

Meet Me in Galilee...

Beginning the Journey
from Repentance to
Reconciliation

*A History of Racism and Race
in the Diocese of Virginia*



First Edition: January 2012

Committee on Race and Reconciliation

Acknowledgements

This version of the history of race relations in our Diocese is a work in-progress. The research and writing for this document was done by our committee member, *Dr. John Chilton*, who is our Lead for Research and Communication. He was assisted by *Dr. Mildred W. Robinson*, Professor of Law at the University of Virginia who served as editor. Simply to state that we are grateful for John's work and Mildred's aid is woefully inadequate. Words cannot express sufficiently the depth of gratitude we feel for the process and the result of their effort

By submitting this current version of the Diocese's race relations history, we now fulfill the obligation of the Diocese, as set forth in the resolution of the General Convention, to research and disclose its involvement the slave trade, and the perpetuation of racism. Additions will be made to the document in the future, as appropriate.

Ellyn Lomack Crawford, Co-Chair
Committee on Race and Reconciliation

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A History of Racism and Race in the Diocese of Virginia

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THE RESOLUTION

The Diocese of Virginia is proud to trace its beginnings to the founding of Jamestown over 400 years ago. As the established church of the colony, the diocese can claim to share with our sister dioceses in the founding of the Anglican Church in English colonies which became the United States of America. It is due to this pride in our heritage that we call ourselves The Diocese. As we put it in our online history, “The Diocese of Virginia is proud to be the direct descendant of the first Anglican parish in what is now the United States of America.”

Yet Virginia's founders also brought slavery to the North American colonies and church member and clergy owned slaves. Because we so strongly embrace our heritage, it is morally incumbent upon us to do a self-examination of our role in slavery and racism. In essence repeating its resolution A123 of 2006, in 2009 the General Convention of The Episcopal Church *encouraged* each diocese to do just that over the next six years, and to *report* its results to the next two General Conventions. The resolution is reproduced below:

Resolution: **A143**
Title: **Extension of General Convention Resolution A123 to General Convention 2012**
Topic: **Reconciliation**
Committee: **10 - Social and Urban Affairs**
House of Initial Action: **Bishops**
Proposer: **Executive Council Committee on Anti-Racism**

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That the 76th General Convention of The Episcopal Church agree to extend Resolution A123, which was passed at the 75th General Convention, through the 2013-2015 triennium; and be it further

Resolved, That, as directed by Resolution 2006-A123, the General Convention encourage each diocese to continue over the next six years a process to gather information in its community on (1) the complicity of The Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination, (2) examples of resistance to slavery and discrimination and (3) the economic benefits derived by the Episcopal Church from the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery; and be it further

Resolved, That dioceses consult with the anti-racism officer of The Episcopal Church for resources to aid them in doing this work; and be it further

Resolved, That the information gathering be used as the foundation for truth-telling, confession, apology, forgiveness, repentance and reconciliation; and be it further

Resolved, That each diocese, as requested by Resolution 2006-A123, name a Day of Repentance and on that day hold a Service of Repentance; and be it further

Resolved, That the General Convention require all dioceses to report their results to the 77th and 78th General Conventions.

EXPLANATION

The passage of Resolution A123, which urged dioceses to research those instances where "they were complicit in or profited from the institution of Transatlantic Slavery," has inspired eight dioceses to respond to this call to action and has affirmed two dioceses that had already begun this work. As of the publication of this document, the Presiding Bishop and the President of the House of Deputies will have apologized on behalf of The Episcopal Church for its part in the maintenance of that heinous institution. The work that was requested in this Resolution has not been completed and we, therefore, resubmit it and ask that dioceses that have begun their research will continue with that worthwhile task and those who have not responded will be moved to do so. The Office of Anti-Racism will facilitate this ongoing work by asking dioceses that have begun this work to assist and mentor dioceses that have not begun to respond to the Resolution.

It is further our hope that dioceses will include in their liturgies, Christian educational material for all ages, information that they have discovered about historic oppression of African Americans and stories of resistance and survival.¹

THE COMMITTEE'S CHARGE

Our bishop has charged the Diocese of Virginia Race Relations Committee with addressing A143. Since early 2010 the committee has gathered information on (1) the complicity of The Diocese in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination, (2) examples of resistance to slavery and discrimination and (3) the economic benefits derived by The Diocese from the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery. Information gathering is nearing completion and gaps to be filled are being identified. The ultimate aim of the committee is to produce an extensive report of our research findings. This current document is a first installment.

¹ For comparison, the resolve in 2006-A123 is reproduced below:

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of The Episcopal Church through the Executive Council urgently initiate a comprehensive program and urge every Diocese to collect and document during the next triennium detailed information in its community on (a) the complicity of The Episcopal Church in the institution of slavery and in the subsequent history of segregation and discrimination and (b) the economic benefits The Episcopal Church derived from the institution of slavery; and direct the Committee on Anti-Racism to monitor this program and report to Executive Council each year by March 31 on the progress in each Diocese;

A143 changed the 2006 resolve by (i) adding "examples of resistance to slavery and discrimination" and (ii) replacing "urge every Diocese to collect and document" with "encourage each diocese to ... gather information". A143 also added a *requirement* of every diocese: "the General Convention require all dioceses to report their results to the 77th and 78th General Conventions." Like nearly all dioceses, our diocese submitted no response to resolution A123. At best this shows that addressing race relations got short shrift amongst the multiple competing demands on the limited resources of the diocese. It is should be noted, however, that the commissioned 400 year history of the diocese, completed in 2007, includes a wealth of information relevant to A123/A143.

PREVIOUS EFFORTS AT DIOCESE SELF-EXAMINATION

In 1904 a paper, "The Negro in Virginia", was read before the Diocesan Council of Southern Virginia. That examination of the church's role is striking in its lack of self reflection. Consider this passage:

The moral aspects of slavery seem not at that time to have taken hold on the minds of any people; and our opinions and principles which are the result of two hundred years of experience and progress are not applicable to the case in that remote day. Of one thing these Englishmen were careful from the beginning; namely, the preservation of their race as far as possible from what they regarded as a degrading admixture. The laws provided, and the records of cases of severe civil and ecclesiastical discipline, testify to the early and pronounced sentiment on the subject. On the other hand, as the number of Negroes increased, and contact with civilization wrought its changes through association and discipline, there was an increasing sense of obligation towards the Negroes in spiritual as well as in other respects.

But efforts to Christianize them were beset with all sorts of difficulties for which experience had as yet provided no precedent and no remedy. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that the Negroes brought with them from Africa not merely barbarous natures and customs, but superstitions and beliefs of the most degrading character, from which it was almost impossible to deliver them, and which clung to them through generations of contact with civilization and Christianity. Even at this day the mass of Negroes are influenced by superstitions in a degree often unsuspected by and incomprehensible to white people. Only an intimate knowledge of the Negro discloses this side of his nature, and it may be doubted if the white man ever really comprehends it, although all who have had much to do with the less intelligent masses of Negroes recognize the power of their superstitions in their social and religious life, while the difficulties growing out of the great disparity between the races was a constant quantity which time has only emphasized.

The Rev. Alfred M. Randolph was coadjutor in the Diocese of Virginia before he became bishop of the newly formed Diocese of Southern Virginia in 1892. The Rev. G. McLaren Brydon ("The Negro in the Episcopal Church," 1937) writes rather sympathetically of Randolph's views on race:

In 1886, the Diocesan Council adopted a Canon under which the Negro congregations were to be combined into a Missionary Jurisdiction of the Diocese of Virginia, in the annual Convocation of which every Negro minister would have a seat and every Negro congregation the right of lay representation. The hope was expressed that under this form of organization the Negroes would have opportunity to deliberate upon the problems of their own work, and plan for the extension of the Church among their own people. Action taken by the Convocation would become effective if approved by the Diocesan Council. But Bishop Randolph, the Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese, called attention in his Council addresses in 1888 and 1889 to the fact that this Canon was proving ineffective because the Negro clergy were members of the Diocesan Council and naturally recognized its greater importance, and for that reason neither they nor the congregations had paid any attention to the new Canon. Speaking to a people still having the bitter recollection of the evils of enforced Negro domination in civil and political affairs, he called attention strongly to the danger he foresaw to the Diocesan Council itself of having in its membership a growing number of clergymen belonging to a race untrained in powers of legislation and government.

...

When Bishop Randolph in 1888 and 1889 called attention to the danger of admitting to full membership in the Council an increasing number of Negro clergymen, who, in spite of having received a few years training at the Divinity School, had beyond that no cultural background and no inherited experience of self-government, he was stating a condition which might, if certain possible situations should arise, work serious hurt to the Episcopal Church. He feared that in consideration of questions vitally affecting the Doctrines and Liturgy of the Church the final decision might rest with a group of men without sufficient cultural background and experience in

legislation to enable them to enable them to decide wisely and for the best interests of the whole. The action of 1889 segregating the Negro clergy and laity into a Missionary Jurisdiction was as much to protect the Diocesan Council as it was to give the Negroes an opportunity of developing their own work.

...

Within the past five years both Dioceses have restored to the Negro clergyman his right to a seat and vote in the Diocesan Council; and the Diocese of Virginia in 1936 has given to the Negro congregation the same right of lay representation in the Council as the white congregation. The conditions of 1889, and the fears which in that day were very real, have passed away.

Brydon served in a variety of capacities in the Diocese of Virginia through much of the 20th Century up into the 1960s. His posts included Archdeacon of the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction, historiographer of the Diocese and treasurer of the Church Schools.

Archdeacons are appointed by the bishop. Every man who served as Archdeacon of the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction was white. Brydon predecessor was the Rev. John Moncure whose views can be summarized by this statement made at the Annual Council of 1904:

[I have seen evidence that an African American can] fulfill the conditions of Christian manhood, and assume the role in life God had assigned, Not that place in which it shall be his one object to stand on the high social plane of his white brother; not that in which with his white brother he shall be at the front in governmental and civic affairs, but that of the honest worker in the world's great field, whatsoever his hand finding to do, whether in the workshop, on the farm, or in domestic employment, doing with all his might as unto the Lord and not unto men.

“The Negro in Virginia” was authored by The Rev. C. Braxton Bryan, Rector of St. John's Church, Hampton, Virginia. In his 1902 autobiography, retired Virginia Seminary professor The Rev. Joseph Packard reveals a bit about Bryan. In a passage where he argues that freeing slaves did the slaves harm, Packard writes, “John Randolph freed his slaves by will; but made another will later making John C. Bryan, father of Joseph and Rev. C. Braxton Bryan, his heir. These wills were in litigation and finally the will freeing his slaves was established. His brother, Richard Randolph, freed his slaves and settled them on lands near Farmville, Va., but they did not prosper.” Packard also shares with us this view: “A word more as to slavery, which is admirably treated by Edward Ingle in Southern Sidelights, from which I quote, that 'cotton and slavery were introduced into the South within a twelvemonth.' Tobacco and cotton culture prompted England to fasten slavery upon the South, hence the plantation system was formed in order to produce raw material for England, and when England let go the North took hold, so that slavery in America is due to England and New England.” Packard's views on slavery mirrored histories of slavery produced in the early twentieth century United States: blacks were inferior to whites, slaves benefited from the benevolence of slave owners and therefore slavery was not so bad after all.

It is true that “The Negro in Virginia” was read before the Diocese of Southern Virginia and not the Diocese of Virginia, but it would be surprising if it did not reflect the views of at least a sizeable minority of the clergy and laity of the Diocese of Virginia a century ago (and not just professor Packard). Whether Episcopalians are ready now to undertake a self-examination of slavery and its legacy, a century ago they were not. We know that some in the diocese today believe the events of the past all sufficiently well known, that there is no need for further self-examination and that to do so only opens up wounds that are healing. Our hope is that many are ready to be a part of this attempt at a more complete confession. We remain mindful, as the example of the Rev. Brydon shows, of the degree to

which we are able to take an object view will always be limited by our own perspectives and shortcomings.

What we report below is largely available in other sources, and we will quote extensively from them. A primary contribution of this report is to pull from these sources information on slavery and racism, and put that information in one place. The result is a more comprehensive and easily accessible picture than has been presented in the past.

What do we mean we were refer to the diocese? A diocese includes its bishops, clergy, lay representatives annual council and all laity. It includes the parishes, church schools, and other institutions that belong to the diocese. Because authority, unlike in the Roman Catholic Church, is dispersed, major action requires a balancing act. The bishop cannot simply issue orders and dispense penalties. Our accomplishments and failures are shared.

The geographic boundaries of The Diocese have changed over time. Our study is not confined to the present-day boundaries of The Diocese; it follows The Diocese from its beginnings as coincident with the boundaries of the colony of Virginia, its post-colonial formation coincident with the state of Virginia, and the changes in its boundaries with the creation of the Diocese of West Virginia, and the Diocese of Southern Virginia.

Following is the list of topics covered by this study incorporated into a timeline beginning in 1916 and extending to the present. Each topic is noted at what seems to us an appropriate point in the timeline. A more detailed discussion of each topic follows the timeline.

1. The church of England in Colonial Virginia – 1619-1785
2. The Diocese of Virginia – 1785-1860
3. The education of slaves and the role of the diocese, for good and ill.
4. The Civil War and The Episcopal Church of the Confederate States of America
5. The diocese's immediate post Civil War relationship with blacks
6. The division of diocese and the small number of blacks left in the Diocese of Virginia
7. The diocese becomes Jim Crow. The Sewanee Plan, Colored Missionary Jurisdiction of the Diocese, white oversight of white-created jurisdiction and negro schools of the diocese, segregation and formal institutionalized second class citizenship in the diocese, the mix of neglect of evangelism of blacks complemented the disincentives to join a white-controlled organization that was content for black Episcopalians to be dependent and fearful of giving them real power.
8. World War II, communism and its challenge to America's claim to be a country of freedom and equality. The diocese removes all references to race in its Constitutions and Canons, believes that is the end of inequality in the councils of the church. Blacks are a voiceless minority.
9. Whites make decisions concerning black churches and Bishop Payne Divinity School.
10. Brown v. The Board and Massive Resistance. VTS integrated. Against this background Shrine Mont and Roslyn boards voluntarily end defacto segregation, including coed teen camps. Annual Council objects. Racial Study Commission, including a minority of blacks, charged with investigating how this occurred, and to examine larger questions of racial co-existence.
11. Church schools benefit from white flight. Bishop maneuvers removal of barriers to acceptance

of black students. Church schools very slowly integrated. A common view of sympathetic whites is that progress is made working behind the scenes to avoid white backlash.

12. In 1980s and early 90s the bishop forms an integrated Committee on Race Relations. Blacks for the first time are elected to the higher councils of the diocese.

A TIMELINE INTEGRATING KEY DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY AND THE DIOCESE

(Note well: Important omissions likely exist in this draft. Secular events are italicized.)

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA – 1619-1785

1607 – Jamestown established by the Virginia Company chartered by royal charter. Our denomination is the established church.

1619 – Africans are sold in Virginia as indentured servants. Legal definition of ownership ambiguous.

By 1640 chattel slavery of blacks was institutionalized. Slaves and their offspring bound for life.

1667 – General Assembly (and in 1727 the Bishop of London) clarify that baptism does not alter a slave's status.

1772 – Slavery prohibited in England

1776 – Declaration of Independence

1778 – Virginia prohibits importation of slaves

1779 – Jefferson-sponsored bill prohibiting sex between the races passes Virginia General Assembly.

THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA – 1785-1860

1785 – Diocese of Virginia created

1790-1812 – First bishop of Virginia, James Madison

1791 – Haitian revolution

1793 – Federal Fugitive Slave Act

1804 – Haitian independence

1804 – Absalom Jones ordained

1807 – UK Slavery Trade Act prohibited trade in the British Empire.

1808 – Federal Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves. Occurred at the earliest date allowed by the Constitution.

1814 – Virginia II, The Rt. Rev. James Channing Moore, serves until 1841

1816 – American Colonization Society formed

1820 – Missouri Compromise

1822 – ACS acquires Liberia

1826 – Pennsylvania nullifies Fugitive Slave Act

1829 – Bishop Meade consecrated as assistant bishop.

1831 – Nat Turner slave rebellion in Southampton County, VA

1832 – Legislature of Virginia makes teaching blacks to read a crime

1833 – UK Slavery Abolition Act prohibited slavery in the British Empire colonies with emancipation to be completed by 1840.

1841 – Virginia III, The Rt. Rev. William Meade becomes Virginia's diocesan bishop. He serves until his death in 1862.

1842 – The Rt. Rev. John Johns, D. D., is consecrated and serves as assistant bishop.

1845 – The Methodist Episcopal Church in America splits into northern and southern conferences after Georgia bishop James O. Andrews resists an order that he give up his slaves or quit his bishopric. Similar situations in other denominations, except The Episcopal Church where northern dioceses are reluctant to criticize the South.

1851 – Payne consecrated Bishop of Liberia.

1853 – Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin in which she criticizes Bishop Meade's instructions to slaves.

1857 – Dred Scott decision

THE EDUCATION OF SLAVES AND THE ROLE OF THE DIOCESE – FOR GOOD AND ILL/.THE CIVIL WAR AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

1860 – B&G - A committee chaired by Johns in 1860 declared the diocese's attempts to provide religious instruction to Virginia's black population "a failure," contrasting Episcopalians' work unfavorably with the successes of Virginia Baptists and Methodists. Even St. Philip's had its limitations. Diocesan canons made no provision for electing vestries to serve "colored" churches, so members of local white vestries became the leaders of black parishes.

1861 – Civil War begins, before then “a Union man”; Bishop Meade supports the state's succession in the strongest terms.

1862 – Episcopal Church of the CSA formed

1862 – Death of Meade. Virginia IV, The Rt. Rev. John Johns, D. D., becomes the diocesan.

1863 – Emancipation Proclamation. Applies to those areas not under Union control.

1865 – Civil War ends

THE DIOCESE’S IMMEDIATE POST-CIVIL WAR RELATIONSHIP WITH BLACKS

1865 – US creates Freedmen's Bureau

1865 – Formation of Protestant Episcopal Freedman’s Commission

1865 – 13th Amendment adopted

1866 – An act of the Virginia General legalized common law marriages among free or enslaved Americans of African descent. The Act was "rendered necessary to meet the abnormal condition that existed among the colored race in consequence of the abolition of Negro slavery in the South as a result of the Civil War. Without this enabling act, slave-marriages which largely obtained among that class of the population were invalid, because, being slaves, the parties were incapable to make any contract, including that of marriage."

1866 – Civil Rights of 1866 enforcing 13th Amendment, banning private discrimination in contracts, real estate transactions.

1866 – Council affirmed creation of “separate and distinct” African American congregations.

1868 – 14th Amendment adopted. Its Citizenship Clause overruled the Dred Scott decision.

1870 – 15th Amendment intended to protect the right of blacks to vote.

1870 – Virginia Statute prohibited white and black children from being taught in the same school.

1873 – Miscegenation in State Code

1876 – Johns dies. Virginia V Bishop Whittle consecrated.

THE DIVISION OF DIOCESE AND THE SMALL NUMBER OF BLACKS LEFT IN THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

1877 – Diocese of West Virginia created.

1877 – Period of Reconstruction officially ends federally. It ended in Virginia in 1870. Republicans were in power only during the period of Army rule, 1867-1869.

1878 – First black deacon ordained – John H. M. Pollard, privately prepared for deacon's orders and ordained with the class at the Virginia Seminary in 1878

1880 – 220 black communicants in the diocese

1882 – First black priest ordained - Thomas White Cain, deacon December 21 1879 by Whittle, priest 1882 by Whittle.

1882 – A canon was adopted “Of Mission Churches”, under which a Negro congregation might organize with its own Vestry, as of right, and not on sufferance, and administer its own affairs; but a Mission Congregation had no right of lay representation in the Council.

1883 – Whittle announces to Council that a conference of Southern Dioceses will meet. This conference produces the Sewanee Plan to maintain a color line in order that black bishops would only serves other blacks.

1883 – Supreme Court Civil Rights Cases. The Court invalidated virtually all Congressional attempts to outlaw racial discrimination by private persons.

1884 – Bishop Payne Divinity School formed.

188? – First graduate of Bishop Payne Divinity School - The Rev. John Wesley Johnson, later of New York, but then the first graduate of that institution and the pastor of St. Philips Church, Richmond, Va., in addition to his pastoral work, was appointed a professor in the institution [in 1890].

1886 – Diocesan canon creating Colored Missionary Jurisdiction.

1889 – Diocese noted the CMJ was ignored. Passed canon to exclude black clergy and parishes from Annual Council. CMJ allowed to elect 2 clergy and 2 lay representatives to Council, but they could only vote on matters involving race.

1892 – Before division of the diocese: 1,304 communicants and 11 ministers with two vacancies in the clerical rank

1892 – The diocese divides into the Diocese of Virginia and the Diocese of Southern Virginia. Regarding blacks, In Southern Virginia, 10 clergymen, 18 congregations, and 1,156 communicants. In Virginia, 2 clergymen, 3 congregations, and 148 communicants.

1892 – The Rev. Robert Atkinson Gibson consecrated Bishop Coadjutor

THE DIOCESE BECOMES JIM CROW. THE SEWANEE PLAN, COLORED MISSIONARY JURISDICTION OF THE DIOCESE, WHITE OVERSIGHT OF WHITE-CREATED JURISDICTION AND NEGRO SCHOOLS OF THE DIOCESE, SEGREGATION AND FORMAL INSTITUTIONALIZED SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP IN THE DIOCESE, THE MIX OF NEGLECT OF EVANGELISM OF BLACKS COMPLEMENTED THE DISINCENTIVES TO JOIN A WHITE-CONTROLLED ORGANIZATION THAT WAS CONTENT FOR BLACK EPISCOPALIANS TO BE DEPENDENT AND FEARFUL OF

GIVING THEM REAL POWER.

1893 – As the dioceses worked out an asset division based on membership, the Diocese of Virginia proposed a ratio based on white members only. The Diocese of Southern Virginia insisted on a ratio based on all Episcopalians, regardless of race.

1900 – Railroads [Virginia Statute] Railroads required to offer separate cars for white and colored passengers. Conductors given the authority to judge the race of each passenger if a passenger refuses to disclose his race.

1901 – Brydon, 1937 - The first movement of new life [in the diocese's interest in black evangelism] came with the appointment of the Rev. John Moncure, D. D., as City Missionary of Richmond, and first Archdeacon of the Colored Work, on June 1, 1901. [Bishop Robert Gibson's] interest in the revival of the work among the Negroes led to the appointment of Archdeacon Moncure and that interest was continued until his death in 1919.

1902 – Education [Virginia Constitution] Mixed schools prohibited. White and colored children not allowed to be taught in the same school.

1902 – Bishop Whittle's death. Virginia VI, Bishop Robert Atkinson Gibson.

1903 – The diocese decided to reorganize its work among African Americans in 1903, with the appointment of Archdeacon for Colored Work John Moncure.

1904 – The diocese felt free to intervene in black congregational life. The Diocesan Missionary Society paid the salaries of black ministers and partly subsidized or fully paid salaries for teachers in several of the parish schools. Because the missionary society paid the salaries, it could, and did, reassign clergy members. In 1904, Bishop Gibson took direct control of St. Philip's Church and replaced its vestry with a board consisting of himself, Archdeacon Moncure, and John L. Williams, "a constant and generous friend of the church." St. Philip's, with 173 communicants was the largest congregation of blacks in the diocese, but it had been without a rector for some time, and the congregation was deeply in debt. Not until 1914 was St. Philip's permitted to again elect its own vestry. (Bond & Gunderson)

1905 - "Negro Communed at St. Paul's Church." Richmond Times Dispatch, April 16, 1905. General Lee demonstrates how to conduct yourself as if the man was not there.

1909 – The diocese finally implemented the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction (CMJ) that had existed mostly on paper since 1886.

1910 - Statistics from the parish reports are partial but suggest the diocese had 178-200 black communicants in 1900. After a decade of focus, the diocese had doubled the number of African American communicants and had gone from two black ministers to four.

1910 – Great Migration of blacks from the South to the North. Escaping oppression, seeking economic opportunity.

1912 – Residential [Virginia Statute] This act, noting that "the preservation of the public morals, public health and public order, in the cities and towns of this commonwealth is endangered by the residence of white and colored people in close proximity to one another," authorized cities and towns that adopted the provision, to be divided into districts known as "Segregation districts."

1912 – Moncure dies attempting to save a black boy from drowning.

1914 – Brydon becomes Archdeacon of the CMJ

1917 – There was something symbolic in the fact that black churches and institutions often bore the names of white ministers: Bishop Payne Divinity School, John Moncure High School, Meade Memorial Chapel. The naming of Osgood Memorial Mission is illustrative. Originally opened in Richmond as Churchill Gibson Memorial Mission in 1917 with a lay reader from St. Philip's providing services, it was named for Bishop Gibson's father, the longtime rector of Grace Episcopal in Petersburg who had worked with African Americans to found St. Stephen's. Two years later, Gibson Memorial Mission had outgrown its original quarters, and with Bishop Gibson dead, the name of the mission was changed to St. Cyprian's. With its original lay reader now ordained and serving as priest, the mission moved to larger

quarters when it acquired the parish building vacated by St. Luke's Church, a transaction aided by the rector of St. Philip's and two archdeacons, the Reverends E. E. Osgood and George MacLaren Brydon. Osgood died in 1923, and when the black mission moved into St. Luke's, it took the name Osgood Memorial Mission. Thus in less than a decade the church had three names, two of them commemorating white members of the clergy. (Bond & Gunderson)

1918- Histories of slavery in the first half of the twentieth century were that blacks were inferior to whites, that races should be separated, and that therefore slavery was not so bad after all. This perspective is best typified by Ulrich B. Phillips's American Negro Slavery (1918).

1919 – Death of Bishop Gibson. Virginia VII (1919-1926) William Cabell Brown (consecrated Bishop Coadjutor in 1914).

1920 – Creation of Church Schools Corporation with Bishop of Virginia as president of the board of trustees. White schools.

1926 – 1926 – Virginia VIII (1926-1943) Bishop Brown was succeeded by the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker

1930 – Public accommodation [Virginia State Code] Required segregation in every theater, movie theater, opera house or other place of public entertainment which accepts both white and colored audiences.

1930 – Race classification [Virginia State Code] Classified "Negro" as any person with Negro blood.

1930 – Miscegenation [Virginia Constitution] Originally entitled "A bill to preserve the integrity of the white race," tightened miscegenation provisions. The definition of "whiteness" was narrowed to state "no trace whatever" of non-white blood allowed. Nullified interracial marriage if parties went to another jurisdiction where such marriages were legal. For the first time Virginia prohibited marriage between whites and Asians and other non-white non-Negroes. Penalty: Felony for both parties if found guilty. Punishable by confinement in the penitentiary for between one and five years.

1930 – Education [Virginia State Code] Required racially segregated schools.

1930 – According to Brydon (1937) duties and responsibilities of the Archdeacon of the Colored Work assumed by the newly-consecrated Bishop Coadjutor, Rt. Rev. Frederic D. Goodwin, D. D., yet Brydon seems to have retained the position into later years (see 1939 below).

1931 – Council passed, by an "almost unanimous" vote, a constitutional amendment restoring the right of all black members of the clergy who met the residency requirement to a seat and vote in the council. That body completed the amendment process in 1932 at a special convention called because of the financial crisis. The vote was 129 to 20. Thus the six black priests serving seventeen missions with 637 communicants would no longer have to choose just two of their number to vote at the diocesan council.

1936 – Negro congregations obtain the same right of lay representation in the Council as white congregations.

1937 – Bishop Tucker elected Presiding Bishop. (First to be elected, formerly the PB was the most senior bishop. PB position became increasingly full time.)

1937 – The council admitted St. Philip's Church to full membership, thus giving it the right to send lay deputies of its own. That same year, the diocese added the Colored Convocation to the list of regional convocations. This gave the convocation a seat and vote on the executive committee of the missionary society.

1938 - Moncure was the premier school for blacks in the diocese, with over 100 students including five boarders in 1938. It was the only high school for blacks in its area. A 1938 report on the black schools of the diocese was blunt in outlining their substantial flaws.

1939 – With Archdeacon George MacLaren Brydon in poor health, the council approved the idea of appointing an African American priest as a missionary. In Brydon's absence, the secretary of the Board of Colored Work (the Rev. Aston Hamilton) and the president of the Colored Convocation (the Rev. Thomas D. Brown), both black members of the clergy, gave the reports to the council on work among African Americans. By 1940 when Brown reported to the council, he had been named associate archdeacon for Colored Work. The diocese had finally allowed African American ministers into the

leadership circles, although still in subordinate positions. (Bond & Gunderson)

1943 – Presiding Bishop could no longer serve a dual role as a diocesan. Bishop Tucker no longer diocesan.

1944 – Virginia IX (1944-1960) Bishop Goodwin

1945 – V-E Day, May 8, 1945

WORLD WAR II, COMMUNISM AND ITS CHALLENGE TO AMERICA'S CLAIM TO BE A COUNTRY OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY. THE DIOCESE REMOVES ALL REFERENCES TO RACE IN ITS CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS, BELIEVES THAT IS THE END OF INEQUALITY IN THE COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH. BLACKS ARE A VOICELESS MINORITY.

1946 – Black Churchmen in Southern Virginia Granted Voting Rights

1947 – Communists seize power in Poland.

1948 – Berlin Airlift begins

1948 – On July 26, 1948, Truman President signed an executive order integrating the military and mandating equality of treatment and opportunity. It also made it illegal under military law to make a racist remark.

1949 – (B&G) In 1949 the diocese took what Bishop Goodwin thought of as the last necessary step. After consulting with the Colored Convocation and having its unanimous support, the diocese erased all mention of race and the convocation from its constitution and canons. The vote was 79 to 18 among the laity and 77 to 1 among the clergy.

1949 - Woman's Auxiliary elects the president of its branch at St. Philip's as one of its delegates to the auxiliary's national triennial meeting in San Francisco.

1949 – Bishop Payne Divinity School Closes [Check date, see 1951 below – distinction between “temporary” closing and merger?]

1949 – North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) established; Soviet Union explodes its first atomic bomb; Communists win Chinese Civil War; U.S. and other U.N. members fight North Korean forces.

1950 – Voting rights [Virginia State Code] Required electors to pay poll tax.

1950 – Health Care [Virginia State Code] Establishment of separate hospitals for colored insane and epileptic patients.

1951 – NAACP files Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia, et al., one of the cases eventually consolidated as Brown v. Board of Education

WHITES MAKE DECISIONS CONCERNING BLACK CHURCHES AND BISHOP PAYNE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

1951 – John Walker is admitted as the First African American Student to Attend Virginia Theological Seminary

1951 – When the Bishop Payne trustees learned that there would be an African American among the new students at VTS in fall 1951, they began the formal process of merging with the seminary.

1952 – General Convention Adopts Resolution on Racial Discrimination: “[w]e consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form, both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally.” A survey sponsored by the Church’s Department of Christian Social Relations showed, however, that Episcopalians generally favored a “moderate” approach to issues of racism and that 27 percent of the laity were not opposed to segregation within the Church.

1954 – 10 days before the Brown decision the Roman Catholic bishop in Virginia (Bishop Ireton) announces schools in the Catholic diocese will integrate regardless of what the Supreme Court decides.

1954 – Brown v. Board Supreme Court school desegregation ruling. State of Virginia begins development of Massive Resistance strategy.

BROWN V. THE BOARD AND MASSIVE RESISTANCE. VTS INTEGRATED. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND SHRINE MONT AND ROSLYN BOARDS VOLUNTARILY END DEFACTO SEGREGATION, INCLUDING COED TEEN CAMPS. ANNUAL COUNCIL OBJECTS. RACIAL STUDY COMMISSION, INCLUDING A MINORITY OF BLACKS, CHARGED WITH INVESTIGATING HOW THIS OCCURRED, AND TO EXAMINE LARGER QUESTIONS OF RACIAL CO-EXISTENCE.

13. Church schools benefit from white flight. Bishop maneuvers removal of barriers to acceptance of black students. Church schools very slowly integrated. A common view of sympathetic whites is that progress is made working behind the scenes to avoid white backlash.

1954 – [Wade H. Morris, Jr. (2009)] In June 1954, a 28-year-old Episcopal priest in Mississippi, Duncan M. Gray, Jr., authored the first Episcopal Diocesan response to the court-ordered desegregation of public schools. He did so under the authority of the Bishop of Mississippi, who also happened to be his father. “The Court’s ruling is more than a matter of law and order, it has to do with the will of God and the welfare and destiny of human beings,” Gray wrote. “[Based on] religious faith and democratic principles, the Court’s decision is just, right, and necessary.” Less than a year later, in 1955, the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Arthur Lichtenberger, pushed the General Convention to adopt Gray’s language as the Church’s official stance to court-ordered integration. “Social discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God,” the 1955 General Convention of the Episcopal Church resolved.

1955 – Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia, February 24, 1955. No bishops present. It was moved, seconded, and carried, that a committee be appointed to work with the [school deans?] on a statement on the segregation situation and report back to a special meeting of this Board before the meeting of Convention (Council).”

1955 – Church Schools - B&G - With Gibson as chair, the Church Schools board of trustees adopted a policy in 1955 that based admissions decisions on what was good for both the child and the school but required a vote of the trustees for admission of students from "unprecedented" groups. Never mentioning race, the policy noted that the schools needed to treat "impartially" all members of the diocese. Church schools grew as white students transferred to private schools during Virginia's massive resistance years, reinforcing the desire of trustees at individual schools not to seek integration. [Chilton adds: By this move Gibson had deftly cemented the authority of the board to overrule admission decisions of the schools should they use race to deny admission.]

1955 – Brown II desegregation decision: “all deliberate speed”

1955 – Diocese's Department of Christian Education decides 1956 Family Conference at Shrine Mont will be integrated. Clergy asked to inform applicants. Shrine Mont around this time hosted annual coed teen conference from the Diocese of Washington.

1955 – Annual Council informed that Roslyn Trustees will be requested “to review and revise their policy under which racially integrated overnight conference privileges are extended to all groups except youth groups.”

1955 – Roslyn Trustees adopt resolution to integrate pre-college age camps. [CRP]

1955 – (Shrine Mont Commission minutes, December 15, 1955. Very faded copy. Secretary, Samuel B. Chilton. Mr. Charles Davison, not a member, was present.) “Racial Question The racial question as it affects Shrine Mont in some of its aspects was discussed. Mr. Moomaw stated that during the

conference period when both the White and the Negro race were present there was no difficulty in any way as far as he knows. He felt there that there was difficulty during the month of August which is now devoted to summer guests.

“Dr. Cleaveland [Diocesan Staff] pointed out there were certain legal aspects involved [John Chilton – It appears he is referring to Virginia laws requiring segregation in hotels, restaurants]. It was moved, seconded and carried that Mr. Davison take this matter up with Mr. H. Merrill Pasco [prominent lawyer and Episcopalian in Richmond. 1966 to 2007, he served as trustee of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia] involved, and report to the [Shrine Mont] Commission.”

1956 – February 25, 1956, Virginia's U.S. Senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. called for what became known as Massive Resistance

1956 – February 27, 1956 Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia. ... There were present Bishop Goodwin, President, and Bishop Gibson...Discussion of Admission Policies

1956 – Executive Secretary of Dept of C.E. Reports “The interracial factor was not the problem anticipated and it was felt by all that the grouping by sexes and age groups [at Roslyn] was better than the old [segregated] plan.” [CRP] [Journal of 161st Annual Council, 1956]

1956 - Race Classification [Virginia State Code] The terms "Negro" and "colored person" were synonymous and included all persons with "any quantum whatever of Negro blood."

1956 - Education [Virginia Statute] Restricted public school funds to "efficient schools," which were defined as racially segregated schools.

1957 – Executive Committee minutes, January. “Race Relations: Mr. Humrickhouse reported that, acting upon the concern expressed by Bishop Goodwin, upon his return from the meeting of the House of Bishops, that there was an apparent break down of communications between the white and Negro races, the Department's Committee on Race Relations was being reactivated and revitalized in its continuing study of this question.” It was at this meeting that Executive Committee is told that state law prevented the integration of St. Anne's Preventorium which served disabled children.

1957 – Civil Rights Act of 1957. End of 82 year period of congressional inactivity in the field. Act created the Civil Rights Commission, but only granted it investigative and reporting powers.

1958 – General Convention supports equal opportunity and House of Bishops Releases Pastoral Letter

The General Convention approved a resolution supporting equal opportunity in education, housing, employment, and public accommodations. The House of Bishops released its pastoral letter on the recent Lambeth Conference, noting that racial tensions in the United States threatened to alienate the good will of other countries. The letter addressed the issue of civil disobedience but neither supported nor renounced its use.

1958 – NAACP victories in court. Federal court orders integration in Warren County, Charlottesville, Norfolk and Arlington.

1958 - Education [Virginia State Code] Upon enrollment of members of both races, schools must close; control transferred to governor.

1958 – Under recently passed school closing law, Governor of Virginia closes schools where school integration is imminent. In September 1958 several schools in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk were about to integrate under court order. They were seized and closed. Some months later the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals overturned the school-closing law.

1958 – (Shrine Mont Commission, December 5) “Dr. Cleaveland stated that in view of the fact that the Shrine Mont Commission never adopted a definite policy as to the inter-racial conferences at Shrine Mont, felt the time had come to for a statement on this subject to be made.” His resolution, if passed, would allow co-ed integrated conferences except for teenagers. “Bishop Goodwin outlined to the meeting what was being done in regard to the racial questions in the Diocese, pointing out that he hoped the forthcoming Council would give their approval for the appointment of a special committee on this subject that would hold monthly meetings and consider questions such as the one here presented and a

number of others facing the Diocese. In view of this, he suggested that action on the present resolution be postponed until a later date....” Cleaveland asked that his statement be recorded in the minutes and it was.

1959 – Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU) Forms

This unofficial church organization was formed to promote acceptance of the Church's policies of racial inclusiveness. John B. Morris was named Executive Director, and the group established a national office in Atlanta, Georgia. By August 1960, more than 1,000 Episcopal clergy and laity were members of ESCRU.

1959 - After Virginia's school-closing law was ruled unconstitutional in January 1959, the General Assembly repealed the compulsory school attendance law and made the operation of public schools a local option for the state's counties and cities. Schools that had been closed in Front Royal, Norfolk, and Charlottesville reopened because citizens there preferred integrated schools to none at all. It was not so Prince Edward County.

1959 – From Bishop Goodwin's pastoral address to Council. “One final matter we must deal with: the problem of race relations in the life and work of the Diocese. Three years ago we dealt at length with the historical approach, showing how from the earliest days of the Colony until today the Church has always had a genuine sense of responsibility and fellowship for our Colored members. ... But one could not be so naïve as to assume that a few pious words or hopes can do much to alleviate our present disagreements and tensions overnight. They are honest disagreements, and points of view are far apart. This is true not only in our political approach to the school question, for example, but it is also true in some matters with the broad range of diocesan activities, such as Church Schools and the use of conference centers. Certain communications have been received by the Council and by the Bishops that reveal this wide yet honest difference of opinion. ... As far back as October of last year the Executive Committee was concerned as to how this Council might constructively and fairly give consideration to the petitions and resolutions that would come before us, expressing widely divergent ideas. The problems were so great, the time so short. After careful consideration, and through serious committee meetings, a plan has been evolved which for Executive Committee I now have the privilege of presenting to you as their unanimous recommendation, and which I most sincerely commend to you for your consideration and I hope for adoption.” [END OF ADDRESS]

1959 – Council passes Executive Council's resolution to create a Racial Study Commission. The bishop appoints 30 members; 3 are black.

1959 – Department of Christian Education report reminds Council that it had been kept informed of integration of Camps and Conference Centers, contrary to opinion of some members of Council.

1960 – Racial Study Commission states: “We have found there are deep divisions among us about the desegregation of Diocesan Camps and Conferences... we recommend that both segregated and desecrated camps be provided... This recommendation is motivated by a genuine concern for all of the children of the Diocese.”

1960 -Athletics [Virginia Statute] "...no athletic team of any school shall engage in any athletic contest of any nature within the state of Virginia with another team on which persons of any other race are members."

1961 – Virginia X (1961-1974) - In 1954, Bishop Gibson [no relation] was elected Bishop Coadjutor and, when Bishop Goodwin retired, he became tenth Bishop of Virginia on January 1, 1961.

CHURCH SCHOOLS BENEFIT FROM WHITE FLIGHT. BISHOP MANUVEURS REMOVAL OF BARRIERS TO ACCEPTANCE OF BLACK STUDENTS. CHURCH SCHOOLS VERY SLOWLY INTEGRATED. A COMMON VIEW OF SYMPATHETIC WHITES IS THAT PROGRESS IS MADE WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO AVOID WHITE BACKLASH

1961 – B&G - integration came to the schools in the form of a very qualified applicant who wanted to attend St. Stephen's School in Alexandria, his application supported by a recommendation from a senior black clergyman. The school's board voted against admission 7 to 6, but the Church Schools board overruled it in a 14 to 9 vote. Both Bishops Gibson and Goodwin (retired) were in attendance for the latter vote and supported admission. [Trustees in opposition requested their opposition be noted in the minutes.] In 1962 the St. Catherine's board voted to put an African American applicant on the school's waiting list and stood firm despite angry protests by parents of other students. That student eventually went to a New England school that offered her a scholarship. [Chilton: Our church schools lagged northern schools in using scholarships to attract African Americans.]

1963 – MLK's Letter from a Birmingham Jail, Apr 16, 1963

1964 – June 1964 Virginia Churchman - Shrine Mont, Work Camp, (Jr. and Sr. High School) co-ed, Appalachian Trail Camp co-ed, St. George's and Roslyn both offered only separate boys and girls sessions [St. George's went co-ed in 1970 (check date). There is no evidence that the diocesan church camps followed the recommendation of the Racial Study Commission that segregated camps be offered.]

1964 – July Virginia Churchman - Bishop Goodwin's column: “I know nothing in Holy Scripture or in the revelation of Jesus Christ which promises a perfect society this side of the Second Coming, this side of the consummation of God's purpose on this earth. But many present day Christian activists seem to think they can create it by demonstrations, pressure and law. All of these have their importance and value; but understanding Christians should not expect more than God promises.”

1967 – Loving v. Virginia. Supreme Court declared Virginia's anti-miscegenation statute, the "Racial Integrity Act of 1924", unconstitutional, thereby overturning Pace v. Alabama (1883) and ending all race-based legal restrictions on marriage.

1968 – Council resolution requesting Church Schools use scholarship programs for minorities

1968 – St. Catherine's, St. Agnes, St. Christopher's, and the Episcopal High School [only the last was not part of the Church Schools system] all finally admitted black students in 1968. As late as the 1981-82 school year, however, total African American enrollment at the diocesan schools was only 1.5 percent.

1966 – ESCRU Charges the Church with Heresy for Continued Racism

1968 – April 4, 1968 assassination of MLK

1968 – Riots in Washington, D.C. Riots or civil unrest in 110 cities.

1969 – B&G - In 1961, the Episcopal Church Women (ECW) (the renamed and reorganized Woman's Auxiliary) was chagrined when the Virginia deputies to the General Convention voted against seating women or allowing them on vestries.

1970 – John Burgess of Massachusetts became the first African American diocesan bishop of the Episcopal Church.

1974 – Virginia XI (1974- 1985) The Rt. Rev. Robert Hall. He was rector of a Chicago church at the time.

1976 – Dr. Charles Radford Lawrence, II Elected as President of the General Convention House of Deputies, the third lay person and the first African American to hold the position.

IN 1980S AND EARLY 90S THE BISHOP FORMS AN INTEGRATED COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS. BLACKS FOR THE FIRST TIME ARE ELECTED TO THE HIGHER COUNCILS OF THE DIOCESE.

1985 – Virginia XII (1985- 2009). Bishop Lee. Lee had served a short time as coadjutor when Bishop Hall died.

1987 – 192nd Annual Council “Report of the Commission on Race Relations (formerly the Committee on Race – COR)” - “Throughout 1986, the COR, and more recently the Commission on Race Relations (CORR), continued to pursue the agenda which was established with the presentation and adoption of twelve (12) specific recommendations during the 189th Annual Council. [Just to give one example] Item Action: Evaluation of Diocesan personnel policies/establish goals; Report Date: 1st Qtr 85; Action Unit: Secretary of the Diocese; Status as of 11/86: Evaluation has not been reported to COR. Goals for hiring minorities not yet established. ”

1988 – Maurice Spraggins on Executive Board, Class of 1991

1988 – Annual Council, Commission on Race Relations report - “The year 1987 has proven to be a year of transition for the CORR. The primary goal for the year was to complete all outstanding actions related to the 12 recommendations adopted during the 189th Annual Council. The Commission worked diligently to ... close the book on what has proven to be a difficult three-year task.”

1990 – Annual Council, Committee on Race Relations report - “... experienced a year of diverse challenges and defeats. [?what were they?, little said about ...] The feedback from the Chairs of our diocesan committees and commissions has shown a great need for diversity within these bodies.”

1991 – Committee on Race Relations report to Council: “We have achieved limited success, and have concluded the celebration of diversity can be neither legislated nor even recommended by a committee of the diocese. Because racism can be eliminated (or, at the very minimum, addressed) only when it is acknowledged, and because we are experiencing more failures than successes at acknowledging it, we were compelled to return to the Executive Board and ask for a new charge....”

1992 – Maurice Spraggins elected to Standing Committee, Class of 1994

1993 – “A Survey in the Diocese of Virginia: Race and Ethnic Relations in the Episcopal Church”. Survey conducted at Council.

1993 – [from Diocese's website history] In January 1992, Bishop Lee called for the election of two suffragan bishops, and the Annual Council of the Diocese affirmed his vision for a "college of bishops" who would begin working together just before Bishop Atkinson's planned retirement. The Bishop appointed a Nominating Committee in the summer of 1992, and they presented a slate of three women and four men to the Diocese following the Annual Council of 1993. On May 1, the Diocese made history when, during a special council held at Virginia Seminary, delegates elected not one, but two men in surprisingly short order, including the first African American ever elected to the episcopate in Virginia. ... The Diocese's joy over Campbell's election, however, was short lived. Soon after his election, charges of misconduct were brought against him. Though the charges were never proven, an investigation and subsequent complaints left serious questions

in the minds of many Virginians about Canon Campbell's judgment. On November 4, 1993, he resigned his election and was later called to serve a church in the Diocese of Texas.

1994 - "The Sin of Racism" a pastoral letter for the House of Bishops.

1994 – COR/CORR begins [check year] several years of bringing the program "Racism: It's Everybody's Problem" to churches in Regions across the diocese. Reception is uneven.

1995 – Joseph Royster, Standing Committee, Class of 1998

1999 – Publication of "A History of Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia" by The Rev. John Page Williams, Dean of the Church Schools from 1951 to 1975. Includes an Appendix "The Integration of the Church Schools in the Diocese of Virginia, 1954-1968" that has this footnote: "In view of the many changes of attitudes during the past thirty years, it has seemed fairer to avoid names of most of the participants in recounting this long overdue and still incomplete reform."

2006 – General Convention passes A123

200_ – Race Relations Committee revived

2009 – Virginia XIII - Coadjutor Shannon Johnston becomes diocesan.

2009 – General Convention passes A143, defunds National Church anti-racism office as part of budget cutting.

2009 – Beblon Parks appointed ECW president

2011 – Joseph Royster elected alternate to 2012 General Convention

On-going – Triangle of Hope relationship with Diocese of Liverpool: Countering the Triangle of Dispair (the slave trade triangle: Africa, the Americas, the United Kingdom)

[A more detailed discussion follows.]

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA – 1619-1785

In 2007, Edward L. Bond and Joan R. Gundersen published a history **commissioned** by the diocese, *The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007*. Bond & Gunderson tell us,

As England's established church, the Church of England accompanied the settlers to North America, and when they successfully planted a colony at Jamestown in 1607, the church was a necessary part of the venture. The first charters granted to the Virginia Company of London, just like those awarded to a series of other English colonial endeavors in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, assumed this fact and instructed settlers to abide by the practices of the English Church "in all fundamental pointes." As one historian of the Church of England in early America put it, these royal charters obligated English colonists "to propagate and support the polity, doctrine, and traditions of the national church."

...

By 1619 the colony was moving toward permanence. Virginians had discovered a profitable cash crop in tobacco, and the company had begun recruiting women of marriageable age to transport to the colony. An increasing population and the creation of the General Assembly embodying a limited degree of self-government offered further evidence of a society approaching stability. All of these changes had implications for the church. Meeting as an administrative arm of the Virginia Company of London, the colony's General Assembly convened for the first time in 1619 and during that session passed a series of laws designed to help the

church carry out both its civil and religious functions. Most of the laws touching religion passed by the General Assembly during the years of the company were limited in scope, primarily addressing governance of the clergy and the discipline of individuals who violated God's moral laws. The vast majority resemble instructions a bishop might give his clergy. ...

In that same year, 1619, the enslavement of Africans had its beginning in the English colonies of North America in when 20 Africans were landed and sold in Jamestown. There was slavery of Africans in English Barbados as early as 1616; slavery of Africans by Europeans in the colonies of the Americas began in the 1550s in the Portuguese sugar plantations in Brazil.

The Church had the authority to punish sinners. For example, "The first General Assembly to meet in Virginia passed a law requiring of every citizen attendance at divine services on Sunday. The penalty imposed for a failure to be present was not at this time so severe as during the arbitrary rule of Argoll; if the delinquent was a freeman, he was to be compelled to pay three shillings for each offence, to be devoted to the church; and should he be a slave, he was to be sentenced to be whipped." (P. A. Bruce, 1910). However, sale or ownership of human flesh was not on par with missing church. There is no evidence that the Church objected, this at a time when the Church did publicly punish sinners. There is some evidence that the Church did seek to convert Africans to Christianity. The first black infant baptism occurred in Virginia in 1623. But, the law requiring church attendance notwithstanding, the fragmentary evidence from church records of the time suggest evangelism of slaves to Christianity was tepid.

Initially Africans in Virginia had the same legal status as white indentured servants who worked off their obligations by serving a fixed term of years. In the early 1600s roughly three quarters of white settlers were indentured servants. As many as three quarters of those died before their service was completed, and if you did you complete your service you looked forward to a life of poverty.

Africans were considered to be better adapted to survival in the Virginia climate. And white indentured servants very often escaped before their indenture was served. Both factors established a preference for Africans over white servants.

By 1640 a series laws had created chattel slavery. Africans and their descendents were the property of their owners for life.

As the white population of the colony of grew, the trans-Atlantic importation of African slaves grew quickly. Documentation is incomplete, but we know, for example, that between 1698 and 1774 alone about the purchase of 100,000 slaves took place from ships along the major rivers of the colony. By 1790 half of the 750,000 slaves in the United States lived in Maryland and Virginia; these numbers remind us that generations of children were born into slavery.

In 1778 the Commonwealth of Virginia banned the importation of African slaves, thirty years before the 1808 federal law banning importation of slaves from abroad. Thus, interpreted narrowly, since it was not organized until 1785, in the Diocese of Virginia there are no "instances where 'they were complicit in or profited from the institution of Transatlantic Slavery'" (quoting from the explanation with 2009-A143) since it did not exist at the time. The church was no longer the established church. What we can say is that it was the state, not the church that ended the trans-Atlantic tr

Indeed, those in power at the time punished the church for its prior status. During the early post-colonial period the state of Virginia took possession of church property, including church buildings and glebe land, reducing the legacy benefits of having been the established church of a colony fueled by slave labor. The Diocese objected implying that the Diocese was tracing its beginnings to the establishment of the church in Jamestown in 1607, just as it does today.

Where were the bishops when slavery was first institutionalized? There are two answers. First, the Church of England never provided bishops in residence in Virginia, and the Bishop of London had doubts of his legal authority in the colony. Second, at least one Bishop of London supported slavery.

As for clergy, they depended on the institution of slavery for their livelihood. The colony's agriculture was fueled by slavery and taxed to support the church. In addition, a cure came with glebe land for the support of the clergy. Clergy owned slaves to tend the glebe.

Randle writes,

During the Colonial period, prior to the 1785 organization of the Diocese of Virginia, the Church of England was the established or official church of the colony, and all inhabitants were members by law, regardless of personal preference. Virginia church buildings, like other major structures of the period, were constructed with the assistance of slave labor. Some parishes owned slaves to work the parish glebe lands for the benefit of the parish or the rector. The major benefit to the church from the slave system, however, came through taxes. Parish churches were supported by the parish tax, or levy, not voluntary contributions. A head tax, or "tithe," was paid on white males, as well as "unfree" laborers, male or female, 16 years and older. While the master, not the slave, paid the tax, a large percentage of parish revenue in slaveholding areas was based on slave labor.

In the slave-based economy the interest of the laity was wrapped up in slavery. Even if the clergy had been opposed to slavery, the realities of a clergy shortage meant that the laity ran the church through a vestry system unknown in the Church of England. As is true even today, the accomplishments and failures of the church cannot be blamed just upon its bishops, or its clergy.

As Bond & Gunderson tell it,

A pastoral crisis brought on by the ensuing shortage of clergymen continued until the end of the century. The colony grew rapidly during the middle decades of the seventeenth century and by 1661 boasted a population of nearly 25,000, only ten or twelve of whom were ministers. Virginia's population had more than doubled to 63,000 by 1697, but ministers served only twenty-two of the colony's nearly fifty parishes. [...]

[...] The Church of England in Virginia lacked ecclesiastical leadership as well. No bishop resided in North America during the colonial period. Nor did any English bishop ever make an Episcopal visitation to England's North American possessions. [...]

Faced with twin crises in leadership and pastoral care, the colonial laity began to take a larger role in church governance than traditionally occurred in England, ultimately developing a system that led to lay control of Virginia's Church of England. The colony's General Assembly made laws governing the church, sometimes acting as a diocesan bishop (outlining clerical responsibilities) and at others times as an administrative unit (defining parish boundaries, creating new parishes, and setting ministers' salaries). Local vestries, usually comprising twelve men from wealthy and influential families, directed the day-to-day operations of individual parishes, while colonial governors performed many of the administrative duties reserved for bishops in England.

[...] A dramatic departure occurred, however, in 1642/43 when the legislators established a vestry system, an act that succeeded only after three attempts to settle a bishop in North America had failed, thus forcing lay authorities to create some form of church government. Virginia vestries assumed powers unknown in England, the greatest of which was the right to "elect and make choise of their ministers." [...]

British-born clergymen found the parish vestries even more irritating. Unfamiliar with colonial practices, they balked at colonial innovations they deemed illegitimate. In the minds of some, vestry reluctance to present ministers for induction challenged clerical independence.

The Rev. H. H. Covington, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Norfolk described the colonial church in a paper presented at the Centennial of the Diocesan Missionary Society in 1929. It is consonant with Randle

and Bond & Gunderson in the facts of church governance and dependence of the Church on the system of slavery:

I need not pause to show that the Jamestown settlement was a commercial and political expansion of England. But we shall fail to understand what brought the settlers to Jamestown unless we realize that side by side with these—and of equal importance with them—was the ecclesiastical expansion of England. ... This threefold purpose ... is apparent when we see standing side by side in this enterprise, the merchants of London, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. ...

...

...the second Charter in 1609 ... is specific:

“That the true word, and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted and used, not only within every of the said colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the salvadge people ... according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England.”

...

As each new settlement new settlement with its chapel grew, the bounds of the parish had to be more accurately defined, for the stipends of the clergy were provided by a tax on “tithables.” (The law varied in the definition of a “tithable,” but seems to have been finally fixed to include “all males sixteen years of age, and all negro, mulatto, and Indian women sixteen years of age,” Hening III: 258. [Indians held as slaves, that is.])

...

During practically the entire Colonial period the stipends of the clergy were paid in tobacco—a fixed number of pounds at a fixed valuation. ...

...

...It must be remembered that the Church in Virginia lived under the “Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical” of the Church of England....

...

... In Colonial days a clergyman had to have a “license” for the Bishop of London before he could be called to a parish in Virginia. ... vestries often resorted to the plan of employing a minister from year to year. It made for insecurity, gave ground for the complaint that the minister was the vestry’s “hired man,” and sometimes gave the vestry the opportunity to as an ecclesiastical court in reviewing the purely ministerial side of a clergyman’s work....

...

This leads naturally to a consideration of the government of the Church during the Colonial period in matters purely ecclesiastical. It was an anomaly. “It was neither Episcopal, nor Presbyterian, nor Congregational, nor yet a compound of the three.” There is an impression that the Bishop of London held ecclesiastical authority in the Colonies. But his title was a very tenuous one. ... Gibson, Bishop of London, questioned his authority, and when the matter was submitted to the Lord Chancellor, the latter replied that the Bishop of London had none. ...

...

... Bruce tells of a law passed in 1619 “requiring all the clergymen in Virginia to come together at Jamestown ...'to determine whom it was fit to excommunicate,' but the names of such persons were to be submitted to the Governor before the act of excommunication could be legally promulgated” (Inst. Hist of Va., I: 13)....

At least notionally denial of the sacraments or excommunication was an option had the Church been inclined to consider holding slaves sinful behavior. It did not.

Whether a life of financial duress explained the paucity of clergy in the 1690s, Brydon (1953) disputed assertions that the clergy of the Diocese a century later lived a life of poverty. In his study of Virginia county tax records Brydon found that “members of this group [of 69 clergymen] owned and paid taxes on 21,801 acres of land, and [at least] 550 slaves. ... These tax returns took no account of slave children under twelve years of age, as they were non-taxable.” Further, “The Church in Virginia followed the English custom that a clergyman must not perform manual labor. The incumbent minister of a parish must perforce secure labor to carry on the farming operations of his glebe, and for house servants, either by hiring slaves from other owners, or by acquiring slaves of his own.” Thus, the count of 550 slaves among the 69 clergymen understates the true number because it omits children and hired slaves. Note that both black men and women counted for tax purposes while only white men had the right to vote. Inclusion or exclusion of women depended on the interests of those in power.

Apart from their active participation in slavery, many of the clergy did encourage church members to evangelize their slaves. Whatever we may think of evangelizing slaves who had their own religion, the resistance to Christianizing slaves was substantial and based on un-Christian motivations. Again, Bond & Gunderson,

The clergy also struggled with the laity's reluctance to Christianize their slaves, an attitude that crystallized during the 1660s. The first generations of Africans brought to Virginia have been described as "Atlantic creoles ... [who] ... understood the languages of the Atlantic, bore Hispanic and occasionally English names, and were familiar with Christianity and other aspects of European culture," including its laws. These men and women realized that English practice dictated that Christians should not own other Christians as slaves, and when enslaved in Virginia they often sued for their freedom in Virginia's courts on the grounds that they were Christians, frequently winning their cases. This changed in the 1660s as black chattel slavery became law and the colony's General Assembly acted to prevent Christianity from continuing as a means by which slaves might gain their freedom. Some white Virginians resisted Christianizing their slaves even then. One woman thought her bonds people so beastly that religion could have no influence on them. Others believed that Christian slaves would think themselves too much like their white owners and thus refuse to work as hard. [The Bishop of London's Commissioner to the colony the Rev.]James Blair expressed the commonly held belief that slaves only wanted to become Christians because they thought it would lead to their freedom: "I doubt not some of the Negroes are sincere converts; but the far greater part of them little mind the serious part, only are in hopes that they shall meet with so much the more respect, and that some time or other Christianity will help them to their freedom." Others objected to being in the presence of blacks and refused to attend integrated services, especially baptisms. The Rev. Alexander Rhonnald of Elizabeth River Parish in Norfolk County learned that evangelizing among blacks earned him abuse from his white parishioners: "they use Me with the most invidious Terms of Ill nature for my pains, & because I baptise more Negroes than other Brethren here & instruct them, from the Pulpit, out of common road, & encourage the Good among them to come to the Communion, after a due Sense of the matter, I am vilified & branded by such as a Negro Parson "This conflict endured throughout the colonial period.

In her study of slave education, Mary F. Goodwin (1932) quoted from the law regarding baptism: “By 1667 it became necessary for the General Assembly to pass an Act declaring “that the conferring of Baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom; that divers masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament.”

As the proportion of slave to free grew, the white population became concerned with the threat of slave rebellion. That same General Assembly of 1667, while supporting Christianizing slaves, passed a series of laws further repressing an oppressed people. These actions were echoed by actions of the governor

and local authorities. It is important to note that membership in the established church was a prerequisite for political office.

1669

WHEREAS the only law in force for the punishment of refractory servants resisting their master, mistress or overseer cannot be inflicted upon negroes, nor the obstinacy of many of them by other than violent means suppressed, Be it enacted and declared by this grand assembly, if any slave resist his master (or other by his masters order correcting him) and by the extremity of the correction should chance to die, that his death shall not be accounted felony, but the master (or that other person appointed by the master to punish him) be acquitted from molestation, since it cannot be presumed that premeditated malice (which alone makes murder felony) should induce any man to destroy his own estate. (Source: Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large, vol. 2, p. 270.)

1680 – Slaves were prohibited from carrying weapons and leaving their owner's plantations without a pass.

1682 – No master or overseer could permit a slave to remain on his plantation for longer than four hours without the permission of the slave's owner.

1680 – Governor Culpeper informed The Council of Virginia that a planned slave revolt in the Northern Neck had been quashed. The Council partly blamed masters for allowing slaves too much free time on Saturdays and Sundays, enabling them to “meet in great Numbers in making and holding of Funerals for Dead Negroes,” which allegedly allowed the slaves to conspire.

1683

In 1683, the justices of Rappahannock gave the sheriff orders to set a certain offender in the pillory “fast by the neck”; occasionally, when thus placed, the criminal's ear was nailed to the post, and he was not released until that member had been severed from his head; but this was generally done only in the case of a slave who had shown an incorrigible disposition to run away, for such mutilation served as a public advertisement, should he afterwards be found wandering far from his master's plantation. - Bruce, 1910

circa 1688

In several instances, occurring in the Seventeenth century, men were sentenced to the lash who, even in our more lenient age, would have been condemned to death. In these instances, however, the criminals were either servants or slaves, whose labor was so valuable that the court, perhaps on that account, was led to moderate their severity.... A more notable case yet was that of Sam, a negro belonging to Mr. Richard Metcalf, of Westmoreland county. This man had, on several occasions, been detected in promoting an insurrection of the slaves. Having been tried by the General Court sitting at Jamestown, he was, by that body, sentenced to be “whipt at the cart's taylor from the prison round about the towne, and thence to the gallows, and from thence to the prison again.” He was afterwards to be conveyed to Westmoreland, where, at the following term of the county court, he was to be flogged with great severity; an iron collar was then to be placed around his neck, which, during the remainder of his life, he was not to be permitted to discard, under penalty of suffering death; and the punishment of death was also to be inflicted, should he venture to leave his master's plantation. - Bruce, 1910

1690 – Proclamation issued by Governor Nicholson.

... Whereas there are divers good lawes made in England & Va. Restraining the profaining of the Sabbath day ... & amonge the rest of the good & wholesaome lawes are severall acts made for the well ordering of Negroes ... to prevent the rambling about of Negroes (which much frequently happen on the Sabbath day) & against Masters of families & overseers that shall entertaine or them to be on their plantacons. ... Now to the end that the Sabbath day may be kept hole ... that the judgmts of God almighty bee not drawne down upon all heads....

1691– Any white man or woman who married a Negro, mulatto, or Indian was banished from Virginia.

For prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may encrease in the dominion as well by negroes, mulattoes, or woman being free shall intermarry with a negroe, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall ... be banished and removed fro this dominion forever.”

Church leaders of the time persisted in advocating religious education of slaves. Mary Francis Goodwin writes of the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, “We are told he never showed any hesitation when by 'his entreaties or precepts he could hope to urge forward the work of Christian love in behalf of the Negro Slave.' In 1724 he sent out what to-day would be called a questionnaire to all ministers in the colonies relative to the condition of their cures. ... Only those answers relative to the Negro will be noticed here, and from them we see that Negro children were taught with varying degrees of earnestness and success.” And Slaughter (1885) writes, “Gibson, Bishop of London in 1727, made a very powerful appeal to the ministers and people of the Colonies in behalf of the religious education of the negroes.”

We have Gibson's “Letter to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad; exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith.” He begins:

The care of the plantations abroad being committed to the Bishop of London as to religious affairs, I have thought it my duty to make particular inquiries into the state of religion in those parts, and to learn, among other things, what number of slaves are employed within the several governments, and what means are used for their instruction in the Christian faith. I find the numbers are prodigiously great; and am not a little troubled to observe how small a progress has been made in a Christian country, towards the delivering those poor creatures from the pagan darkness and superstition in which they were bred, and the making them partakers of the light of the Gospel, and of the blessings and benefits belonging to it And, which is yet more to be lamented, I find there has not only been very little progress made in the work, but that all attempts towards it have been by too many industriously discouraged and hindered; partly, by magnifying the difficulties of the work beyond what they really are, and partly, by mistaken suggestions of the change which baptism would make in the condition of the negroes to the loss and disadvantage of their masters.

Of significance, because it is representative of the Church's attitude throughout the colonial period, and indeed up until recent times, Gibson begins by stating that the Church's realm is religious affairs and by implication the institution of slavery was part of the secular world, outside the spiritual realm of the Church.

Gibson's choice not to take a position only means, however, that he supports the secular status quo as he demonstrates in his own words:

But it is further pleaded, that the instruction of heathens in the Christian faith is in order to their baptism, and that not only the time to be allowed for instructing them would be an abatement

from the profits of their labor, but also that the baptizing them when instructed, would destroy both the property which the masters have in them as slaves bought with their money, and the right of selling them again at pleasure; and that the making them Christians only makes them less diligent and more ungovernable.

To which it may be very truly replied, that Christianity and the embracing of the Gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property, or in any of the duties which belong to civil relations; but in all these respects it continues persons just in the same state as it found them. The freedom which Christianity gives is a freedom from the bondage of sin and satan, and from the dominion of men's lusts and passions and inordinate desires; but as to their outward condition, whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized and becoming Christians makes no manner of change in it. As St Paul has expressly told us, 1 Cor. vii, 20, where he is speaking directly to this very point, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called;" and at the twenty-fourth verse, "Let every man wherein he is called therein abide with God." And so far is Christianity from discharging men from the duties of the station and condition in which it found them, that it lays them under stronger obligations to perform those duties with the greatest diligence and fidelity, not only from the fear of men, but from a sense of duty to God, and the belief and expectation of a future account. So that to say, that Christianity tends to make men less observant of their duty in any respect, is a reproach that it is very far from deserving, and a reproach that is confuted by the whole tenor of the Gospel precepts, which inculcate upon all, and particularly upon servants, (many of whom were then in the condition of slaves,) a faithful and diligent discharge of the duties belonging to their several stations, out of conscience towards God. And it is also comforted by our own reason, which tells us how much more forcible and constant the restraint of conscience is than the restraint of fear; and last of all, it is confuted by experience, which teaches us the great value of those servants who are truly religious, compared with those who have no sense of religion.

As to their being more ungovernable after baptism than before, it is certain that the Gospel everywhere enjoins, not only diligence and fidelity, but also obedience for conscience' sake; and does not deprive masters of any proper methods of enforcing obedience, where they appear to be necessary. Humanity forbids all cruel and barbarous treatment of our fellow-creatures, and will not suffer us to consider a being that is endowed with reason, upon a level with brutes, and Christianity takes not out of the hands of superiors any degrees of strictness and severity that fairly appear to be necessary for the preserving subjection and government.

THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA – 1785-1860

The Church's attempt to divide the secular from the spiritual was not unique to Gibson or his time, as we shall see.

The dependence of the Church on the tobacco-based economy is highlighted by this passage from Bond & Gunderson:

As a result of the projected shortfall in the tobacco crop in 1755, and the subsequent rise in price that would have followed, the colony's legislature passed a so-called Two Penny Act in an attempt to head off any economic hardships. The law allowed people to pay their debts at 2 pence per pound of tobacco, a price lower than the crop's anticipated per-pound value. Anglican clergymen, who received by statute a set salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, objected to the act. After enduring years of low tobacco prices--like other Virginians--they would now be unable to enjoy the benefits of the current harvest's higher price. The clergy felt singled out for this treatment and sent protests both to the General Assembly and to the bishop of London. When the shortfall failed to materialize, the crisis faded--until 1758, when another tobacco shortfall seemed imminent and the legislature once again passed a Two Penny Act. In the face of this second potential assault, clergymen protested more strenuously in 1758 and 1759, especially ministers from areas where dissenters had significant followings. Clergymen filed lawsuits and sent a representative, the Rev. John Camm, to London to plead their cause. In the end,

Parliament disallowed the law, but the series of events nonetheless left a legacy in Virginia: clergymen felt insecure, and many people, dissenters as well as Anglicans, increasingly came to distrust them because of their complaints about their salaries.

[Nonetheless,] Virginia's Church of England thrived in the 1750s and 1760s. And it did so in a colony that had grown tremendously since its start in Jamestown in 1607, claiming nearly 340,000 residents by 1760, some of whom had begun to settle west of the Allegheny Mountains along the Ohio River. [...] Nor was the life of a colonial minister as difficult as it had been in the seventeenth century; ministers of the established church lived in comfort as part of the middling gentry, supported by an adequate, but not lavish, salary and the income from glebe farms that also ensured them adequate housing.

When counting Episcopalians who have reached the office of President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson is usually included despite his deist views. He was raised in the Church, before the Revolution he was a vestryman and he supported the Church financially. Jefferson was a slaveholder, had children by his slaves and used blackmail to obtain companionship from his slaves. Yet his words in the Declaration of Independence have remained a beacon of universal human rights that ever so slowly have pulled our country in the direction that would make them true: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

Clearly, Jefferson was a man able to live with contradiction. As further evidence consider this 1779 legislation:

A Bill Concerning Slaves enacted by the Virginia General Assembly by Thomas Jefferson, "If any white woman shall have a child by a Negro or mulatto, she and her child shall depart the commonwealth within one year thereafter. If they fail so to do, the woman shall be out of the protection of the laws, and the child shall be bound out by the Aldermen of the county, in like manner as poor orphans are by law directed to be, and within one year after its term of service expired shall depart the commonwealth, or on failure so to do, shall be out of the protection of the laws. No slave shall go from the tenements of his master, or other person with whom he lives, without a pass, or some letter or token whereby it may appear that he is proceeding by authority from his master, employer, or overseer: If he does, it shall be lawful for any person to apprehend and carry him before a Justice of the Peace, to be by his order punished with stripes, or not, in his discretion.

George Washington is claimed by many early Virginia churches as vestryman. At the same time he was the largest slaveholding in Fairfax, owning 188 slaves in 1782. The large slaveholders in Fairfax County in 1782 were predominantly if not entirely members of the Church. Today Episcopalians are second only to Orthodox Jews in denominations ranked by family income. That heritage runs deep. At the time of the Revolution, Anglicans were rapidly becoming the church of the elite. They were opinion leaders, held political office out of proportion to the denominations membership and were economically powerful. In Virginia, they were entrenched in the slave economy.

The U.S. Constitution was adopted in 1789. The first bishop of Virginia, The Rt. Rev. James Madison, was consecrated the following year.

The hierarchical system of the Church may have merits, but it threatened the Church's survival in those early years. Madison was playing many roles besides bishop, the most time-consuming being leading the College of William and Mary. Yet for a hierarchical church to grow required Episcopal leadership in the ordination of new

clergy. Related, Virginians were enticed to join other churches in a free-wheeling marketplace where anyone could start a church, an environment in which a church with establishment roots would have to rethink invent itself in order to survive. Finally, there was backlash against the church in the General Assembly because it had been the establishment church on the public dole and the church of loyalists to the King. Bond and Gunderson:

By 1803 two decades of legal and legislative battles had left Bishop Madison psychologically exhausted, and heart disease had taken a physical toll. [...] Largely as a result, Bishop Madison basically retired in place. He called no conventions after 1805 and made no visitations. When in February 1811 he ordained William Meade and William King as deacons, it had been seven years since his last ordination. Thus the church went into a free-fall in the early nineteenth century while competing denominations experienced rapid growth. In 1799 there were at least fifty-nine parishes with settled ministers. In 1814, when Bishop Richard Channing Moore took up the reins, there were nineteen.

It is conjecture, but what remained of the Church was likely members from the higher stations of society, and that as the church grew under Moore, and, later, Bishop Meade, it drew most heavily from those social strata. As we shall see later, what is clear is that the church's organizational architecture also hampered its ability to attract slaves and former slaves as members. Worse, it was used to restrict their entry into positions of leadership in the Church and whether by intent or not undercut the appeal of The Episcopal Church, particularly in the critical post-Civil War period when blacks were free to choose between denominations or start their own.

Wherever you stand on the complicity of the Diocese before 1790, it owned slavery afterwards. As Randle reports,

While it is clear the Episcopal Church benefited from slavery, documenting the details of the benefits is difficult due to the absence of rich institutional records and the nature of the records that survive. Diocesan records prior to the Civil War are almost non-existent beyond the diocesan Journal. The Archives of the Virginia Theological Seminary contains Board of Trustees minutes for only half of its antebellum existence and a handful of other related documents, while parish records are scattered and incomplete. For evidence of the ways the Episcopal Church's benefited from slavery in Virginia, one must look for answers in government records, scholarly assessments of the economy and records of personal actions.

...

In 1785, the last vestiges of an established church ended in Virginia and the Diocese of Virginia was officially created. Tax support of the church was replaced by voluntary contributions by parishioners. The absence of tax income for parishes, however, did not remove slavery's monetary benefits from the churches, the diocese, or later, the Virginia Theological Seminary, founded in 1823. Historically, Virginia Episcopalians were slave owners, deriving much of their disposable income from the labor of their slaves. Voluntary contributions to parishes, the diocese or the seminary all came from the disposable income either directly produced by slave labor or from the economy based on involuntary servitude. Oral tradition indicates that slaves were donated or willed to various levels of the church in Virginia, but records have yet to be found to document this tradition.

Monies invested by the diocese or the seminary in banks or bonds in Virginia were also intimately connected with the slave economy, raising the same linkage issues as surfaced in the 1980s and 1990s regarding investments in U.S. companies supporting apartheid through their business activities in South Africa. The Virginia economy was based on slavery, so there was no way to benefit from the economy and not benefit from the institution of slavery.

Surviving records do not provide data on parish, diocesan or seminary ownership of slaves. It is known that building contractors included slaves in their construction crews and VTS buildings, and at least some parish churches were built with slave laborers. In addition, many slave owners rented out "extra" slaves to others.

Documents at Mount Vernon from the 1850s record renting slaves to an agent for VTS to work at the seminary.

The ownership of slaves by individuals, however, can be determined through the U.S. Census records. These census records document the slave ownership of the first four bishops of Virginia--James Madison, Richard Channing Moore, William Meade and John Johns, and early professors Edward R. Lippitt, Joseph Packard and Williams Sparrow.

The Episcopal clergy of the Diocese of Virginia were slave owners, as well. Of the 112 Episcopal clergy canonically and physically resident in the Diocese of Virginia in 1860, 103 could be located in the U.S. Census of that year. Eighty-four of the brethren, or 82 percent, possessed at least one slave, while some owned dozens.

In short, the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia could not help but have economic ties to slavery. Involuntary servitude was the basis of Virginia's economy, which ultimately produced the disposable income that supported the church. Episcopalians, both lay and clergy, owned slaves. The Virginia Episcopal Church's economic ties to slavery, both institutional and personal, could end only with the dismantling of the slave system.

In our own analysis of the 1860 Census records, we worked from a list of 113 clergy in the diocese of 1860. Of these 94 were found in the U.S. Census of that year. Of these 94 clergy, 63 owned slaves (or, as the church euphemistically called them, "servants"), a rate of 67%. These clergy owned a total of 488 slaves for an average of 5.2/clergy. The Rev. Cooke of Hanover owned 59 slaves. The Rev. Temple of Essex owned 43. There was one instance of a young rector in Warrenton renting slaves owned by a Virginia Seminary professor. [The same census was conducted in 1850 and results from it could also be obtained.]

One of the many traumas of the trans-Atlantic slave trade was the separation of families. But even with the end of that trade, separation of families continued. Virginia Governor "Light-Horse Harry" Lee observed in 1792 that one reason for slave rebellions was the "practice of severing husband, wife and children in sales." If anything, the end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade increased the separation of slave families in Virginia. The development of the cotton gin increased the demand for slaves in the lower South. Initially that demand was absorbed primarily through importing slaves from abroad. But the federal law of 1808 banned that source, and the interstate traffic in slavery grew. Virginia became a source for slaves transported south. Slaves were a major export crop for Virginians who preferred to view themselves as farmers. To put it crassly, but accurately, slave owners in Virginia bred slaves for sale to the lower South. Anyone in Virginia who owned a slave including the child of a slave had an asset whose value was increased due to that demand.

The Virginia Seminary professor Packard (1902) writes of his perceptions as a recently-transplanted Vermonter beginning studies as a seminarian there in 1843:

When I came to Fairfax County the farms were very large, but the land was generally poor. The negro slaves were numerous, but no one seemed to make money by farming or to care much for making it. ...

Society was then simple and in some respects patriarchal. The head of the house was a man who not only had his household looking up to him, but perhaps one to four hundred slaves, for whom he had to think and provide in many ways. Hugh S. Legar defined feudalism as a scheme of organized anarchy, while the social system of the South on the contrary was both unorganized and conservative. It has been called "patriarchal in its upper stratum and pastoral in its lower one."

...

Virginia had from the first some remarkable characteristics in a financial way. During the seventeenth century, from 1607-1700, there was so little coin in circulation that it might be said that it was not used, tobacco being the currency for everything, from the payment for groceries and goods to the hire of laborers, the fees of lawyer, doctor and minister, the building of houses

and churches. This use of tobacco extended in some measure into the eighteenth century, though coin and notes were then used more largely. But a new element came in, and that was slavery, which affected its financial system.

It is a great mistake to think that the slaves were neglected generally. Being the most valuable property, they were of course well cared for, and I can bear my personal witness to the kindness and care usually shown them. They were kept occupied, but that was necessary for their good, and their work was not often excessive. This is shown by the fact that seldom was money made in Virginia by them; no great fortunes were accumulated, no costly houses were built or handsome furniture bought. There was great abundance of good food, most of which was raised on the place by the industry and oversight of the master and mistress. Most of what was raised was consumed on the farm; seldom was even enough sent off to pay for the goods that were bought. No private or public improvements remain to show any hard labor on the part of the slaves; no good roads, no strong fences, and no public buildings or monuments such as were made by the Israelites in Egypt, were ever contemplated or attempted. Why! Virginia with its immense number of laborers, if they had been worked with system, not to say severity, might be a garden spot, with stone turnpikes through every farm, stone fences and stone barns, instead of its miry, clay roads, its worm fences, and its frame stables.

...

Now, as to the effect of slavery on the financial methods of Virginia, it was this: The slaves formed a large portion of the wealth of the rich and were almost the same as bonds, for they were readily converted into cash on occasion. Hence a man who had such property had good credit with the merchants. The planter could get what supplies he needed year by year, sending down what he had to spare from the farm, and being credited for the rest, and charged from twelve to twenty per cent, more for interest. This might go on for years unless either the merchant or the farmer should die. In that case the sale of a slave or a family or two of slaves would settle the matter. The planters were not used to paying their debts until they died, and it has occurred to me that this was one cause of the financial difficulties in which the State of Virginia was involved. They were not used to settling debts as others were, and hence, though with as high a sense of honor as any people in the world, repudiation and readjustment took place after the war.

It was very uncommon to press a debtor in Virginia. While he lived, few creditors would disturb him by executing a judgment.

Mr. Henry Fairfax once told a friend of mine that old Mr. D, under pressure of debt, was to be sold out by some creditor, not probably of the same county. On the day fixed for the sale Mr. Fairfax rode over to express his sympathy for his old friend, and found him sitting on the lawn before his house with his household goods around him, but there was no one there to bid and the sheriff did not even make his appearance.

To follow Packard's logic, slaves in Virginia had a value, but not because of their value in use in Virginia. They were a good investment for what they could be sold for in the lower or new South. The movement of slaves to the new South bears this out. From 1810-20, 50,000 slaves moved to the new South, from 1820-30 81,000 moved, and 1830-40 163,000 moved. Moreover, those sold south were disproportionately those reaching prime working age and prime fertility. They were young, and the females younger than the males.

Once interstate trade was banned in the District of Columbia, Alexandria became the slave trading hub of the upper South, with Richmond the second largest slave trading city in the state. John Armfield, partner in the largest slave trading company on the continent, Franklin & Armfield, operated from Alexandria. A check of available documents of the time by Julia Randle found no proof he had ties with Episcopalians in Alexandria. The question is of interest; however, because later in life he financed the creation and endowment of the University of the South from the fortune he amassed in the slave trade. It is not know when in his life he acquired it, but at some he did develop an affinity with The Episcopal

Church. Alexandria has not been ruled out.

In Richmond we do have evidence of at least one Episcopalian, Henry Wood Moncure, who slave owners would call a slave trader even if they themselves denied the reality that they, too, were part of the trade. There is no definitive list of who was or was not a Richmond slave trader but Moncure was a partner in Dunlop & Moncure an auction and consignment house located in the same district where the slave trading was concentrated. It is highly likely they were in the slave trade. And there is a Dunlop family record showing that he purchased slaves from his wife's family. Moncure served on the vestry at Monumental Church while Bishop Moore served as rector there, and is one of two wardens who signed the letter calling his replacement as rector.

During the time bishops Moore and Meade served there was a growing believe in and out of the church, that the problem of slavery could be solved by sending blacks, free and slave, to a homeland that would be created for them in Africa. Today the notion seems fanciful. Why would slave owners relinquish their slaves without compensation, and if they were to be compensated who would pay? Yet at the time some took it seriously. Not that their motivations were good ones. Blacks had no say in these plans, little idea of what conditions would be like in this new homeland, and often no say about their "return." (Indeed, as it turned out, conditions in the Liberian experiment for those few survived the trip were far worse than life in America. Many wrote their masters, including Episcopalians, begging to be returned.) From the perspective of its white proponents the notion was like that of those the Free states joining the Union – free meant non-slave, but more precisely free of blacks, not freedom for blacks. [More to come on American Colonization Society and diocese's role in.]

/bookmark/

Narrative to be continued

Among the other topics to be covered (chronological sequence):

14. The education of slaves and the role of the diocese, for good and ill.
15. The Civil War and The Episcopal Church of the Confederate States of America
16. The diocese's immediate post Civil War relationship with blacks
17. The division of diocese and the small number of blacks left in the Diocese of Virginia
18. The diocese becomes Jim Crow. The Sewanee Plan, Colored Missionary Jurisdiction of the Diocese, white oversight of white-created jurisdiction and negro schools of the diocese, segregation and formal institutionalized second class citizenship in the diocese, the mix of neglect of evangelism of blacks complemented the disincentives to join a white-controlled organization that was content for black Episcopalians to be dependent and fearful of giving them real power.
19. World War II, communism and its challenge to America's claim to be a country of freedom and equality. The diocese removes all references to race in its Constitutions and Canons, believes that is the end of inequality in the councils of the church. Blacks are a voiceless minority.
20. Whites make decisions concerning black churches and Bishop Payne Divinity School.
21. Brown v. The Board and Massive Resistance. VTS integrated. Against this background Shrine Mont and Roslyn boards voluntarily end defacto segregation, including coed teen camps. Annual Council objects. Racial Study Commission, including a minority of blacks, charged with investigating

how this occurred, and to examine larger questions of racial co-existence.

22. Church schools benefit from white flight. Bishop maneuvers removal of barriers to acceptance of black students. Church schools very slowly integrated. A common view of sympathetic whites is that progress is made working behind the scenes to avoid white backlash.

23. In 1980s and early 90s the bishop forms an integrated Committee on Race Relations. Blacks for the first time are elected to the higher councils of the diocese.

*** To be continued***