

**Initial Report: The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina's History of Institutional
Racism (Founding-1960s)**

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1. Introduction

At its annual convention in April 1823, the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina elected its first bishop: John Stark Ravenscroft of Mecklenburg County, Virginia. In his letter accepting the call, The Rev. Mr. Ravenscroft warned that it would be several months before he could move to North Carolina. The reason? “In common with many others,” Ravenscroft wrote, “I am encumbered with landed property and some slaves, which must be disposed of; as I wish, as far as possible, to be free from such cares and encumbrances.”¹

For whatever reason, Ravenscroft maintained ownership of his land and at least 21 enslaved persons for a few years after taking up his new ministry. When his property was finally sold in March of 1828, enslaved persons named John, “Boy Abram” and “Old Abram,” Providence, “Nelly and child James,” Absolum, and others went for prices ranging from 50 cents for a man named Armstead to 500 dollars for a man named Daniel. These persons’ names, the names of the men who bought them, and the amounts Ravenscroft received appear on the bill of sale alongside items like 805 acres of land that went for \$1610.00, a variety of farm implements, and cattle, horses, and pigs.²

Although the accounting paperwork shows that Ravenscroft’s agent sold three mother-child pairs, and some buyers purchased more than one person, the document does not record what marriages, families, or friendships the sale may have torn apart. Neither the seller nor buyers, nor their intermediaries, would have devoted time or energy to that question, as they—white people, all—would not have considered the persons in whose lives they trafficked to be fully human. Enslaved persons were routinely sold to acquit slaveholders’ gambling debts or to settle defaulted loans; they were given as wedding gifts; they were frequently willed by name to various heirs. In all of these processes, couples, parents and children, and family members, whether living on the same piece of land or residing nearby, were ripped away from each other.³

In the case of this particular sale in 1828, human beings were disposed of along with tools and livestock so that the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina could have a bishop.

Ravenscroft retained ownership of one man, called Johnson, who served him until the bishop’s death. In his will, Ravenscroft bequeathed both Johnson and a favorite horse, “Pleasant,” to his adopted sons, writing of man and beast in virtually identical terms: “I believe they will be kind to Johnson for my sake, keeping him from idleness and vice, but suiting his labor to his infirm condition; and that they will not suffer Pleasant to be exposed to any hardship or want in his old age, but will allow Johnson to attend to him as he has been accustomed to do.”⁴

...

John Stark Ravenscroft was just one of many North Carolina Episcopalians whose wealth was measured in acres of land, a comfortable home, and the human beings who cultivated the one and built and maintained the other. As he wrote of being “encumbered” with property, the bishop-elect knew that his new diocese included a number of white men and women in a similar position. About a quarter of white adult North Carolinians in the antebellum period were

slaveowners; on average they held six to eight persons in bondage. By contrast, an estimated 58 percent of North Carolina's large slaveholders (owning 70 or more enslaved persons) were Episcopalians, and perhaps as many as 88 percent of those who owned 250 or more enslaved persons were also members of this church.⁵ This was true despite the fact that Episcopalians were a tiny minority of North Carolinians. In 1830 they numbered about 800 active members in a state that was home to about five times as many Presbyterians and about 50 times as many Baptists.⁶

It is therefore impossible to separate the tithes and offerings through which these persons supported their parish churches and diocesan institutions, from the practice of chattel slavery over generations. Nor can we separate the economic support that later generations of white Episcopalians offered the church from the economic, political, and social system of white supremacy and legal segregation commonly called "Jim Crow" which followed Reconstruction and lasted into the 1960s.

Anglicans—called Episcopalians after U.S. Independence—have played key roles in building and maintaining a political, economic, and social order based on white supremacy in North Carolina since before this territory was known by that name. That was true when this area was forcibly seized by England, and when the United States later assumed and enforced sovereignty over Native lands and peoples; when the state seceded from the Union; when the only domestic coup in United States history toppled the interracial city government of Wilmington in 1898; and through the Jim Crow period. The white majority of our diocese benefitted from relationships with those elites. Moreover, the institutions and practices of our diocese itself have been permeated with systemic racism: our bishops and their staffs; our ways of founding churches, forming and ordaining clergy, and supporting both; how we have governed ourselves and interacted with secular authorities; how we have gained and allocated the funds that have supported our ministries. Despite some changes over time, this remains the case today.

This report provides a sense of some of the ways in which the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina participated in, benefitted from, and perpetuated white supremacy from our founding through the Jim Crow period. The report will not offer an exhaustive account based on a systematic inventory of historical sources. Rather, it is meant to tell some illustrative truths, building on work done by diocesan historiographer Brooks Graebner and diocesan archivist Lynn Hoke. It is meant serve as a starting point for further research and truth-telling, and as a spur to change.⁷

What kind of change? The kind Jesus Christ invites and makes possible: *metanoia*, the change of mind, heart, and purpose that, in English, is translated as "repentance." The kind of change promised and invited in the rite of reconciliation: that for those who will examine their conscience, confess their sins, and change their ways, a new life in Christ is possible. Renewed relationships will be a part of that new life. This is just as true for institutions that will engage in self-examination, truth-telling, and amendment of life, as it is for the persons who make up those institutions. We hope and trust that God can and will set us free as a diocese to see clearly our past and ongoing sins, and to more fully and truly worship Jesus Christ. This hope and trust animates the diocesan restitution process that is just beginning.

This restitution process focuses on the specific harms done to two groups of people by the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, and the debts owed them by the diocese.

- First: the Indigenous people from whom white colonists took the land that makes up the diocese, from whom Europeans and their descendants usurped political authority, and on whom European and United States policies had genocidal effects. Any work we do regarding our mission priority of creation care will be incomplete without attention to our relationships with this land's first inhabitants.
- Second: African Americans, both those who are communicants of the diocese and those who are not, whose ancestors were kidnapped, enslaved, and forced to work under slavery and subsequent forms of peonage well into the twentieth century; and who are still harmed by white supremacy within and outside the church.

Because this diocese has never had a Native American mission or parish, and has no formal relationships with present-day Indigenous communities in the state, making restitution for sins against Native people will require different forms of outreach and consultation than restitution work with African-American siblings in Christ. Most of this report will discuss the diocesan history of white supremacy in relation to African Americans.

By focusing on the sin of white supremacy, the diocese is not denying that we have committed and condoned other forms of prejudice and systemic oppression. For example, middle-class and wealthy Episcopalians certainly held class biases and exploited working-class white people. Anti-Black racism, however, differs from prejudice against white working-class people in both kind and degree. Black North Carolinians, like African Americans everywhere, have faced violence and oppression in every area of life specifically because they were, and are, Black. White people, however poor or otherwise disadvantaged they might be, did and do not face that form of oppression, by definition. Moreover, from virtually the moment Europeans arrived in North Carolina, they have enjoyed certain privileges associated specifically with being identified as white. This report will give glimpses of the ways in which white working-class Episcopalians benefitted from white racist solidarity through, for example, investment in their churches, scholarships to whites-only summer camps, and access to education and other services denied to African-American citizens. The colonization of North Carolina by England, and the wealth that was systematically extracted from Black North Carolinians, including Black Episcopalians, benefitted white members of the diocese, both male and female, across the class hierarchy.⁸

In the face of systemic oppression, Indigenous and African-American communities and their members in and beyond North Carolina have shown courage, creativity, strength, and resourcefulness. Faith, hope, love, joy, wisdom, and other gifts of the Spirit have shone, and continue to shine, through Black and Indigenous lives. The beauty of Indigenous and Black people is not, and must never be, in question. Because this report has been written at the beginning of the diocesan process of repentance, it focuses primarily on wrongs committed against these persons and groups, rather than on the valuable qualities to be found in them. Stories of the wisdom, strength, and persistence of persons, churches, and communities of color will need to be shared as part of the larger truth-telling and restitution process.

...

Before proceeding, a note on why the term “restitution” is used here. The term “reparations” is more often used to describe the process of making an economic offering, and sometimes an apology or statement of regret, in recognition of specific harm done by one party to another.⁹ Although the term “restitution” is not set in stone and another term may be chosen to describe our process, the Diocese of North Carolina is not using the term “reparations.” This is because friends who are leaders in advocating for federal reparations to African Americans have asked us not to. They are concerned that using “reparations” to refer to community initiatives like ours would impede ongoing efforts to secure compensation from the federal government to the descendants of enslaved persons, who were freed with neither resources with which to start a new life, nor compensation for their own stolen labor and that of their ancestors. Supporting the campaign for federal reparations may, itself, be one part of our diocesan restitution process.

2. Episcopalians and Indigenous inhabitants of what is now North Carolina

The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina includes historically white, historically African-American, and, more recently, Latino congregations, but there is no Indigenous (Native American) mission or parish within its boundaries. The Episcopal Church, however, and this diocese specifically, has had an immeasurable impact on the Indigenous population of this land. In every phase of the establishment and perpetuation of what is now called North Carolina, from the initial English colonization in the sixteenth century on, Anglicans played key roles.

Although the Church of England was not officially established in North Carolina until 1701, and a diocese was not organized until 1817, baptized members of the Church of England established the first European colony in what is now North Carolina, on Roanoke Island in 1587.¹⁰ That summer, two persons were baptized into the church at Roanoke: Manteo, a son of the (female) leader of the Croatoan people; and Virginia Dare, the first English child to be born in the territory and the grandchild of the English governor, John White. Manteo was a vitally important interpreter and diplomatic intermediary for the English, and his baptism is just as likely (or more so) to have been a diplomatic gesture as to have been a sign of religious conversion. When Manteo was baptized, he had just recently participated in a raid that mistakenly targeted and killed Manteo's own people, rather than the competitors he and his English allies had wanted to attack. Historian Malinda Maynor Lowery points out that it's impossible for us now to know Manteo's motivations for undergoing baptism: to "assuage his anguish" over recent events, to seek "the English God's" protection from enemies who might now target him, a desire to draw closer to Jesus, or another reason.¹¹

Since at least 2009, the feast of the baptisms of Manteo and Virginia Dare has been celebrated in North Carolina on the 17th of August. This lesser feast brings together two persons, not only from vastly different milieus, but of very different significance. Manteo played a key role in relationships between English colonists and traders and Indigenous peoples at a time when the balance of power among these groups was constantly shifting and often stood in Indigenous groups' favor, and when the outcome of their interactions had yet to be determined. Virginia Dare, in contrast, did nothing more than be born and baptized. Her significance in North Carolina history, and her inclusion in the calendar of saints, comes precisely from her European heritage—her whiteness.¹²

Also in 2009, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church repudiated the doctrine of discovery: the fifteenth-century idea that God authorized Christians to take possession of any lands inhabited by non-Christians, and to hold those inhabitants in slavery. Today, through its contributions to the Episcopal Church, the diocese of North Carolina supports Indigenous ministries outside its boundaries. This diocese, however, has not taken stock of its particular role in colonization, nor considered what its debt might be to current-day Indigenous inhabitants of the land that falls within what we recognize as our diocesan boundaries.

The lands where contact first took place are now in the diocese of East Carolina; and the only fully federally-recognized tribe, the Eastern Band of the Cherokee Nation, lives in what is now the diocese of Western North Carolina. Within the current boundaries of the diocese of North Carolina fall Lake Norman, on flooded Catawba land; the homes of (state-recognized) Haliwa-

Saponi, Occoneechi-Saponi, Sappony (Person County), and Catawba peoples; and the watersheds of rivers that run through the lands of other nations, including the Lumbee.¹³

Areas for our diocese to discern include: how to acknowledge our part in the theft of land and usurpation of sovereignty; what might be an appropriate tangible offering in recognition of the harm our ancestors committed and in which we participate; and how the descendants of this land's original inhabitants might prefer us to behave as better neighbors and as allies in their flourishing.

3. The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, slavery, and the Civil War

As mentioned above, most of the largest slaveholders in North Carolina were Episcopalians. Notable names among this group include Ruffin, Mordecai, Haywood, Manly, Hinton, Alston, Collins, Burgwyn, Skinner, Eaton and Pettigrew. These families owned and maintained forced labor camps—more typically referred to as plantations—where enslaved people produced cash crops, maintained the households of the white people who legally owned them, and also raised most of their own food. Some slaveowning families included Episcopal clergy, like William S. Pettigrew (1818-1900), a plantation owner and Civil War veteran who was ordained a priest after the war. Given that enslaved persons were not compensated for their labor, and were afforded the bare necessities of food, shelter, and clothing, the gifts that slaveholding Episcopalians offered the church were, in effect, stolen from the women, men, and children they enslaved. Although it's impossible to create an exhaustive list of such gifts of stolen treasure, a few vignettes will give an impression of how important they were to the finances of this diocese.

3a. The Bennehan-Cameron family and Stagville

The largest plantation in North Carolina, and one of the largest in the United States, was Stagville. Together with the various smaller plantations associated with it, Stagville eventually stretched across 30,000 acres—almost 50 square miles—in what was then Orange County. Before being appropriated by Europeans, archaeological evidence shows that this land was in use by Indigenous people for at least 4,000 years.¹⁴ At Stagville, the Bennehan-Cameron family held almost 1000 people in slavery in 1865; over the previous two centuries, they had enslaved generations more. The family were prominent Episcopalians.

Duncan Cameron (1777-1853), the son of an Episcopal priest, worked as a state legislator, a judge, and then as the president of the North Carolina State Bank for two decades. In the church, he served as a lay delegate to both Diocesan Convention and General Convention, and as a trustee of General Seminary. He had a “chapel of ease,” Salem Chapel, built near his home for the use of his family and selected enslaved workers. The first of several plantation chapels in the diocese, it was consecrated in 1827. For a time, it was served by William Mercer Green, future rector of The Chapel of the Cross in Chapel Hill, later the first bishop of Mississippi, and a founder of The University of the South.

Duncan Cameron was a force behind the establishment of an Episcopal parish in Raleigh soon after the diocese was organized in 1817. He likely helped persuade a wealthy childless widow, Mary “Jackie” Sumner Blount (a communicant of Calvary Episcopal Church, Tarboro), to leave a portion of her estate for “the Building of a Protestant Episcopal Church in the City of Raleigh.”¹⁵ Blount’s bequest amounted to somewhere between \$10,000 and \$15,000, equivalent to about \$8.4 million today. The sum was great enough to allow a frame building to be constructed for Christ Church between 1826 and 1829.¹⁶

Blount’s wealth came largely from her husband and his family. They speculated in land and traded widely in enslaved persons and in a variety of commercial goods, and they benefitted from the proceeds of Blount Hall, a several-thousand-acre plantation in what is now Pitt County. Signs of the resistance offered by the people the Blounts enslaved survive. One example is a “runaway slave” advertisement placed in 1821 seeking the return of Gilford, a man in his early

twenties who had fled Blount Hall, the owner suspected, to be closer to the plantation where his wife was held in nearby Washington, North Carolina.¹⁷

In 1841, Duncan Cameron rescued the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina from financial disaster. Over the previous few years, the diocese had borrowed to buy land and pay other expenses associated with establishing a boys' school. When the school closed after only a brief period of operation, the diocese owed a total of almost \$22,000 to the family from whom it had bought the land, and to the Episcopal Fund which paid the bishop's salary, and from which the diocese had borrowed.¹⁸ Duncan Cameron stepped in to pay the entire debt, making the diocese solvent once more, and then offered the school buildings and land for the establishment of Saint Mary's School for girls.¹⁹ Saint Mary's remained an all-white institution until 1971, when a student from Ethiopia attended. The first African-American student attended from 1974 through 1976; the first African-American student to graduate from Saint Mary's High School did so in 1981.²⁰

Duncan Cameron's son Paul (1808-1891) was not a devoted Episcopalian, but his wife, Anne Ruffin Cameron, was a communicant of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in Hillsborough (where Paul is buried along with Anne and a number of members of their family). Paul Cameron expanded his family's landholdings westward: in 1844, he bought land in Alabama and sent 114 enslaved people the several hundred miles' distance from Orange County, on foot, to work it.²¹ The wealthiest man in antebellum North Carolina, Paul Cameron retained that status after the Civil War. He could no longer count in his ledgers the economic value of enslaved persons, but emancipated people continued to work his land under the sharecropping system. That system, enforced by violence across the South, left Black workers, year after year, with little or nothing to show for their labor. Descendants of people the Camerons had enslaved lived at Stagville into the 1970s.

One of the ways Paul Cameron is known to have enjoyed his ownership of human beings was to ride around his land and, without introducing himself, ask the African Americans he met who owned them. "Mr. Cameron," they would reply.²²

3b. The Collins Family and Somerset Place

Josiah Collins III (1808-63) was the owner of Somerset Place, Washington County, and about 350 enslaved persons at Emancipation. About 850 people were enslaved on his family's land over the period from 1785 to 1865. His father, Josiah Collins Jr. (1763-1839) had Lake Chapel built on his family property around 1837, specifically to catechize enslaved persons there.

Bishop Levi Silliman Ives (bishop 1831-1852) was a frequent visitor to Somerset Place, regularly preaching to the people Josiah Collins Jr. held in bondage. Ives developed a catechism to teach the Episcopal Church's variety of Christianity to enslaved persons, emphasizing obedience to masters. In 1837, the bishop stated that Collins "deserves much praise for his persevering and successful efforts to improve the religious conditions of his slaves."²³ That same year, facing criticism for teaching enslaved persons, Ives reassured diocesan convention that his work was "conducted with a strict regard to the legal enactments on the subject, and under the constant supervision, in each case, of the planter himself," and that his addresses were

“decidedly favorable to due subordination.”²⁴ Ives, born in Connecticut and raised in New York, was as firm an advocate of slavery as any southerner. He was sensitive to criticism by colleagues like Samuel Wilberforce, the Church of England bishop of Oxford (and son of abolitionist William Wilberforce), who rebuked the Episcopal Church for supporting slavery. Reflecting on his participation in worship with white Collins family members and the people they enslaved, Ives claimed, “I could not help believing that, had some of our brethren of other lands been present, they would have been induced to change the note of their wailing over imaginary suffering [of enslaved persons], into the heartfelt exclamation—“Happy are the people that are in such a case; yea, blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God.”²⁵

In 1858, African-American residents of Somerset made up about half the Black communicants of the diocese. Details about the lives of a number of these persons have survived. One, a woman named Rebecca “Becky” Drew (1825-1901), would no doubt have taken issue with the idea that the Collinses were concerned for the welfare of persons of African descent like herself. Born in Edenton at another Collins labor camp and moved to Somerset when she was about 15, Drew was soon caught trying to make an unauthorized visit to her mother and sister back at her former residence. She was punished by being left overnight in the stocks, a form of punishment where a person sits with hands and/or feet immobilized through holes in a wooden board. Overnight, Drew’s feet froze, and both were amputated. Drew continued to live and work, enslaved, at Somerset.²⁶ Such brutal treatment was inseparable from the “due subordination” Bishop Ives advocated and prominent Episcopalians enforced.

...

Throughout the period of legal slavery and beyond, white Episcopalians perpetuated the belief that enslavement had been, at worst, a necessary evil and at best, an actual good. At every level of church life, white Episcopalians were enmeshed with white supremacist beliefs and practices that denied Black humanity, deformed white humanity, and warped our understanding of the Gospel. This remained true after the Civil War, when Bishop Ives’s successor, Bishop Thomas Atkinson (bishop 1853-1881) told the diocesan convention that “...under the system of slavery in these states the African race has made a progress during the last hundred years, not only in numbers and physical comfort, but a progress from barbarism to civilization, from Heathenism to Christianity, to which the history of the world offers no parallel.”²⁷

4. Diocesan support for white churches, and support (or lack thereof) for Black churches

After Emancipation, churches were established for Black communicants of the diocese. Across the Church, white Episcopalians debated whether southern Black congregations should be admitted into full union with their diocesan conventions, or whether they should be included in “missionary districts” under the bishop’s oversight. As Diocesan Historiographer Brooks Graebner has written, the diocese of North Carolina “was the only southern diocese to accept black clergy and congregations immediately into union with convention.”²⁸ Black churches were overseen by, first, an Archdeacon for Colored Work, and then by Suffragan Bishop Henry Beard Delany (1858-1928; bishop 1918-1928), ordained to the episcopate specifically to minister with Black congregations. After Bishop Delany’s death, Black churches were, like white churches, overseen by the diocesan bishop or the coadjutor when there was one.

Being members of convention gave Black churches voice and vote, but they were always a minority, and an even smaller minority since the end of the official Jim Crow era. By 1928, there were 20 Black churches located within what is now the diocese of North Carolina. That number dropped to 19 in 1959. By 2018, there were 10. The numbers from 1928 and 1959 include the chapel at St. Augustine’s University, which is still active but no longer a mission of the diocese. The 10 currently open include The Chapel of Christ the King in Charlotte, which became predominantly Black in the 1960s. This means that between 1959 and 2018, nine historically Black churches of the diocese were closed.

In reviewing diocesan newsletters, reports, and correspondence to understand how churches were physically built and ministries were funded, clear patterns of racism emerge. Three phenomena are particularly obvious.

- Whether grand in scale or more modest, white church buildings were frequently paid for over a short period of time, funded by gifts from wealthy members or, in the case of working-class churches, patrons. These members and patrons almost always had roots in the slaveholding class. A number of these churches were physically built by enslaved laborers, such as Christ Church, Cleveland and St. Andrew’s, Woodleaf (the oldest intact frame antebellum Episcopal church building in North Carolina).
- Black church buildings were paid for over longer periods, due to white Episcopalians not sharing resources in their control, and also to a relative lack of capital among Black churches’ members. This, in turn, was due to the fact that formerly enslaved persons had had their labor stolen from them, and were emancipated without compensation. It was also due to the fact that the Jim Crow system deliberately kept Black workers’ wages low by strictly limiting their options and enforcing those boundaries through white violence like threats, arson, lynching, and the organized terrorism of groups like the Ku Klux Klan. Black Episcopal churches were often supported by networks of African Americans beyond North Carolina, and sometimes by white organizations in the north. Black clergy and laypersons often built, repaired, or renovated their buildings with their own hands.
- The white majority of the diocese put Black churches and clergy in the position of having to beg for support from their diocesan colleagues and siblings in Christ, often to no avail.

- Bishops would periodically appeal to white churches to contribute financially to the work of what was then called “the colored convocation” of the diocese. Requests to devote the offering from one Sunday each year to that purpose went unheeded. In 1910, Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire (1850-1932; bishop 1893-1932) asked white churches of the diocese to contribute \$200 (in total, not each) to work among Black churches, a request the chair of the Committee on the State of the Church called “modest enough in all conscience.” White Episcopalians offered less than \$100 in response.²⁹

The following are representative examples of these phenomena, only a sampling of what can be found in diocesan sources, especially parochial reports and “The North Carolina Churchman” monthly newsletter. These examples are drawn from the very early twentieth century, when many churches in the diocese were built, supported (mostly in the case of white churches) by white Episcopalians’ financial interest in industrial production, especially textiles and tobacco.

- The historically Black St. Titus, Durham worshipped in a variety of rented spaces before securing its own property in 1910 at a cost of \$1,700.³⁰ There were two buildings on the lot: a kitchen that was converted into a chapel, and a house that became the rectory. The Rev. Mr. Robert Johnson, priest in charge, did much of the renovation himself. The mortgage on the property was eventually “settled” “through the good offices of Bishop Cheshire.”³¹
 - In contrast, neighboring (white) St. Philip’s, Durham announced in 1911 that its building, completed in 1908, had now been fully paid for, at a cost of \$30,000. Now that their debt was acquitted, “the women of St. Philip’s have accumulated a fund of about \$500.00 for immediate use in repairing and fitting up the Chapel and Parish house. A new floor, new walls, better windows, thorough painting, and new steps are some of the things they intend doing.”³²
 - St. Philip’s parochial report for 1911 shows that it contributed nothing toward the work of “the colored convocation.”³³
- Holy Comforter, Burlington (white) was consecrated in 1911, having been completely paid for by Lawrence S. Holt, Sr., a textile magnate and his wife, Margaret Erwin Holt, as a memorial to their daughter. The cost was estimated at \$50,000. The January 1912 “Churchman” article describing the church ends, “With the splendid equipment which the Parish now has, we feel that a new day has dawned for this old Apostolic Church of the Anglo-Saxon race, ‘Peace be within her walls, plenteousness within her palaces.’”³⁴
 - According to its parochial report, in 1911 Holy Comforter contributed \$8.17 to diocesan coffers to support what was then called “the colored convocation.”³⁵
- Also in the January 1912 issue of the “Churchman,” The Rev. James K. Satterwhite wrote that Redeemer, Greensboro (Black) had just established a parish school, and that “Efforts are now being made to build a church, which will mean everything towards advancing the work, and ere long we hope to have a beautiful church building.... We pray that the hearts of many of our friends of the work will be opened sufficiently to see the need of the Church’s influence in this one of our newest fields and help in this time of need.”
 - Eventually, Redeemer received a church building that had been commissioned by The Rev. Francis J. Murdoch (patron of many small white churches in the diocese) for

- white mill workers, and that was no longer in use: St. Cuthbert's, Proximity Mills (a mill village in Greensboro).³⁶
- Murdoch, who was a Confederate veteran and a shareholder in various textile mills as well as a priest, paid for the building of twelve churches, several within Rowan County, including two Black churches, St. Peter's and St. Philip's, Salisbury.³⁷ He was also a patron of Good Shepherd, Cooleemee; All Saints, Concord; and Christ Church, Cleveland (all white churches).
 - After Murdoch's death in 1909, his wife and daughter commissioned a new brick church for (white) St. Matthew's, Salisbury, a gift valued at \$2,550 in 1913.³⁸
- St. Anna's, Littleton (Black; organized in 1893) published an account of its school for Black children in the "Churchman" in 1912, detailing its various and inadequate sources of funding: from the pupils themselves, the budget of the Archdeacon for Colored Work, and from wages gained by the teacher, Mr. Virgil N. Bond, working as a carpenter.³⁹
 - The same year, Archdeacon (later Bishop Suffragan) Henry B. Delany made an appeal on behalf of the school at St. Matthias, Louisburg, one of the oldest and the largest church school in the diocese. The school building was overcrowded, drawing pupils who walked as far as eight miles to get there. The archdeacon estimated the school needed \$400 to do the work: "We expect to begin the work by the 1st of August, but where the money is to come from with which to pay for the material, to say nothing of the labor, we do not know."⁴⁰
 - Eventually, church schools were displaced by Black public schools, which white-controlled governments never adequately funded.
 - The same issue of the "Churchman" that contained Archdeacon Delany's appeal for St. Matthias noted that St. Peter's, Charlotte (white) had, within the last 18 months, both raised the more than \$25,000 necessary to fund its parish house and then also erected that building.⁴¹
 - According to its parochial report, in 1912 St. Peter's made no contribution to the "colored convocation of the diocese." It contributed to "domestic missions" which may have included Black organizations. It donated \$25 to Episcopal efforts to convert Jewish people.⁴²
 - A note in the "Churchman" in the autumn of 1912, summed up the situation of Black churches in the diocese: "The convocation [Convocation of Colored Work] now ministers to 246 families and has 801 communicants. There are 1400 children in the Sunday Schools. We own 16 chapels, 6 school houses, 3 rectories. Our church property is valued at about \$40,000. Our contributions from all sources, last year, amounted to \$5,154.49."⁴³ Archdeacon Henry Beard Delany was at that time assisted by nine clergymen and two laymen in serving the diocese's 17 Black missions.
 - Throughout the ministry of Bishop Suffragan Henry Beard Delany, he was required to write annually to the diocesan bishop itemizing the requested budget for that convocation.
 - Even though Henry Beard Delany was ordained a bishop in historic succession, in the minds of white people of the diocese he was inextricably identified with enslaved people. This is evident even in the case of a gift designed expressly for him. In 1924, the (white) Women's Auxiliary of the diocese commissioned a silver Communion service for Bishop Delany's use. In asking for donations from

white women of the diocese to pay for the set, committee chair Mrs. G.W. Alston suggested they make donations “in memory of faithful servants who have ‘crossed over the River.’”

Bishop Cheshire (born in 1850 to slaveholding parents) heartily endorsed Alston’s idea, remembering with “esteem and affection” “Aunt Liza,” “Aunt Nicey,” and “Aunt Laney,” enslaved women who had nursed him and his family. The bishop trusted that others would “rejoice” as he did at the opportunity to contribute to the gift for “our venerable Suffragan, who, as the days and years go by, increases in our admiration and affection.”⁴⁴

As the Black freedom struggle gained new momentum in the mid-1950s, the diocese established a special committee “to study the work among the Negroes” of the diocese. The committee found that Black congregations were “in a continuing state of decline approaching in some cases the point of extinction,” due to several factors. These included a lack of clergy, as the report noted that the diocesan effort to form Black priests “has failed to produce clergy in sufficient number to maintain the work”; “poor plant [facilities] and equipment”; and a lack of funds among the members of Black churches.⁴⁵ The lack of material commitment by the diocese and its white churches—one manifestation of institutionalized racism—was not identified as a factor.

5. Diocesan support for whites-only institutions

For most of the history of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, it has been the norm for the diocese and its members to support institutions (financed by the church, the state, or both) that were closed to Black people. A few examples include:

- Saint Mary’s School (for girls; all-white until the 1970s), Raleigh
 - Among the various forms of support offered was an appeal from Bishop Cheshire in 1912 that Convention celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his consecration by raising money to pay off all the school’s debt (amounting to \$45,000) and establish the beginning of an endowment (he hoped for \$100,000). The bishop also pledged to devote himself “primarily” to this work for the next 18 months.⁴⁶
 - A few years later, Francis M. Osborne of Raleigh took over the campaign, raising the goal to a quarter-million dollars and planning to draw on alumnae and friends who “cherish and value the influence of this noble institution, now in the 75th year of her work for Christian womanhood and the Church.” The “Churchman” article announcing the campaign pointed out that “proportionately, our Episcopalians have more money than any other body of Christians in this part of the country. The country is prosperous, and our people have acquired great wealth, and are fast growing richer. The South is no longer poor.”⁴⁷
- The University of the South (Sewanee)
 - The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina is a founding diocese, and still a “constituent diocese” of The University of The South, an Episcopal college established in the 1850s as “the only institution of higher education designed from the start to represent, protect, and promote the South’s civilization of bondage; and launched expressly for the slaveholding society of the South.”⁴⁸
 - Characteristic appeals for financial support of Sewanee include:
 - Stating that “the Church will always need leaders who have been trained under the nurture of her best influence,” a “Churchman” editorial in 1912 announced, “Under what is known as the Nelson Plan for the Endowment of the University of the South, our Diocesan Convention has undertaken to raise twenty-five thousand dollars of the half million endowment immediately needed...”⁴⁹
 - A few years later, with the above sum not yet raised, the diocese announced “Over and above this [pledge to the endowment] the 1915 Diocesan Convention voted an apportionment of two per cent on Minister’s salary and current expenses, to be paid to the University of the South for current maintenance.”⁵⁰
- Beyond the funding it provided for a chaplain position at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, the diocese contributed to campus ministries at all-white universities. In one sample year, 1955, this funding included:
 - Women’s College Greensboro: \$3,927.50
 - Duke \$3,330

- Wake Forest College: \$480
 - State College (now North Carolina State University): \$2,362
 - Davidson College: \$200
 - St. Mary's School: \$100
- In contrast, funding for campus ministries at historically Black colleges and universities included:
 - North Carolina A&T: \$150
 - North Carolina College (now North Carolina Central University): \$100
 - Johnson C. Smith University: \$100
 - St. Augustine College: \$150 (up from zero the previous year)
 - The diocese did found what is now St. Augustine's University in 1867. Much of the funding came from northern congregations and individuals and the Freedmen's Bureau, and from the school's students themselves, who contributed labor as well as their tuition fees.
 - In addition to supporting whites-only institutions, the diocese served as a channel for funds reserved for white people. A now well-known example is the disbursement of scholarships from the Corbin Trust. The trust was established after the 1919 death of Confederate widow Claude Florence Corbin, whose will stipulated the scholarships be used "For educational, vocation and avocational purposes among the white children and white young men and white young women of the protestant [sic] faith, preferably Episcopalian, in the Southern states of the United States." Although some of their colleagues in other dioceses began refusing the money in the mid-1990s because of the racist restriction, North Carolina bishops continued to recommend students for the scholarships until Bishop Michael Curry refused to do so in 2002. Two years later, church attorneys determined that the racial restriction clause was "invidious, noncharitable and therefore unenforceable." Thereafter, the scholarships were open to all persons.⁵¹

6. Trust funds and endowments

The Common Trust Fund of the diocese groups together a variety of investments, including funds held on behalf of parishes or missions. Examining the list of these component funds shows the variety of ways in which benefactors profited from slavery and segregation, and invested in whiteness.

A couple of caveats are in order:

- Many trusts or endowments held within the Common Trust were established by parishes or missions for their own benefit. Without further information from those churches, it is impossible to know the source(s) of those funds.
- In addition, a number of churches manage their own endowments and other investments. Determining the number, size, and sources of those funds is parish-level research, beyond the scope of this report.⁵²

Some bequests to the diocese came from persons whose family wealth was rooted in slavery (and later, sharecropping).

For example:

- Louis Watson Alston (1884-1960), of the Warren County Alstons, one of the largest landholding families in the state. Alston, a communicant of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, left his estate to five entities: theological education at the University of the South (Sewanee's theological school did not graduate an African-American student until 1965), and the dioceses of North Carolina, East Carolina, Western North Carolina, and Central New York.
- Elizabeth Amis Cameron Blanchard (1873-1956), a descendant of several slaveholding families, left a bequest of \$20,000: "...so as to insure a clergyman of mental ability to preach the doctrine of the Trinity to the students of the University of North Carolina and to interpret our Lord Jesus Christ." Blanchard also left a fund "to augment the salary of the Rector of Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill."

Some gifts to the diocese, perhaps not directly linked to slavery, represented profits from the seizure of lands from Native peoples. An example is a bequest of about \$2,200.00 from Martha Clark, originally of Halifax County, in 1898 of "fifty shares of preferred stock in the Southern Railway Company...to assist in education of young men for the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church."

Some trust funds (even when amounting to no more than a few thousand dollars today) gave an economic advantage to small historically white churches. To this day, these funds have helped several such churches maintain their properties, pay clergy (sometimes on a supply basis) and keep their doors open. Such funds include:

- The William A. Erwin trust, established in 1919 in memory of the Episcopal textile mill owner, the income of which is distributed quarterly among St. Joseph's, Durham; St. Stephen's, Erwin, and Good Shepherd, Cooleemee;

- The William A. Erwin II trust, established 1933 for St. Stephen's, Erwin;
- A 1935 legacy from Margaret Mills to St. James's, Mooresville for maintenance and cemetery upkeep;
- A 1947 legacy from William H. and Sallie W. Ruffin in 1947 for St. Paul's, Louisburg;
- A 1943 bequest to St. Mark's, Halifax;
- The J. Locke Erwin Fund, established in 1950 by Ida T. Erwin as a memorial to her husband, to benefit St. Stephen's, Oxford.

Several trusts were established for white congregations that are now historic churches:

- St. George's, Woodleaf
- St. Mary's, Orange County
- St. James, Kittrell
- St. Andrew's, Rowan County (for cemetery upkeep)

7. Disposition of assets of closed Black churches

As previously noted, and as acknowledged in diocesan sources, financial support for Black churches typically came from Black Episcopalians in and beyond this diocese, and to some extent from white northerners. Despite this fact, it was typically the case that when a Black church was closed, its assets were transferred to the general diocesan fund, to an institution that was closed to Black people, or to the white church in the same town, which members of the Black church sometimes joined. Decisions about how to dispose of the churches' property were made by diocesan authorities (such as its trustees and other bodies) that have historically been majority-white (and were exclusively so until fairly recently).

There are at least two cases of Black members of the diocese retaining control of a church's assets after it closed. Both occurred in the late 1960s.

- When St. Simeon's, Satterwhite (Granville County), closed in 1969, its property was granted (without any funds changing hands) to its one remaining member family in exchange for their commitment to keep up the cemetery. The members joined historically Black St. Cyprian's, Oxford.⁵³
- St. James, Pittsboro was closed in 1967 and sold for \$5,000. In early 1968, diocesan council "appropriated [the proceeds] as a gift to St. Titus Church, Durham, for capital improvements."

In contrast stand the following cases:

- The Church of the Resurrection, Henderson, was closed in 1965 and its property sold to a Church of Christ for \$7,000.
 - The sale proceeds went into the diocesan "Church Extension" fund over the objections of The Rev. Othello Stanley, priest-in-charge of (Black) St. Cyprian's, Oxford and formerly of Resurrection. Stanley wrote Bishop Thomas Fraser (coadjutor 1960-65; diocesan bishop 1965-83): "Since I was once in charge of the Resurrection, Henderson, and was responsible for raising all of the money for the uncompleted building I feel that we [St. Cyprian's, Oxford] should have first claim on the proceeds from the sale of the building, if possible."⁵⁴
 - When the church closed, the question arose of where its few parishioners should worship. Bishop Fraser did not, in his words, "encourage" them to attend Holy Innocents, the white church in town, but wrote to Holy Innocents' rector that where they might worship was "a desperate problem." Resurrection parishioners had declined the bishop's suggestion to attend services officiated by a lay reader at Holy Innocents on Sunday afternoons. Encouraging the rector of Holy Innocents to accept them, the bishop stated, "In my mind, if they should ask to come to Holy Innocents, it will only involve two adults and three children."⁵⁵
- Holy Cross, Statesville, closed in September 1968. Its members joined Trinity Episcopal Church in town, and its property was conveyed to Trinity.
 - Suffragan Bishop Moultrie Moore told diocesan convention that Trinity "invited Holy Cross Mission to give up their status as an organized mission and to become members of Trinity parish. The members of Holy Cross graciously accepted the invitation... For a black congregation to merge with a white one is a great step

forward in breaking down some of the barriers that separate brethren one from another in the body of Christ.”⁵⁶

- The Rev. James Parker Dees, rector of Holy Trinity and an outspoken white supremacist, had been priest-in-charge of Holy Cross from 1955 to 1956. He was a founder of the North Carolina Defenders of States’ Rights in 1958, and left the Episcopal Church to form the segregated “Anglican Orthodox Church” in 1963.
- Holy Trinity, Monroe, closed in 1970 and was sold for use as a private home. The almost \$1,300 sale price was merged with other funds and disposed of by Convention.
- St. Philip’s, Salisbury sold in 1971 and the proceeds went to neighboring (white) St. Luke’s, which former St. Philip’s parishioners had joined.

In a similar vein, the role of St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church, Charlotte in establishing and maintaining Good Samaritan Hospital has not been fully recognized by the larger diocese. Our official history, for example, refers to this hospital (the first for African Americans to be established in North Carolina) as having been “established and sustained by the men and women of St. Peter’s Church.”⁵⁷ In fact, St. Michael’s was inextricably involved with Good Samaritan from the beginning. Historian Janette Thomas Greenwood has written,

“Although the funds for establishing Good Samaritan seem to have come almost exclusively from whites, black Charlotteans played a key role in administering the hospital. St. Michael’s [sic] and All Angels, Charlotte’s black Episcopal parish, managed the hospital along with a white board of managers that included [Jane Renwick Smedburg] Wilkes, Julia Fox, and Lizzie Clarkson. Moreover, Charlotte’s black community bore most of the financial burden for running the institution, with funds coming ‘from the colored churches and the societies, besides subscriptions from white persons interested in the work.’”⁵⁸

Despite the fact that Charlotte African Americans supported the hospital from wages suppressed by the racially segregated labor market, the board of managers complained in its first annual report in 1892 that “the colored people as yet give very little towards [the hospital’s] maintenance,” and again the following year that “the colored people have given but \$21.92 to this charity, although it is intended solely for their benefit.”⁵⁹ Scholar Iris Carlton-LaNey points out that Charlotte’s African-American community supported the hospital in other ways, primarily by donations of groceries (thus reducing operating costs), prepared foods (relieving the matron of some meal preparation), and the *Star of Zion* African-American newspaper, which white patrons would not have thought to provide. In 1910, the board was still pushing for cash contributions from Black churches, stating in its annual report that “if each church would urge its congregation to give regularly, the amount would be of value, and would do good to both the giver and receiver.”⁶⁰ The fact that cash donations were controlled by the exclusively white (and female) Board of Managers, could explain Black people’s reluctance to increase their financial gifts. And the fact that members of the Board of Managers could drop in on the hospital anytime, and bring white visitors with them if they chose, would have been another constant reminder of the power of white maternalism. Concomitantly, it is possible that board members underplayed their Black neighbors’ contributions in order to enhance their own prestige and reinforce their feelings of superiority.⁶¹

When Good Samaritan Hospital closed in the early 1960s, the people who made decisions about how its assets should be used were white male communicants of the diocese, typically lawyers, chosen by the bishop for this work. The hospital's assets formed the corpus of the Good Samaritan Fund, intended to be used for the good of African-American persons in Charlotte. Over time, that fund came to be administered by a group that typically included a member from St. Michael and All Angels, but for much of the fund's history, the majority of the board that decided how to allocate its proceeds were white Episcopalians of Charlotte.

8. Summer camps: a brief case study of segregation

Well into living memory, segregation was the norm in the diocese of North Carolina. Segregation was imposed in the larger society, in which Episcopalians were legislators who crafted racist laws, lawyers and judges who upheld them, employers who benefitted from the lack of options for Black women and men, and others who enforced segregation on a daily basis. Segregation was also enforced in Episcopal churches. Today, Black Episcopalians recall knowing they were not welcome at the white Episcopal church in town, and (as Bishop Fraser's 1965 appeal to the rector of Holy Innocents suggests) white Episcopalians who served on vestries and as ushers in the 1960s remember making advance decisions about what to do if an African-American person should appear at the church door seeking to worship on a Sunday morning.

One institution encapsulates the harm done by diocesan investment in segregation: diocesan summer camps.

As early as 1923, the diocese ran a camp near Little Switzerland in Mitchell County, directed by the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and advertised as "a real vacation" for 50 "boys" aged 15 to 21.⁶² The camp chaplain was Bishop Coadjutor Edwin Penick (coadjutor 1922-1932; diocesan bishop 1932-1959), while a Pullman (railroad) chef whom the campers called "Black Bill" cooked for the group. The man who developed Little Switzerland as a summer mountain resort, and who donated the land on which the Episcopal camp stood, was Robert Heriot Clarkson, an Episcopalian and a Democratic legislator from Charlotte. Clarkson became involved in state politics at the turn of the twentieth century, when white supremacist Democrats took control of the state government through violence and then disfranchised most of the state's Black citizens. His son, Francis Osborne Clarkson, was the president of the Piedmont-Carolina Local Assembly of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew when the camp at Little Switzerland was established.

Within a couple of years, the diocese had established a camp for girls called Camp Penick, while the boys' camp was renamed in honor of Bishop Cheshire. In his address to diocesan convention in 1924, Bishop Penick spoke of the ways in which summer camps could draw young people into the church and develop their leadership skills: "Our boys and girls are just as intelligent, just as capable of zealous devotion to the Church, just as responsive and responsible as young people anywhere. What they need is attention, sympathetic interest, encouragement in initiative, more freedom in religious expression."⁶³ What went unsaid and, by most if not all white people of the diocese, unnoticed, was that "our boys and girls" were, by definition, white. Black Episcopalians were not welcome at these camps. Bishop Penick's support for the camps extended to disbursing \$63.10 from his discretionary fund in 1927, equivalent just over half the amount he gave to the entire diocesan "colored convocation" (\$125.00).⁶⁴

Articles in the diocesan newsletter drumming up interest in the camps extolled their amenities. Summer 1928's camps were held at Chimney Rock Camp in Lake Lure, which boasted a basketball gym, row boats, swimming, "four beautiful tennis courts, in perfect condition, and a real baseball diamond," a dining hall with an open fireplace, "for the benefit of Aunt Ida [the African-American cook], most every up to date equipment needed in the kitchen, even to an electric dishwasher and electric range and refrigerator," and for the campers and white staff,

“a real bath house, with hot and cold showers and a laundry place.”⁶⁵

In the early 1930s, the diocese took over a disused hotel in Stokes County and created its own camp and conference center, Vade Mecum, which it maintained for decades. Like previous facilities the diocese had used for summer camps, Vade Mecum offered amenities such as “baseball, basketball, hikes and swimming in the big 100-foot swimming pool.”⁶⁶ Vade Mecum remained segregated into the 1960s with two exceptions: clergy conference, and the presence of Black women at the Women’s Auxiliary Conference for a year or two in the mid-1950s. They were housed separately from white participants.⁶⁷

From time to time, diocesan authorities made special appeals for scholarships for residents of Thompson Orphanage, so that white children disadvantaged by class could benefit from camp attendance. In September 1933, the “Carolina Churchman” noted that “several” orphans “through the kindness of friends and clothing guilds, had the happy privilege of attending camp at Vade Mecum. We were told by their Camp Counsellors that they made excellent campers, and we know that they thoroughly enjoyed themselves and profited by the opportunity.”

In the early 1930s, African-American members of the diocese requested that camps be provided for Black youth too. A committee was established to study the matter; no camp materialized. In 1940, the Black branch of the diocesan Laymen’s League sponsored the first such camp at a site near Raleigh. Five years later, with financial assistance from the Women’s Auxiliary, the Black Laymen’s League, and “some prominent Negro laymen,” the diocese purchased an 80-acre site, 13 miles from the capital, for a permanent camp and conference center. Not only did Camp Delany (named for the late suffragan bishop and frequently misspelled Delaney in diocesan documents) possess none of the amenities of Vade Mecum, such as a swimming pool; the camp was frequently cited by the North Carolina Department of Health for not meeting basic standards. Identified problems included:

- in 1948: no running water, showers, or toilets (in contrast to the bathrooms with hot and cold running water and showers provided for each cabin at Vade Mecum)⁶⁸;
- in 1950: a lack of a refrigerator, electricity in the chapel, a shower house, and leaders’ quarters; broken windows and rotting sills;
- in 1954: still no adequate water supply.⁶⁹

Some members of the diocese made known to the bishop their objections to a segregated camp of whatever quality. One was R.N. (Rencher Nicholas) Harris of St. Titus, Durham. In the 1950s, Harris would become the first Black member elected to the Durham City Council and the first to sit on the city Board of Education. In 1945, a day after after Bishop Penick’s visit with the (Black) Laymen’s League at St. Titus, Harris wrote to ask, “Is the Episcopal Church doing the best thing when it sponsors a segregated camp for our youth? The thought occurs to me [that] even if we cannot go to Vade Mecum, it would be better than the establishment of the proposed camp.... The truth of the matter is that I hate to think that my Church sponsors an institution which I am compelled to accept against my will in my everyday life.”⁷⁰ It is unclear whether Bishop Penick responded.

In his convention address in 1952, Bishop Coadjutor Richard Henry Baker (coadjutor 1951-1959; diocesan bishop 1959-1965) stated, “There is no possible way for our people to overlook the difference in the quality of the opportunities presented by [Vade Mecum and Camp Delany].

It must be on our conscience until the facilities of Camp Delany are equal to the facilities that are to be found at Vade Mecum.” Three years later, a diocesan inspection of the facility found that “The frame building in which the children sleep was unbelievably bad. It is a disgrace to the Diocese of North Carolina.” As many as 30 children slept in a space where there were beds for 24, on “dirty and torn mattresses” in “insufficient space.” Most alarmingly, the sleeping area was on the second floor, reachable only by a wooden staircase. The inspectors noted, “Our deepest concern is over the possible loss of life to the children using the building. A fire would be a catastrophe that none of us would ever forget and for which none of us could ever forgive himself. A secondary concern is the legal one. The Committee has heard different opinions from lawyers as to whether or not the Diocese would be legally liable. There is no difference of opinion as to the moral liability involved.”⁷¹

Executive Council decided to sell Camp Delany, and “to look into the possibility of integrated camps and conferences at Vade Mecum when feasible.” In 1956, the camp sold for about \$12,000; in 1958 Executive Council decided to use most of those proceeds “to match a \$10,000 grant to St. Augustine’s College.”⁷²

In 1962, the diocesan Executive Council developed a plan to desegregate camps at Vade Mecum over the period 1963-66. Younger children’s camps were to desegregate first, with the “senior high school conference” as the final step in 1966.⁷³

The diocesan approach to desegregating summer camps was similar to gradualist approaches to desegregating public schools. In fact, gradualism was diocesan policy from the 1950s, and apparently never explicitly repudiated. At the diocesan convention of 1956, Bishop Penick spoke to the changes heralded by the United States Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, and by the North Carolina government’s decision to uphold parental choice in public schools so that white children would not be required to attend school with Black children. Penick described himself as a “gradualist,” which he acknowledged was “a hateful word to many good people. But,” the bishop continued, “it seems to me that a human problem so vast in its dimensions, involving the welfare of millions of people, living over a wide expanse of territory, is far from simple, and cannot, by its very nature, yield to a quick solution. To attempt a speedy answer, or even to expect it, seems to me unrealistic, for it ignores the experience of history, including an era of tragic fratricidal strife [i.e. the Civil War].... This is a mountain of fact and circumstance that only faith in Christ can remove.”

After the bishop spoke, the convention voted: “Resolved, that the portion of Bishop Penick’s Address dealing with matters of race be accepted as the sense of this Convention.” Gradualism eventually was cited as “the established policy” of the diocese and used as an argument against, for example, integrating summer camps without the permission of diocesan convention.⁷⁴

9. Conclusion

Today, convention and other diocesan bodies frequently reiterate our desire for racial reconciliation, and for the justice that must accompany it. The wrongs that have been perpetrated can never be undone, and their staggering scale means that no restitution will ever be adequate. And yet, the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina has said that the institutionalized racism within which we still live, work, and worship must and can be dismantled with God's help. This dismantling will take some time, but the urgency that so many in our diocese now feel will spur us forward, rather than keeping us chained to the past as gradualism did.

This report will contribute to the dismantling of institutionalized racism in our common life by offering a starting point for reflection on the diocesan implication in, and support for, white supremacy. Further conversation and consultation, especially with Black members of the diocese and Indigenous neighbors, will help to discern next steps.

Appendix

Bill of sale for enslaved persons owned by Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft, March 1828

“Negro boy, John, to John F. Finch \$207.50
Nelly and child James, W.W. Young \$261
Boy Abrum, John F. Finch \$153
Michael, R. Allen \$161
Old Abrum, Aggy and William, J.F. Finch \$301.50
Providence do do [ditto ditto] \$353
Eliza and child Thomas, James Bowers \$341
John do do \$100
Robert do do \$120
Emorilla do do \$150
Molly and child do do \$334
Absolum, Thomas Bragg \$200
Daniel, Eb. Hepburn \$500
Armstead, William Steel \$0.50
Old Fanny do do \$5
Elizabeth, R[rest of name unclear] Allen \$149”

¹ Journal of the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, 1824, 36. The Journals of Convention are available on line at [Journal of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of North Carolina archives \(upenn.edu\)](http://www.upenn.edu/journals-of-the-protestant-episcopal-church-in-the-diocese-of-north-carolina-archives).

² For a list of the enslaved persons sold, see Appendix. The bill of sale is archived in the John Stark Ravenscroft Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It would be challenging, and perhaps impossible, to find descendants of the persons sold, but an attempt could be made.

³ Anne C. Bailey, *The Weeping Time: Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 7-8. Also helpful is Heather Andrea Williams, *Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

⁴ Lawrence Foushee London and Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959* (Raleigh: The Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, 1987), 165.

⁵ Glenn Robins, *The Bishop of the Old South: The Ministry and Civil War Legacy of Leonidas Polk* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2006), 12.

⁶ The Rev. Dr. N. Brooks Graebner, “Vignettes from the Racial History of the Diocese of North Carolina,” paper for use in Dismantling Racism Training, September 12, 2019. By the beginning of the Civil War a generation later, there were still only 1,973 communicants on the diocesan rolls. Lawrence Foushee London and Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 225. Until 1883, the diocese covered the whole state of North Carolina.

⁷ Many studies of diocesan history, a number of them about Black churches and clergy, can be found at <https://www.episdionc.org/in-depth-history/>.

⁸ Anyone interested specifically in white female slaveholders may read Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

⁹ The most comprehensive study of the case for federal reparations to African Americans is William A. Darity and A. Kirsten Mullen, *From Here to Equality: Reparations for Black Americans in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

¹⁰ The diocese originally covered the whole state of North Carolina. The Episcopal Diocese of East Carolina was formed in 1883, and the Episcopal Diocese of Western North Carolina in 1922.

¹¹ Malinda Maynor Lowery, *The Lumbee Indians: An American Struggle* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 23, 25.

¹² <https://livingchurch.org/2013/08/28/manteo-virginia-dare-hiv/>, accessed 17 March 2021.

¹³ For an accessible introduction to Indigenous peoples in what is now claimed as North Carolina, see Theda Perdue and Christopher Arris Oakley, *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Office of Archives and History), 2010.

¹⁴ “Stagville (Orange County),” in “Ancient North Carolinians: A Virtual Museum of North Carolina Archaeology,” <https://ancientnc.web.unc.edu/colonial-heritage/by-time/antebellum/stagville-orange-county/>, accessed 17 March 2021. The Cameron Family Papers, dating back to 1757, are held at the University of North Carolina’s Southern Historical Collection.

¹⁵ Davyd Foard Hood, *To the Glory of God: Christ Church 1821-1996* (Raleigh, Marblehead Publishing, 1997), 10.

¹⁶ https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/relativevalue.php?year_source=1822&amount=10000&year_result=2019, accessed 23 November 2020. This comparison is based on the “prestige value” of money, which compares the relative value of an amount of money to the total output of the economy in two different years. In other words, prestige value expresses how much money a person would have to have today to be considered as rich as someone who had a certain amount in the past; or how big a gift to the church would have to be today, to be as impressive as a past gift of a certain amount. All such comparisons are inexact.

¹⁷ North Carolina Runaway Slave Advertisements Digital Collection, <http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/RAS/id/1396/rec/11>, accessed 17 March 2021.

¹⁸ \$22,000 in 1841 has a “prestige value” of about \$15.6 million today (exact comparisons cannot be made). https://www.measuringworth.com/dollarvaluetoday/relativevalue.php?year_source=1841&amount=22000&year_result=2020, accessed 17 March 2021.

¹⁹ The Rev. Brooks Graebner, Ph.D., “Duncan Cameron’s Contributions to the Episcopal Church, 1817-1842: A Profile in Lay Leadership.” An Address Delivered at the Annual Homecoming Service St. Mary’s Chapel, Orange County August 24, 2008.

https://www.episdionc.org/uploads/images/duncan-camerons-contributions-to-the-episcopal-church_327.pdf, accessed 11 March 2021.

²⁰ Personal communication from Saint Mary's School librarian.

²¹ Sydney Nathans, *To Free a Family: The Journey of Mary Walker* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 29.

²² "Persistence and survival': One of NC's largest plantations tells story of slavery," *News and Observer*, December 25, 2019, <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article238708838.html>, accessed 11 March 2021.

²³ London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 190. London and Lemmon take at face value the reports of large slaveowners' "concern" for "the spiritual life of blacks," 189.

²⁴ John Hope Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 13:3 (September 1944), 222-223.

²⁵ Journal of Convention, 1846, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc30epis>, 14. See also Michael Malone, "Levi Silliman Ives: Priest, Bishop, Tractarian, and Roman Catholic Convert" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1970), 124.

²⁶ <https://www.ncpedia.org/history/somerset-place>, accessed 12 March 2021. For insight into the lives of enslaved and white persons at and around Somerset, see Dorothy Spruill Redford with Michael D'Orso, *Somerset Homecoming: Recovering a Lost Heritage* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000; originally published 1988).

²⁷ Journal of Convention, 1865, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc49episc>, 23.

²⁸ The Rev. Dr. Brooks Graebner, "One great fellowship of love? Theological convictions & ecclesial realities in the racial history of the Diocese of North Carolina Address delivered to the Annual Convention of the Diocese," 16 November 2017, https://www.episdionc.org/uploads/images/one-great-fellowship-of-love-overview-of-racial-history_977.pdf, 5.

²⁹ Journal of Convention, 1912, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc96epis>, 42.

³⁰ "The North Carolina Churchman," May 1912, 11, Diocesan Archives.

³¹ "The North Carolina Churchman," February 1914, 11.

³² "The North Carolina Churchman," January 1912, 8-9.

³³ Journal of Convention, 1912, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc96epis>.

³⁴ "The North Carolina Churchman," January 1912, 10.

³⁵ Journal of Convention, 1912, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc96epis>.

³⁶ "The North Carolina Churchman," April 1916, 14.

³⁷ London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 301-302. Of the missions directly founded by Murdoch, two remain: St. Paul's and St. Matthew's, Salisbury. Murdoch's life and church-building is described in a parish history, "The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of St. Paul's Parish" (1987), online at http://s3.amazonaws.com/dfc_attachments/public/documents/3238028/870607StPaul_sSalisbury100th.pdf, accessed 21 April 2021.

³⁸ "The North Carolina Churchman," December 1913, 5.

³⁹ "The North Carolina Churchman," July 1912, 10-11. St. Anna's story is outlined in the bulletin for its second annual homecoming service: https://www.episdionc.org/uploads/images/st-annas-littleton-homecoming-2019_539.pdf, accessed 21 April 2021.

⁴⁰ "The North Carolina Churchman," July 1912, 8.

⁴¹ "The North Carolina Churchman," July 1912, 7.

⁴² Journal of Convention, 1913, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc97epis>, 84.

⁴³ "The Carolina Churchman," October 1912, 16.

⁴⁴ "The Carolina Churchman," February 1924, 8, 9.

⁴⁵ Journal of Convention, 1956, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc813epis>, 159.

⁴⁶ "The North Carolina Churchman," June 1912, 8-9.

⁴⁷ "The North Carolina Churchman," June-July 1916, 3.

⁴⁸ Executive Summary, "A Research Summary on Slavery and Race at the University of the South and in the Community of Sewanee," <https://new.sewanee.edu/roberson-project/learn-more/research-summary/>, accessed 19 April 2021.

⁴⁹ "The North Carolina Churchman," July 1912, cover and 3-4.

⁵⁰ "The North Carolina Churchman," March 1916, 3.

⁵¹ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2020/10/08/once-limited-to-white-recipients-episcopal-churches-corbin-scholarships-named-for-donor-who-served-in-confederacy-research-shows/>, accessed 12 March 2021.

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- ⁵² All information taken from the binder listing components of the Common Trust, held at Diocesan House in Raleigh.
- ⁵³ Journal of Convention, 1970, <http://archive.org/stream/journalofannualc1213epis#page/n7/mode/2up>, 165.
- ⁵⁴ The Rev. Othello Stanley to Bishop Thomas Fraser, 29 December 1965, Diocesan Archives, Fraser Papers, Churches – Mission Files, Box 53.
- ⁵⁵ Bishop Thomas Fraser to The Rev. Herbert N. Tucker, 23 July 1963, Diocesan Archives, Fraser Papers, Churches – Mission Files, Box 53.
- ⁵⁶ Journal of Convention, 1969, <http://archive.org/stream/journalofannualc1213epis#page/n7/mode/2up>, 93.
- ⁵⁷ London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 291.
- ⁵⁸ Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy: The Black and White “Better Classes” in Charlotte, 1850-1910* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1994), electronic edition, Chapter 3. The quotes come from “House of the Good Samaritan,” *Charlotte Messenger*, 19 May and 22 December 1888; “Good Samaritan Hospital,” *Charlotte Chronicle*, 10 July 1891.
- ⁵⁹ Quoted in Iris Carlton-LaNey, “Women and Interracial Cooperation in Establishing the Good Samaritan Hospital,” *Affilia* 13:1 (Spring 2000), 70.
- ⁶⁰ Carlton-LaNey, 72.
- ⁶¹ Carlton-LaNey, 75.
- ⁶² Pamphlet for Camp Finney, Diocesan Archives, Pamphlets Box 2.
- ⁶³ Journal of Convention, 1924, https://archive.org/stream/journalofannualc1924epis/journalofannualc1924epis_djvu.txt, 87.
- ⁶⁴ Journal of Convention, 1927, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc213epis>, 92-93.
- ⁶⁵ “The North Carolina Churchman,” February 1928, n.p.
- ⁶⁶ “Carolina Churchman,” May 1932, n.p.
- ⁶⁷ London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 419.
- ⁶⁸ Journal of Convention, 1941, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc213epis>, 137.
- ⁶⁹ London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 420-422.
- ⁷⁰ R. N. Harris to Edwin A. Penick, April 30, 1945, Diocesan Archives, Penick Papers, Camp Delany, 1945-46.
- ⁷¹ “Report of the Committee on the State of the Church,” Journal of Convention, 1955, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc713epis>, 137.
- ⁷² London and Lemmon, eds., *The Episcopal Church in North Carolina, 1701-1959*, 423.
- ⁷³ Executive Council Minutes, 19 October 1962, Diocesan Archives.
- ⁷⁴ For example, in the “Statement to the Convention from the Vestry of Trinity Episcopal Church, Scotland Neck, N.C.,” Journal of Convention 1960, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc913epis>, 149; “Report of the Executive Council,” 1961, <http://archive.org/details/journalofannualc913epis>, 88.