on Second Creek had over the course of three years sent to Europe for the educated presentation of the Word, ended a union effort with Presbyterians in the midst of regional political turmoil, banished

their learned pastor posthaste, and legitimated, in their own manner, a school master as their pastor. Clearly, the evangelical leveling impulse was at work in some manner here. The Second Creek Lutherans were behaving in a manner more aligned with the Regulator attitude about grass-roots action and authority. Those who after the Revolution welcomed the installation of an organ into their worship clearly sought a new way of making a joyful noise, one that in some unarticulated way furthered a compromise with some of the social mayhem of the southern backcountry. This is evident when Arends left them after the war, to take up the mission of congregations in the South Fork Catawba valley. (Why Arends left is itself an unanswered question. He would later be linked in sacerdotal demeanor to the strict confessionalists led by the Henkelites.) Nussmann was returned to the Organ pulpit right in the middle of the controversies over postwar disorder, most famously Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts. Nussmann lasted no longer in his restored pulpit at Organ than did the bench stormers in Springfield. Again, what Nussmann represented in the loose hierarchy of the backcountry was not acceptable.

Soon after, the congregation at Organ set its own standards for handling "sectarians," an indication of exactly what was on their minds in the pivotal period. When Storch was induced to stay in 1788 (and not go off to the pastorate planned for him by Nussman) the elders of Organ wrote a constitution that mimicked the residual antifederalism of the backcountry. In it they compromised with traditional forms of pastoral deference.

The rules passed at "Rowan County [,] Second Creek" on "1789 the 1st January" by "the underwritten Elders, deacons and members at the so named Organ Church" placed bounds on who could do what in their church. As the congregation agreed, "without order no matter of importance can be sustained and promoted." First, no unknown man could "ascend the pulpit", even if he claimed to be Lutheran, unless he was interviewed by "our preacher." In addition, "all so-called sectarian preachers shall not be allowed to preach in our church." Strangers who appeared at the church doors to have their children baptized were expected to give a monetary contribution to the church—"which however will be left to his own will." The same applicant had to clear the request for baptism with a deacon "before preaching commences." Only baptized members of the congregation could be sponsors.

All these arrangements suggest how much outsiders influenced Organ in its gatherings during the Revolution. This is most evident from the reference that "it has often happened that unbaptized persons have been sponsors." The elders, in taking steps in 1789 to control the flow of the penitent through the doors, were positioning themselves in the spiritual continuum of the time. Although they deferred to the learning of the pastor, they defined specifically the role deacons would have in the conveyance of the sacraments to the greater neighborhood, and—to insure that diverse elements of the congregation would have their say—set up a rotation for the

imposition of authority: “The two Deacons who have served the longest shall every two years give up their office.” All of this was designed to promote both “the spirit of Christianity and brotherly deportment” to “maintain Church and School.”[37]

The congregational compromise came in the midst of the first impacts of the French Revolution on American shores. As Rev. Bernheim later inferred, the “very concise constitution” and the subsequent sanctuary were strongly suggestive, “showing us,” he noted in 1872, “how much our forefathers felt for the welfare, order, and discipline of their congregation.”[38] The strenuous effort to gather stone and mortar for their sanctuary against “sectarians” of all types was carried forth as the Terror began in Paris. The placing of “1794” in the eave corresponded to the political turmoil over the terms of Jay’s Treaty that roiled communities from Portsmouth to Savannah, as Americans chose which “bulwark, never failing[,]” to seek, Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian.

Did a similar struggle occur down Dutch Second Creek at the Reformed church? The almost immediate emulation by the Calvinists—in beginning their own stone sanctuary in 1795—would suggest that they were mimicking their Lutheran neighbors. Further investigation raises doubts about this. The Reformed adherents did not finish their church until 1811, and their traditions strongly suggest that their harmony was rent by ideological fervor, a literal contest for which direction the congregation would take as a community in the new nation.

Lower Stone’s contentions can best be recovered from two all-but-forgotten narrations. The first came from an elder, Casper Holshouser, who “remembered well the facts given by older members.” Born in 1785, Holshouser helped in the work on the new stone sanctuary and spent his life in the community. His reminiscence was collected after the Civil War, not long before his death in 1870.[39]

Holshouser’s take on the history of “die Gnaden Kirche” differed quite a bit from the later tradition. He argued that there had been no union church, that the earliest sanctuary had actually been located at the Lower Stone site in 1755 and “served for many years the purpose of church, lecture room, and school house all in one.” After “the hickory church, as it was called by the common people, had stood about twenty years, and the congregation had grown large and strong,” they determined to build a new church, more in keeping with their size. But, “the Revolutionary War with all its attendant evils came upon them,” and no new church was built until 1795. Then, “the work was rapidly carried forward.”

According to Holshouser, the local Reformed adherents had from the beginning struggled to stay on the straight and narrow doctrinal path. He "had often heard the aged members speak" of "their many toils and labors to secure the Gospel according to the faith of their fathers." He suggested, further, that the local approach to Calvinism was steadfastly tied to the Old Side doctrines of the first Great Awakening. The congregation until 1838 insisted on being called "the Presbyterian church." Their new pastor that year, the Reverend John H. Crawford, only "convinced" the congregation "to have this useless appendage removed" after "an elegant effort."

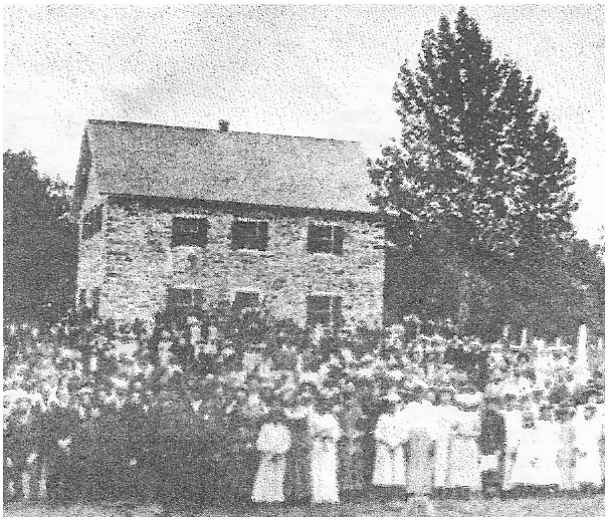


Fig. 10: The congregation at Lower Stone, photographed in front of the sanctuary during the 1895 centennial service.

That it took "untiring energy" to convince Lower Stone families to rename themselves suggests that the "tender associations" of the past had been of monumental significance. But, what exactly had been so "tender" that the wound took so long to heal? Why would adherence to the term "Presbyterian" be so important? The statement may have been an indication that at some point association with another approach to faith and identity had been present, and divisive? Holshouser said so in so many words when he noted that the congregation had had no particular use for the designation of "die Gnaden Kirche", which had been written as part of dedicatory inscriptions placed over each door outside the 1795 sanctuary. Though the title "no doubt presented significance and beauty to the artist, *who chiseled it on the wall*, yet [the term] was neither received by common consent nor position as the sign of any popular idea."

Holshouser's version of local history has not survived as part of the regional lore about Lower Stone Church. In fact, the three inscriptions above the three doors—those literally "chiseled . . . on the wall"—are among the best-known artifacts of German backcountry heritage, with no remembrance of their contentious quality. They bear inspection.



Fig. 11: The German inscriptions above the doors at Lower Stone Church, c. 1795.

The north door reads as a heralding.

We go into our House of God with heartfelt joy. In and out God permits us still to find the precious Treasure, the Word of Life. Here he shows us heaven's gate, the forgiveness of our sins.
Grace Church.

Above the west door is an admonition:

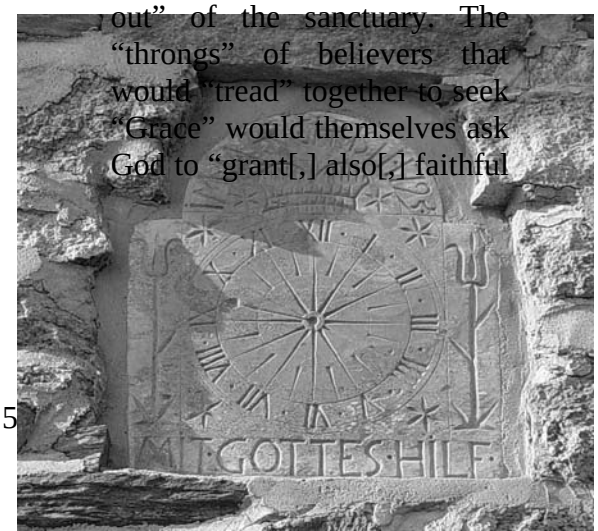
Let Thy Word in Zion resound. Go with each one out and in.
And when in throngs we tread where the service of God is held,
O do Thou bless us, Lord. Grant also faithful ministers
who Thy Word pure with profit teach and the World to Thee convert.
Grace Church.

Then, above the south door is the declaration.

To the glory of God has been built the church which you here behold,
by a people who God confess, and name themselves after Jesus Christ;
who also are incorporated with Him; and they call themselves the Reformed
Grace Church. The end.

In addition to these testamentaries, a clock-face date stone is located above and to the right of the south door. It displays a number of Germanic symbols, including the familiar tulip and a crown. "1795" is featured like a gable date, and tradition has held that the marked "9:30" on the clock face suggests that the walls reached that level in late September of the construction year.

Upon inspection, the inscriptions read as more than statements of faith. They more closely resemble the litany of an evangelized congregation than the liturgy of a traditional parish. It is obvious that "we" referred to the energized congregants who could now find the "Word of Life" both "in and out" of the sanctuary. The "throngs" of believers that would "tread" together to seek "Grace" would themselves ask God to "grant[,] also[,] faithful



ministers" to aid in their collective endeavor. There was little acknowledgement of Presbyterian hierarchy, no mention of elders, and, most telling, an "incorporated" sense of "a people."

The identity of "the artist" of the inscriptions has not come down through tradition.[40] However, his handiwork was of great moment, for what seems to have been a consensual expression of Dutch Side culture was more a bone of contention than any other previous division in the neighborhood. Did the anonymous "artist" imply the "popular idea" of a more an evangelical, egalitarian form of "Grace", one that Holshouser said failed to achieve "common consent"?

Fig. 12: The date stone at Lower Stone Church, suggesting a completion of the walls in September 1795. The tulip motifs are on ether side and a crown tops the clock pattern.

A second, all-but-forgotten narrative allows a definitive probe into the controversy caused by the writing on the walls. According to Rev. C.B. Bowman, Caspar Holshouser's last pastor, the congregation dramatically splintered during 1795. When talk of a new sanctuary arose at Lower Stone, George Henry Barger and John Sifford, the wealthiest men in the congregation, "considered the burden too great" and turned down leadership for building it. (Barger, incidentally, became Caspar Holshouser's father in law in 1811, so it can be assumed that the Holshouser interpretation of the story followed Barger's viewpoints.) When these two elders said no to the project, "it was not undertaken." However, "finally" elder Jacob Fisher took action, "the consistory undertook the work," and the walls were raised.

As the work proceeded, it became known that Barger "took some exceptions to the contents of a manuscript document placed by the pastor among the contents of the cornerstone." (Lower Stone today has no tradition of such a cornerstone, and none is visible at the time this essay was written.) Barger "alleged that too much credit and prominence was given Fisher" and refused to provide additional financial support for the construction. Eventually, "despite the stimulating presence and activity of Fisher," money ran out. Members held a neighborhood fair, but still needed funds. Fisher then offered to turn over administration of the project to Barger re-gain his pledge, whereupon Barger raised a new condition. To "the amazement of everyone," Barger insisted that "the walls so far built should be torn down" and "that the offensive document be removed from the cornerstone." As Bowman noted, "this was more" than the congregation would do "to relieve any man's wounded pride, or to secure his money." The walls started in early 1795 stayed up, "but all this delayed the work." [41]

More than pride may have been at play in 1795. A close look at the contrasting figures of Barger and Fisher suggest that class division, and most likely culture diversions, were behind the attempt to wreck the engraved sanctuary. Barger, one of the largest landowners in the Dutch Side, exhibited all the haughtiness of the backcountry elite. The magistrate had his Dutch Side neighbors call him "Sir" and claimed to have been "of noble birth." When Barger died in 1820 he was buried in the place of honor very near to the pulpit wall of the sanctuary. In turn, said the narrator of the tradition, "only a few feet distant" from "the offending elder" was the grave of Fisher, "his unentitled rival." Fisher had not received land until a 1783 state grant in 1783 validated his principal holding. By the 1795 his landholdings had been

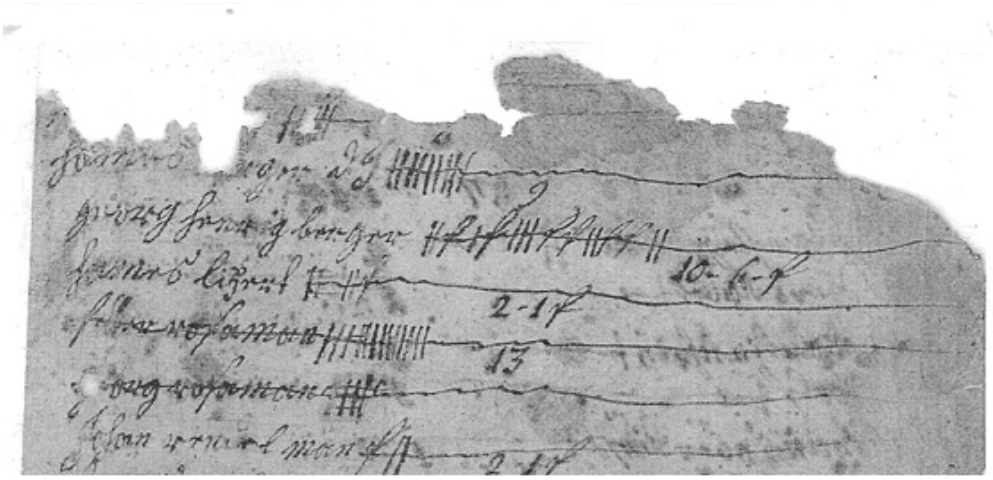


Fig. 13: This fragment from the Lower Stone Church archive is part of a list of members' contributions, possibly the list of those who helped build the 1795 structure. George H. Barger is the first discernable name; his tally ten pounds, six shillings.

cut in half, and in 1796 he was actually a tax delinquent, raising the question of how much of his own wealth was put into paying for the walls, or the inscriptions. Barger was a slave owner; Fisher was not.[42]

Given that Lower Stone later had no tradition of a cornerstone, it begs the question of what Barger was really upset about. A poorer fellow congregant? Was it so much what Fisher himself was, an upstart striving beyond his means, or what Fisher believed in? It would appear that Fisher led a faction of the lesser privileged, one with an agenda in 1795. When Fisher and John Caspar, another poorer congregant, received title to "the meeting

house, graveyard, and spring," the original trustees "assign[ed] to them the only proper use." The deed was given in January, when on warmer days the work could be started, but not ratified in the county court until August. Then, in September the congregation refused to accede to Barger's demand, and left the inscriptions up. Not just the contents of the cornerstone were offensive, it seems. The vexing "document" may have been as much the



Fig. 14: This close up from the Kizziah map of the Dutch Side settlement around Organ and Lower Stone churches shows the relative locations of the Jacob Fisher and George H. Barger farms.

infiltrative "popular idea" about "Gnaden", i.e., that the church offered a new type of social acceptance through popular action of the congregation. If so, Barger's demands corresponded so exactly with the wider ideological struggle of the day—between the emerging factions of Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians, between those eager to sample egalitarian expression and those who wished to stifle it—as to suggest strongly that the inscriptions above the doors carried too many political—perhaps even partisan—overtones.

The fate of the pastor who got Barger's goat supports this circumstantial interpretation. Church tradition names the Reverend Samuel Weyberg as pastor in 1795. Weyberg was the son of the most prominent Reformed minister in Pennsylvania, the Reverend Caspar Weyberg, who served Philadelphia's Race Street Reformed Church from 1763 to his death in 1790. The death of the father led the son "to give up law for theology." Young Weyberg first preached in North Carolina in 1791, while a theological student. After ordination, he returned in 1793, "and for ten years he preached regularly in the congregations. . . particularly those in Cabarrus and Rowan counties." He was remembered as "a strong preacher and a diligent pastor." If future association with his parishioners is an indication, Weyberg also had

"leveling" tendencies which would have made him at least sympathetic to the Jeffersonian perspective."[43] Although tradition says Weyberg was the pastor at Lower Stone for ten years, he does not appear in a document that shows the Barger faction won out in the struggle to define Lower Stone's future.

In either 1798 or 1799, the traditionalists announced their triumph in the ideological struggle. "[T]hose who are herewith connected . . . announce to our posterity who those were who undertook and brought to completion, and upon what grounds this church was built." Those members "who at this time were in control" declared their allegiance to "Calvin and Zwingli who have made us acquainted with the valuable understanding of Jesus Christ." Old World tradition, not backcountry egalitarian usurpation, was to be the watchword within the offending walls. Significantly, the resolutions included an homage to "our beloved pastor", Rev. Loretz, who "was born a brother of the house of God, member of Canton of Zurich, a Swiss from Europe."[44] Loretz, known for his erudiate and elitist ways, had been the minister to the congregation before 1795 and would return in 1811 for the dedication of the finally-finished sanctuary.



Fig. 15: One of the remaining tombstones at Lower Stone cemetery with a traditional Germanic heart-and-tulip pattern—something not found at nearby Organ. This suggests that the Reformed congregation had more of a hierarchical orientation.

The writers of this Calvinist declaration also made sure to locate their niche in the political landscape of the day. After acknowledging their fealty to "the reign of [Federalist] William R. Davie" as governor of North Carolina, they lamented that "unfortunately our government of the whole fourteen states [*sic*—it is unclear why they could not count] is not founded on our faith in Jesus Christ, but anyone who believes in one God, and not in the

Holy Trinity, can get so far as to be President, be he Jew, heathen, or Christian, it is all the same." The "heathen", of course, was Thomas Jefferson, who had maintained sympathy to the

French Revolution and the egalitarian thinking that accompanied it. These resurrected "Presbyterians" did not want Jefferson to grace the new Executive Mansion any more than they accepted "Gneden" on their walls. [45]

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This inquiry has not come to the conclusion that Deists really infiltrated the hearts and minds of the good Lutherans of Organ, nor that all the German Reformed adherents at Lower Stone hated Jefferson. Rather, it is hoped that what has been presented . . .

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34 Diary of Rev. George Soelle, original manuscript in Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, N.C. Quotation excerpted in Flossie Martin, "Churches of the Colonial Period in Rowan County North Carolina," typescript in church file, McCubbins Collection, RPL.

35 See Boyd, "German Tracts," 128, for the "roaming knights". In 1786 the Hanover sponsors learned that the North Carolina Lutherans were still exposed to "the ridicule of the sectarians," 93.

36 "Address of Rev. G.D. Bernheim, D.D.," in Cox, "History of Organ Church," 23-26.

37 The original document is in the LTSS archives, Columbia, S.C. A copy is in the Organ Church file, McCubbins Collection, RPL.

38 *Carolina Watchman*, September 19, 1872.

39 "For the Watchman: Lower Stone Church", *Carolina Watchman*, April 24, 1880. The author of the piece is likely the Reverend G.B. Heller, the Gilded Age pastor at Lower Stone. He had evidently talked with Holshouser before the elder's death in 1874. Holshouser was an average landowner in the Reformed neighborhood, according to the 1850 Federal census. He owned two slaves and farmed ninety acres that year. See Jo White Linn, ed., *1850 Census of Rowan County, N.C.* (Salisbury: privately published, 1983), 120-124, for an annotated analysis of the neighborhood.

[40] A possible, but unlikely candidate, can be found in "A Relic of Antiquity in Rowan," *Carolina Watchman*, April 10, 1881. The document came into the hands of Jethro Rumple, and was translated by J.J. Bruner, the local stationer and printer. It is the agreement made by an itinerant schoolmaster with his subscribers in the neighborhood at the very time both the sanctuaries were built, someone whose identity was not preserved in the local histories. "Johnann Heinrich Groessel, schoolmaster, the 10 January, Anno 1793" promised "that I will teach school about here, in this vicinity"[Lower Stone, according to Rumple] until he had paid back a debt. Groessel announced his intention to "take care of the church and the school as I have done." It appears he had done this elsewhere, before being advanced funds by two local residents, Conrad Franck and Christian Shumann. Groessel intended to live in the schoolhouse, which if Holshouser's memory was correct, would have been the old hickory church. That would suggest that plans were afoot to build a new Reformed sanctuary at exactly the same time as the Lutherans were planning theirs, right at the same time that America divided over the terms of the French Revolution.

Could Groessel have been the author of the inscriptions, perhaps even the chiseler on the stone blocks? What is interesting about the teaching contract is that the rhythm of Grossel's terms corresponds somewhat to the clipped rise and fall of the verses in the inscriptions. If Grossel was the purveyor of the less than "popular idea" of "Gnaden" during three key years in the neighborhood, he perhaps, put ideas in the heads of local youth that muddled the "Calvinist congregation['s]" traditional identity. That Groessel was assertive and unconventional is evidenced in his contract for teaching. The underwriters allowed him to "reserve the right to fix up the schoolhouse, as I intend to live in it, and as far as board is concerned I wish to beg to send it to the schoolhouse, then I will take care of the cooking myself."

[41] "A letter from Rev. C. B. Heller to John L. Fisher, telling of the assistance rendered by Jacob Fisher in the building of Grace Reformed Church." Typescript in the Fisher family file, McCubbins Collection, RPL. Rev. Heller is buried exactly behind the pulpit wall of the sanctuary. As he noted, "the real truth of the matter" was still alive in oral tradition, even in 1908 when he penned the letter to explain what had been left out of the *Reformed Church in North Carolina* history. The Heller letter was included, without quotation or attribution, in John S. Fisher, *Jacob Fisher: The Immigrant* (Norristown: privately published, 1927) n.p.

[42] For background on Barger, see the Barger family file, McCubbins Collection, RPL. Barger had been a member of the Rowan Committee of Safety in 1775, sheriff and colonel of the militia during the War for Independence, and was an Antifederalist delegate to the 1788 Constitutional Convention in Hillsborough. Despite Barger's revolutionary fervor—and the fact that he was an unconverted anti-Federalist when North Carolina ratified the Constitution in 1789—it seems most likely that he shared the elitist views of most leaders in the backcountry and a strong distrust of the evangelically-based challenge in churches and communities.

For Fisher, see John L. Fisher, *Jacob Fisher: The Immigrant, An Early Settler in the Perkiomen Valley* (Norristown, Pa.: Norristown Press, 1927), 50-51. Fisher may have gotten the idea for inscriptions above the doors from the sanctuary he left behind in Pennsylvania, the New Goshenhopper union church, which placed them in the church erected in 1748. C.Z. Weiser, *A Monograph of new Goschenhopper and Great Swamp Reformed Charge* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1991), 55-57.

For both Barger and Fisher's tax returns, see Jo White Linn, *Rowan County Tax Lists, 1757-1800* (Salisbury: privately published, 1995), under "southern Rowan" in each list.

[43] Robert A. Schneider, *Two Histories and an Essay: The Story of the Old First Reformed Church, UCC, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: The Compiler 2002), 21-24 and 53-54, narrates the role of Caspar Weyberg during the Revolutionary era. Weyberg's pastoral work is in *Early Records of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia*, vol. 1, (Westminister, Md.: Family Life Publishing, 1998). For Weyberg's influence on the orthodoxy of area congregations, see Charles H. Clatfelter, "The Eighteenth Century German Lutheran and Reformed Clergymen in the Susquehanna Valley," *Pennyslvania Magazine of History and Biography* 20 (1953), 57-62, and Ursula Rumpler, "Johann Christian Stahlschmidt", in *Kirchenleikon: Biographish-Bibliographisches* (manuscript, 2002), transcribed and translated at www.bautz.de, a "publishing house trusting God."

[44] The original copy of the resolutions, entitled "Immanuel", are in the Lower Stone Church archive, with a copy of the German document in the Lower Stone file, McCubbins Collection, RPL. The translation used here came from Welker, *Reformed Church in North Carolina*, 195-196. One clue about the timing of the document comes from a biographical sketch on the Reverend George Boger "took religious instruction from his pastor, Weyberg" in 1798, the year of the issuance of the Immanuel resolutions. Supposedly, Weyberg was "having his time taken up in teaching and serving the Cabarrus County churches," so Boger then "received further instruction" and preached his first sermon in 1799, then "continued his studies under Rev. Andrew Loretz." See Banks D. Shepherd, *New Gilead Church: A History of the German Reformed People on Coldwater Creek* (Concord, N.C.: privately published, 1975).

Boger's peregrinations suggest that Weyberg may have been sent west of the Catawba River to reorient himself to more acceptable doctrine. Whatever his friction at Lower Stone, Weyberg "was greatly loved by the wide circle of friends [there] to whom he broke the Bread of Life." In particular, Reformed families in the union at St. Paul's on the South Fork of the Catawba were so inspired by Weyberg that they convinced him to go with them to Missouri in 1802. "Mr. Weyberg loved the people among whom he labored in North Carolina, and felt he owed them a duty," which led him to minister to those who had moved west of the Mississippi. Welker, *Reformed Church in North Carolina*, 32-34. For a profile of his trans-Mississippian congregations see Lorena Shell Eaker, *German Speaking People West of the Catawba River in North Carolina, 1750—1800, and Some Emigrant Participants in Southeast Missouri* (Churchill, Tn.: Geneological Publishing Service, 1994). For the Jeffersonian orientation of these families, see Freeze, *The Catawbans*, 131-168.

[45] The Dutch Side conservatives were not the only Rowan citizens to fear that deistic influences would adversely affect backcountry society. The *North Carolina Mercury*, Salisbury's Federalist newspaper, on June 24, 1799, noted that "our American deists deny a governing providence, assert that God has left this world to govern itself, and deny the object of prayer as a duty of natural religion." The editor, Francis Coupee, had been a refugee from the Terror. He had come to Salisbury in 1796 to publish tracts in both English and German. The conservatives at Lower Stone had other Presbyterian allies in Rowan County. The Rev. Samuel McCorkle, in a sermon printed and distributed by Federalists, preached that both the high and low in society could meet on an equal basis in the formal setting of worship, in contrast to the "leveling equality of the Jacobins." His sermon, printed by Coupee, is in the Eagan Papers, RPL.