Abstract

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND INCLUSION AT SAINT JAMES SCHOOL OF MARYLAND

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This project is a historical analysis of the development of diversity, equity, and inclusion at Saint James School, established in 1842 at “Fountain Rock” plantation in Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland. It starts from the conception of the “Church school” by William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877) and goes through the present time in the tenure of the Tenth Headmaster, Donald Stuart Dunnan (b. 1959). Saint James School identifies as “an Episcopal school within the Anglo-Catholic tradition” that “remains faithful to our historic identity as a Church school.” The purpose for this project is to bring forward the “blind spots” in the School’s historic Oxford Movement and present-day Anglo-Catholic heritage and Muhlenberg’s Church School Movement.

For Saint James School to remain what it has been, but in a changed way, it must be theologically orthodox, liturgically traditional, and socially progressive governed by the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Muhlenberg’s vision is still worth maintaining, but with a more comprehensive meaning and application. Saint James School can remain faithful to its stated mission of being a Muhlenbergian Church school whose Christian identity is the basis for its inclusivity and Anglican affiliation and ecumenism enabling the School to prepare young people of all races, sexes, and gender identities to be “leaders for good in the world.”

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In memory of my father, John

and

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My appreciation also extends to three others whose thoughts proved helpful along the way. Many thanks to Andrew C. Mead, David Pitre, and Pat Taylor for their interest in this project, helpful thoughts, and continued friendship.

My last acknowledgement goes to one whose life and vocation was a model of diversity, equity, and inclusion. Growing up as an African American boy in the 1930s and 1940s, he was frequently discouraged from trying to have a career beyond his Pennsylvania hometown steel mill. During a fifty-plus-year career in secondary and higher education, he was the first African American President of the New Jersey Commission for the Blind and taught at Teacher’s College, Columbia University, Temple University, the University of Texas at Austin, Talladega College, and the Alabama Institute for the Deaf and Blind. He was the first African American to receive the Doctor of Education degree in Rehabilitation and Special Education from Auburn University in 1979. He was the first African American to be appointed Superintendent of the Mississippi School for the Blind, serving from 1989 until 1998. Reminiscences of his encouragement of my own continuing education and ordained ministry and our conversations about race form part of the foundation of this project. To my late father, John Leonard Parrish (1933-2016), I extend my greatest thanks and appreciation. To his memory I dedicate this project. I will always be proud to be his son.
Introduction

John Evas Owens, Jr. (1918-2013), the Eighth Headmaster of Saint James School in Hagerstown, Maryland from 1955 until 1984, was committed to integrating the School. J. Scott Geare ‘66 recalls a story his late father, John Edwards Geare ‘32 (1914-2003), a longtime member of the Saint James Board of Trustees, once told him about an early-to-mid-1960s trustees meeting at which was discussed admitting a prospective black student. According to Geare, Lucius James Kellam, Jr. ‘31 (1911-1995), another longtime trustee and a prominent Virginia Eastern Shore businessman, expressed concern that the School’s several constituencies would not support Saint James admitting a black student. Kellam is reported to have said, “The voices of our ancestors are telling us not to do this.” Noble Powell (1891-1968), the Ninth Bishop of Maryland and Chairman of the Board of Trustees, reportedly told Kellam, “Well, I listen to a different voice. And what that voice is telling me to do is to admit him.” Ultimately, the Board of Trustees opened the doors of Saint James School to minority students.¹

Established on an antebellum slave estate known as “Fountain Rock” six miles southwest of Hagerstown and seventy-one miles from Baltimore and Washington, D.C., replete with Georgian architecture, stone walls, and exquisite gardens, Saint James School is oftentimes called the “best kept secret” of Washington County, Maryland. A solid set of liberal arts classes with a broad choice of electives characterize the traditional curriculum.

¹ J. Scott Geare, Conversation with the Author (August 31, 2020). D. Stuart Dunnann, Saint James’s current Headmaster, once said when telling this same story that the admission of black students “did not take for several more years.” With black students not appearing in the Bai Yuka, Saint James’s annual yearbook, until the 1970s and Lester Horace Blackett (b. 1955) matriculating as a one-year international student from Nevis in the fall of 1971 and becoming the School’s first black graduate in the Class of 1972, Dunnann’s statement highlights the probability that either the prospective black student was admitted but did not enroll or was admitted, enrolled, but very soon left the School.
It is unapologetically Christian, established on October 3, 1842 by American leaders of the Oxford Movement. It is also inclusive of students from many different religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. And it is a school that values smallness, believing that an intentionally small community gives students a sense of belonging and community not found at larger schools. But the School’s beauty and admirable education goals must not prevent us from telling the truth about its origins in interaction with the troubled history of race in America. Hence, my desire to write a project on diversity, equity, and inclusion at this historic Episcopal Church boarding school.

Saint James School of Maryland identifies as “an Episcopal school within the Anglo-Catholic tradition” that “remains faithful to our historic identity as a Church school.” When Saint James was being conceived, as will be seen in the chapters that follow, Anglo-Catholicism did not exist and William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877), one of the School’s founders, was suspicious of the Oxford Movement’s sympathy with Roman Catholicism. Despite Muhlenberg’s aversion to Anglo-Catholicism, Saint James looks to his Church school vision as its standard for operation. It is what has made Saint James the distinctive place it is among present-day Episcopal schools.

Powell’s reputed statement to Kellam points to what being an Episcopal Church school in the Anglo-Catholic tradition should mean. Anglo-Catholicism seeks to provide through the Church’s liturgy a foretaste of the perfect union that will one day be shared with God in Heaven. This, its stress on community, and view of the Church as Christ’s visible Body of different but equally important members on earth makes Anglo-

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Catholicism theologically an anti-racist movement. Saint James School’s Anglo-Catholic identity is its witness to young people to the powerful love of God offered to all people.

What must be kept in mind, though, is that today’s concept of diversity, equity, and inclusion in relation to Muhlenberg’s Church school vision does not mean the same thing it did in 1842. Even by the standards of their own day, the leaders of the Church School Movement, the Oxford Movement, and Anglo-Catholicism had their “blind spots” in matters of race and gender. Although these leaders did not live up to it, they nevertheless gave a theological account of humanity made in the image of God, which (I will argue) is in continuity with today’s conception of diversity.

As we will soon see, things that were done did not always match with the theology that was taught. When it came to diversity, equity, and inclusion, though the idea was there, it was not fully practiced. The truth we will see about the High Church tradition is that it was not as inclusive as it is often presented as being. For many years, the idea of diversity, equity, and inclusion in Muhlenberg’s Church school vision articulated by Saint James School remained only an idea.

**Project Overview**

Chapter One will look at the Church School Movement conceived by Muhlenberg, who viewed Church schools as “scholastic brotherhoods” through which God’s grace enlightens one’s mind, stirs one’s heart, and strengthens one’s will to doing good. Yet, despite his aversion to the Oxford Movement, Saint James credits Muhlenberg’s Evangelical Catholicism and Church school philosophy as the foundation upon which the diversity and inclusion it currently enjoys was built. Chapter Two will cover William
Rollinson Whittingham (1805-1879), the Fourth Bishop of Maryland who founded Saint James School. Despite evangelizing enslaved and free blacks during the antebellum and Civil War years, Whittingham's theological reserve kept him from admitting black parishes into full union with the diocese, viewing such issue as not being part of the Church's received tradition.

Chapter Three will consider how the recorded actions of John Barrett Kerfoot (1816-1881), Saint James's founding Headmaster, for Saint James's black slaves and free employees is arguably the closest model of diversity, equity, and inclusion seen during the School's early years. Chapter Four will examine how the headmasterships of Henry Onderdonk (1822-1895) and his son Adrian (1877-1956), an alumnus of the Class of 1895, and of those between and after them from 1869 until 1955 were a setback to the School's gradual progression toward full diversity, equity, and inclusion. John Owens, the Eighth Headmaster and an Anglo-Catholic priest, restarted Saint James's development to becoming a fully diverse, equitable, and inclusive community. It was during Owens's twenty-nine-year headmastership that Saint James became racially integrated and in which female students first came as day students. His impact is still felt in the School's everyday work and common life.

Chapter Five will begin by telling how Richard Baker, Jr. (1935-1999), the Ninth Headmaster, built upon his predecessor's work with the Board of Trustees' approval of female boarding during its Fall 1990 meeting. But, as will be outlined, Baker's termination in the late spring of 1991 prevented him from seeing this achievement come to pass or being acknowledged for his role in making female boarding a reality. The chapter will end in the present, detailing how diversity, equity, and inclusion under the current Headmaster,
D. Stuart Dunn (b. 1959), has remained strong with a quarter percent enrollment increase of international students, many minority students from the United States, and an increase of female student leaders, including the election of six women as Senior Prefect (the School’s top student leader). But with the reemergence in recent years of racist violence and civil protest throughout the United States, the School’s young alumni, asserting the presence at Saint James of microaggressions, prejudice, and even blatant racism, are calling for Dunn’s “moving call[s] for social justice” to lead to change within its community. It is now his task to lead Saint James in its next developmental phase toward complete diversity, equity, and inclusion.

The Purpose of this Project

Considering the social challenges of recent years, Dunnan has called on Saint James to reflect on how it can best address the injustices with which its people are continually confronted. “The last four years...[have] certainly caused us to reconsider how we teach and understand our history.”4 This project is my contribution to the School’s reflective work toward complete diversity, equity, and inclusion. The purpose of this project is to bring forward the blind spots regarding diversity, equity, and inclusivity in Saint James’s own history, particularly in its historic Oxford Movement and present-day Anglo-Catholic tradition and Muhlenberg’s Church school vision. I will argue that, despite the blind spots, Muhlenberg’s vision should not be discontinued at Saint James. For Saint James School to remain what it has been, but in a changed way, it must be theologically orthodox, liturgically traditional, and socially progressive, governed by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Church school model is still worth maintaining, but with a more comprehensive meaning and application. Saint James School can remain faithful to its stated vision of being a Muhlenbergian school whose Anglican affiliation is the basis for its inclusivity and ecumenical commitment enabling the School to prepare young people of all races, sexes, and gender identities to be "leaders for good in the world."\(^5\)

The major question I will consider through this work is, "How can Muhlenberg's Church school vision be useful in today's understanding and development of diversity, equity, and inclusion?" The best new developments and their results come from the organic development of what is already there. The intent is not to change Saint James's Church school tradition and Anglo-Catholic heritage. Yet, Saint James should be willing to make sure that its Church school tradition and Anglo-Catholic heritage reflects what it means: full diversity, equity, and inclusion. Saint James must do this because these are things that help make its Christianity more authentic and life-affirming.

Chapter One

The Beginning Development of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in William Augustus Muhlenberg’s Church School Movement

Established on October 3, 1842 on the slave estate “Fountain Rock” in Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland, Saint James School was founded by Episcopal Church clergy sympathetic to the Oxford Movement, a powerful energy that aimed at renewal within the Anglican Communion, including the Episcopal Church. The Movement began with members of the University of Oxford, several of them fellows of Oriel College. John Henry Newman (1801-1890), a principal leader, took the beginning of the Movement to be July 14, 1833, when John Keble (1792-1866) preached his Assize Sermon “National Apostasy” at the University Church of Saint Mary the Virgin.

The Oxford Movement was a strong religious response to political circumstances. The Reform Bill (1832) set in motion legislative changes which alarmed members of the Church of England. For example, the Irish Temporalities Bill (1833) was perceived as an attack on the Church by the 2nd Earl Grey’s Whig government. While the changes to the Church of Ireland were not unreasonable, Keble and his colleagues questioned Parliament’s authority to make ecclesiastical changes.¹

The Oxford Movement’s leaders sought to prevent Dissenters from the Church of England from gaining their civil rights.² They were convinced that Irish Roman Catholics

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¹ Frank M. Turner, John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion (Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 19, 67. Turner writes, “Keble delivered his sermon seized with fury at the Irish Temporalities Bill, which abolished ten Irish bishoprics as part of a larger scheme to reform Irish Church finance by substituting the income from those sees for income previously drawn from charges against the general Irish population. The bill clearly embodied the contemporary reform spirit” (p. 69).

² Among the several grievances levied by Dissenters was them being taxed a “Church rate” for the support of the Established Church. George Herring writes how all Church of England clergy saw the prospects of radical reform, including the possible abolition of Church rates, as earth-shattering and a threat to the link between the Established Church and the State (What Was the Oxford Movement? Continuum, 2002, pp. 13-
and Protestant Dissenters would seek to radically reform the Church of England. They feared such action would endanger the Established Church’s property and, with it, their clerical standing. What this makes clear is that the Oxford Movement was not an inclusive movement.

The Oxford Movement reminded the Church of England that it was a branch of the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, not a mere creation of the English Reformers. It was a religious body instituted by Christ, guided through time by the Holy Spirit, directed by the Apostles, followed by their episcopal successors, preserved in doctrinal truth, enriched by centuries of tradition, infused with divine grace through the Sacraments, and destined to abide until Christ’s Second Coming in glory.3

Stewart Brown and Peter Nockles write that the Oxford Movement

proclaimed boldly that the Church of England represented the divine authority that society needed in order to meet the challenge of the spread of religious and political liberalism and unbelief and was a counterpoise to the growing influence of evangelical individualism with its emphasis on private judgment. In contrast... the Movement’s leaders promoted an unostentatious but deep spirituality which emphasized awe, obedience, reverence and the principle of reserve when communicating religious knowledge. The Tractarians placed a particular value on fasting, self-denial, and asceticism.4

16). Richard Brent, in turn, writes how many reformist Whigs believed that abolishing Church rates would render the Church of England “more acceptable to a substantial minority of the country which, sharing a common faith, was nearer to Anglicanism than to heathenism” (“The Whigs and Protestant Dissent in the Decade of Reform: The Case of Church Rates, 1833-1841,” The English Historical Review, Vol. 102, No. 405, October 1987, p. 890). See also J. P. Ellen, “Lord John Russell and the Church Rate Conflict” (The Journal of British Studies, Vol. 26, No. 2, April 1987, pp. 232-257).


The Oxford Movement advocated and observed the principle of reserve as noted by Brown and Nockles. Isaac Williams (1802-1865) explained in Tract LXXX\(^5\) of the *Tracts for the Times* that the mysteries of faith should not be revealed too soon to hearers not yet in a proper spiritual place to receive them. Human understanding and reasoning are gifts from God, yet humanity’s imperfect nature precludes it from fully understanding every mystery of faith. God’s mercy resulted in Scripture giving a measured revelation to humanity, as scholars such as Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), Oxford’s Regius Professor of Hebrew, believed.\(^6\)

William Augustus Muhlenberg, a nineteenth century Episcopal priest, the founder of the Church School Movement, and one of the great educators in American history, was one of the Episcopal Church’s examples of reserve, exemplifying a cautious and steady teaching of theological topics. He knew that religious matters had to be taught at just the right pace and taken in by students in just the right amount, otherwise he risked undermining his students’ beliefs.\(^7\) As Pusey encouraged High Church adherents to do in England, Muhlenberg in America first won the hearts of his students and people, and, because he did, reverent fruits showed themselves.

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\(^5\) Before Newman’s publishing of Tract XC (“Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles”) and, with it, the cessation of the *Tracts for the Times* in 1841, Williams’s Tracts LXXX and LXXXVII (“On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge”) were the most controversial installments of the series.

\(^6\) Reserve is a principle not unique to the Oxford Movement, but rather is a longstanding principle of Catholic theology. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) discusses reserve in detail in his *Summa Theologica*, written from 1265 up until his death and published in 1485, through his question “How God is Known to Us” (Part 1, Question 12, Articles 1-13). The Oxford Movement’s founders adopted and advocated for reserve as a sound method of good order and measured teaching of the Movement’s High Church theology.

There were some Oxford Movement clergy (Muhlenberg did not count himself one of them) who felt the need for something more in the way of Anglicanism's evangelical witness. They questioned "What good would the Movement be?" if its theology could not be implemented through action. These clergy wanted to "preach and teach...develop our views into system, and...be instruments in the preservation of the Church." Through liturgical practice, these Oxford Movement clergy felt more effective in ministering to their people, showing the connection between Word and Sacrament and how Christ's people are united with Him as one Body in the sharing of His most precious Body and Blood. It was these clergy that gave rise to a new, renegade High Church party that would later become known as the "Anglo-Catholics."

George Herring asserts that what is believed to be the natural connection between the Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism is not so. Herring rejects Nigel Yates's thesis of continuity between the Oxford Movement and Anglo-Catholicism "to the extent that anyone sympathetic to ecclesiology was suspected of being a Tractarian." Herring says that "in the years before Newman's conversion in 1845, and in the fifteen years or so after it, there is...evidence that the...majority of Oxford Movement adherents, both amongst the original leaders...and their subsequent followers, were deeply suspicious of, and sought actively to contain, those dangerous advances in ceremonial." He cites correspondence from John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey to young clergymen reminding

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them that they were bound to obey their bishops in liturgical matters and warned them against introducing radical ceremonial actions.

**Muhlenberg’s “Evangelical Catholicism” in the Church School Movement**

Allen Guelzo asserts that Muhlenberg viewed himself neither as a High Churchman nor as an Anglo-Catholic, but as a firm Evangelical. What he saw of the Oxford Movement while traveling in England in 1843 worked up in Muhlenberg a strong revulsion to Anglo-Catholicism. He saw Anglo-Catholicism as delusional, narrowminded, prescriptively sectarian, its worship proscriptive of Protestantism, and thus a bar to the Church’s full catholicity. William Wilberforce Newton says that Muhlenberg’s ideals of catholicity were not reconcilable with Anglo-Catholicism: “If the historic catholicity were not likewise a living and actual catholicity, [Muhlenberg] knew that it could bring no helpful force or message to the present age.”

Muhlenberg styled himself an “Evangelical Catholic”—*Evangelical* in that he stressed personal faith in Jesus Christ and the Bible while also recognize the role of the emotions in the Christian life, and *Catholic* in that he maintained pre-Reformation Christian doctrines, especially the Apostles’, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds and the Chalcedonian Definition of the Person of Christ, and a visible Church in continuity with the Apostles. He defined Evangelical Catholicism as belief

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That our Lord came into the world, not only to make a revelation of the truth to mankind, but also to found an institution which should hold and be actuated by the truth He revealed, and of which He Himself should be the everliving Head...We believe in Christianity, not as an abstraction, but as an institution—a divine institution, adapted to all mankind in all ages: in other words, the Catholic Church. This we declare in calling ourselves Catholics.

We go at once to the Gospel, and assert ourselves Gospel (i.e., Evangelical) Catholics...Evangelical Catholic...is the proper denomination of all Protestants who honestly and heartily receive the Apostles’ Creed.11

Among the ways in which Muhlenberg systemized and institutionalized his Evangelical Catholic views was in his establishment of the Church School Movement. In 1826, Muhlenberg became Rector of St. George's Episcopal Church in Flushing, Long Island. He established the Flushing Institute in 1828, becoming in 1836 St. Paul's College and Grammar School, the great practical example of his Church school vision, at College Point, one mile north of Flushing. The triumph of the Church School Movement was evidenced by the success of Muhlenberg's protégés who carried on his vision and themselves made significant contributions to American education.12

Muhlenberg devised the Church School Movement by implementing an intentional application of the Christian faith as its chief subject and standard. W. L. Prehn describes Muhlenberg's vision of the Church school as being a "scholastic brotherhood." His philosophy was that "the main object of Intellectual Education...is not so much to instruct [students] in certain branches of knowledge as to [the] discipline [of their] mind—to lead [them] to think and acquire knowledge for [themselves]."13 As a "Church" school, such


12 Prehn, "Episcopal Schools: History & Mission," p. 11. In addition to John Barrett Kerfoot, the First Headmaster of Saint James School, one other prominent Muhlenberg protégé was Henry Augustus Colt (1830-1895), who, after a time on the faculty of the College and Grammar School of Saint James (the forerunner of Saint James School), served as the founding Rector of St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, where he instituted several of Muhlenberg's Church school ideas, from 1856 until his death.

13 Muhlenberg as quoted in Prehn, p. 15.
institutions were part of Christ's mystical Body, the Church, through which God's divine grace enlightened one's mind, stirred one's heart, and strengthened one's will towards doing good. Muhlenberg believed that unless a Church school held to a particular religious tradition, the school risked splintering into factions, causing division within the scholastic community. He believed Anglicanism was naturally ecumenical (save toward Rome) and Christianity inclusive as he believed Jesus was (and still is). Anglican ecumenism and inclusive Christianity enabled hospitality and regard for those different than oneself to thrive throughout the community.¹⁴

For Muhlenberg, the Church's liturgy was an important part of Church schools. By wanting to deepen the liturgical and devotional lives of his students, Muhlenberg made a perpetual contribution to the Episcopal Church's educational ministry, corporate life, and spiritual witness. W. L. Prehn notes how Muhlenberg, in showing his students at St. Paul's College and Grammar School in Flushing, Long Island how the Gospel is more than an idea, used liturgical drama and arresting graphics to make the Gospel as interesting as possible to them. The chapel was specially decorated on certain principal feasts and major holy days, such as St. Michael and All Angels (September 29), All Saints' Day (November 1), Christmas, and Easter. A huge painting of the Crucifixion was placed on the retable behind the altar and most liturgical flourishes were eliminated on Good Friday. Innovations like this, Prehn says, "worked...and put Muhlenberg way ahead of his time in [an] attempt to make divine worship interesting to boys."¹⁵


¹⁵ Prehn, p. 18.
Libertus Van Bokkelen (1815-1889), one of Muhlenberg’s students, offers the following account of chapel worship at St. Paul’s College and Grammar School.

The word ritualism was not in vogue then, nor for long after, as applied to worship imitative of, or “advanced” towards, Romish ceremonial; and, however abounding in...expression the observance of fast and festival at St. Paul’s College may have been, it would not, in the present technical sense of the word, be called “ritualistic.” There was nothing in it of ecclesiology or mere prescription—it was original with Dr. Muhlenberg...It was...poetry of which evangelical truth was concrete...In that chapel many young hearts made the resolve which led on to the holy ministry, of which, in its highest type, [Muhlenberg] the loving teacher and eloquent preacher was so perfect an exponent.16

At the same time Saint James was being devised in the early 1840s, Muhlenberg allowed for some degree of diversity but not for Anglo-Catholicism. His liturgical innovations were not intended to advance either an Oxford Movement or Anglo-Catholic agenda. Yet, from the viewpoint of many Anglo-Catholics, Muhlenberg was a liturgical forerunner. There are arguments made that Muhlenberg’s liturgical innovations in some way began the paving of the way for American Anglo-Catholicism. Christopher Knauff in his biography of John Ireland Tucker (1819-1895), a nineteenth century Episcopal priest-musician and once one of Muhlenberg’s students, quotes Arthur Cleveland Coxe (1818-1896), the Second Bishop of Western New York and another former Muhlenberg student, in saying Tucker “received his Catholic training from the Evangelical Master” and how “Dr. Muhlenberg ’made’ [Tucker].”17 George E. DeMille (1898-1983), a twentieth century Anglo-Catholic priest, viewed Muhlenberg as “the real Father of Ritualism in America.” And W. L. Prehn, a scholar in American education history, says Muhlenberg was obviously

16 Libertus Van Bokkelen as quoted in Ayres, p. 148.

17 Christopher A. Knauff. Doctor Tucker—Priest-Musician: A Sketch Which Concerns the Doings and Thinkings of the Rev. John Ireland Tucker, S.T.D. (A. D. F. Randolph Company, 1897), p. 20. Knauff also notes that it was at the now closed Church of the Holy Cross in Troy, New York, where Ireland served as the founding Rector for fifty years, where the first full choral service in an Episcopal Church parish was ever held and Gregorian chant introduced.
doing something new and that we should not be surprised if some of his former students
felt drawn because of their experiences at Flushing and College Point toward what could
be considered as early "Anglo-Catholic" ritualism.\textsuperscript{18}

But Allen Guelzo rejects the notion that Muhlenberg's liturgical innovations
pointed toward anything High Church or Anglo-Catholic. Guelzo says Muhlenberg's
innovations were part of his campaign for Evangelical Catholicism to harness the fervency
of "practical Christianity" to the discipline of "Catholic" church order. His goal was to
offer his students opportunities for worship and prayer that would be moving and
memorable, but not imitative of Roman Catholicism. Muhlenberg's liturgical innovations
were crafted to impart to his students sound Christian doctrine and building among them
corporate fellowship.\textsuperscript{19}

**Muhlenberg's Abhorrence of Slavery as an Emphasis on Moral Character**

Harold Lewis notes that black slaves were present in American Anglicanism since
the first recorded slave baptisms in Jamestown, Virginia in 1623. Allen Dwight Callahan
notes how seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American Anglicans made attempts to

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\textsuperscript{18} George E. DeMille, *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church (Second Edition)* (Church Historical Society, 1950), p. 77; W. L. Prehn, Email to the Author (July 12, 2020). One of Muhlenberg's "school sons" was James Lloyd Breck (1818-1876), one of the founders of Nashotah House Theological Seminary in Wisconsin. Though regarded by many Anglo-Catholics as one of the great founders of their tradition in America, Prehn does not believe that Breck was neither a Ritualist nor an Anglo-Catholic as the terms came to be defined by full-blown Anglo-Catholics in the late nineteenth century. His opinion is that the sources show Breck's religion was far closer to Muhlenberg's and Kerfoot's religion than is supposed by many Anglo-Catholic historians, including DeMille. But certainly Breck's life and religion contributed to the Anglo-Catholic ascendancy in the manner of the small, clear brook that makes the Mississippi River: the brook and the Mississippi River are the same but not at all the same. The same analogy might be used to explain Muhlenberg's inspiration for the Anglo-Catholic ritualism that developed later in the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{19} Prehn, p. 18; Guelzo, *For the Union of Evangelical Christendom*, p. 62.
introduce black slaves to the Christian faith. “Some [Anglican] clergymen composed special catechisms of biblical phrases and doctrinal sentences that slaves could be taught to parrot in preparation for baptism.” But the Southern planter class was indifferent and often hostile to black slave evangelization. The evangelization they did receive was little more than vague assurances of blessedness in the afterlife.20

Muhlenberg’s expressed feelings about slavery indicate the moral philosophy that informed his establishment of the Church School Movement. Anne Ayres, Muhlenberg’s biographer, makes quite clear that he abhorred slavery and Muhlenberg himself called the institution in an 1820 sermon preached before the American Colonization Society “an immense national evil.” Michael Bourgeois says that Muhlenberg was one of the strongest early supporters of the ACS. Founded in 1816, the organization’s purpose was to “put free blacks where they could best use their civilized talents for the benefit of themselves and Africa.”21 Many early ACS supporters like Muhlenberg supported the organization out of their sincere desire to see free blacks flourish.

But, by the 1830s, the organization was heading in a different direction. Gerrit Smith (1797-1874), a leading New York State social reformer and abolitionist, resigned from the ACS in 1835 when it was clear that it had become just “as much an Anti-Abolition, as Colonization Society.” Smith helped establish the New York State Anti-Slavery Society in


Ayres says that the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) and the Supreme Court’s majority decision in \textit{Dred Scott v. Sandford} (1857) saddened and disgusted Muhlenberg a great deal. She also recounts that he was a “stop” on the Underground Railroad, pointing, from time to time, fugitive slaves in the direction of the national border. Whereas antebellum America called on its citizens to aid the return of fugitive slaves to servitude, Muhlenberg, in company with many others, was indignant about the country’s efforts. He instead decided to show kindness and care for those fugitive slaves seeking freedom. Muhlenberg strongly supported Abraham Lincoln’s election as President of the United States in 1860.\footnote{Ayres, pp. 333-334.}

What Muhlenberg’s opinions about slavery help pinpoint is his concern not only for his students’ attainment of intellectual knowledge and their devotional life, but also their evolving moral character. Muhlenberg believed that a general academic education would obtain in a school if it aimed \textit{above} academic excellence to something altogether
more excellent: Christian virtue. His view was that moral education should be based on the
Christian faith out of his belief that the Gospel of Jesus “is the…revelation of [God’s] will”
and “the…foundation…of genuine virtue.” For Muhlenberg, daily chapel was the vehicle
for students’ moral education and the most effective means of keeping before them the
right standards for living. Moral character was sacrosanct with Christian virtue.²⁴

John Barrett Kerfoot, the founding Headmaster of the College and Grammar School
of Saint James, was one of Muhlenberg’s Flushing Institute students and Church school
colleagues. Not only had Muhlenberg been his priest and teacher, but a sort of surrogate
father. Though no surviving letters seem to exist detailing any written counsel Muhlenberg
might have given Kerfoot on slavery, surely Kerfoot knew his mentor’s views of the
institution.²⁵

At the 1865 General Convention, held in October in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
the most outspoken advocates for the Church’s reunion with Confederate Episcopalians in
the South were William Rollinson Whittingham, the Fourth Bishop of Maryland and
founder of the College and Grammar School of Saint James, and Kerfoot, representing the
Diocese of Connecticut as a clergy deputy.²⁶ The Convention passed a resolution calling

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²⁴ William Augustus Muhlenberg, The Application of Christianity to Education: Being the Principles and
Plan of Education to Be Adopted in the Institute at Flushing, L.I. (Sleight & George, 1828), p. 6.

²⁵ Hall Harrison, Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Pittsburgh
(Volume I: 1816-1864) (James Pott & Co., 1886), pp. 1-4. W. L. Prehn says that Muhlenberg instructed Anne
Ayers to destroy (except for certain ones) all his papers upon his death. Furthermore, Hall Harrison, Kerfoot’s
biographer, says many of Kerfoot’s own papers have “been unfortunately lost or destroyed.” Therefore, any
letters that may have existed between Muhlenberg and Kerfoot about slavery are more than likely forever
lost (W. L. Prehn, Conversation with the Author, December 9, 2020; Hall Harrison, Life of the Right Reverend
1886, p. 402).

²⁶ After Saint James’s closure in 1864 due to the Civil War, Kerfoot became the President of Trinity College
in Hartford, Connecticut.
for a “day of thanksgiving for a return of peace to the country and unity to the Church.” Horace Binney (1780-1875), a prominent lawyer, former United States Congressman, and a lay deputy from Pennsylvania, offered a subsequent resolution asking the Convention to incorporate “in the religious services appointed for the day especial thanks...to Almighty God...for the removal of the great occasion of national dissension and estrangement to which our late troubles were due.” In other words, what Binney requested was the inclusion of prayers of thanksgiving for the end of slavery.

But Kerfoot spoke against the resolution. During his speech, Kerfoot dared any bishop and clergy or lay deputy (particularly those from Maryland) to provide evidence of his disloyalty to the Union or support for secession prior to the Civil War. Kerfoot, though, feared that if the resolution were to pass, the Southern dioceses would have left the General Convention embarrassed, disheartened, and feeling expelled, which, in turn, would have indefinitely postponed the Church’s reunion. Kerfoot also felt that the General Convention “was not the place for declarations on...any distinctly national topic; nor on any topics whatever, civil or social, except in direct and necessary connection with ecclesiastical and religious work.”

Kerfoot’s opposition speech was typical of a nineteenth century High Churchman. The American High Church Party, heavily influenced by the “Evangelical Truth, Apostolic


Order” banner of John Henry Hobart (1775-1830), the Third Bishop of New York from 1816 until his death, maintained that any question not explicitly discussed in the Scriptures or by the early Church councils or supported by received tradition was not for the Church’s consideration. Known as the “Hobartian Synthesis,” the emphasis placed upon the Church’s sacred nature, fear of schism, and concern with unity as a mark of God’s Holy Spirit precluded High Churchmen from entertaining or condoning any radical action on slavery.²⁹

Hall Harrison, Kerfoot’s biographer, says Muhlenberg was disappointed to find out about Kerfoot’s vote against Binney’s resolution. He felt there needed to be some form of acknowledgment by the Episcopal Church and repentance by the Southern dioceses for the divisions that were caused to the country and the Church on account of slavery.³⁰ Binney’s resolution was one of the few instances in which Muhlenberg and Kerfoot differed with each other.

Nevertheless, Muhlenberg’s influence was arguably a factor in Kerfoot’s engagement in private gradual efforts in Maryland before the Civil War to stop slavery’s expansion and bring an end to it. His influence also arguably impacted Kerfoot’s level of pastoral care he offered to free and enslaved blacks beyond what many white Southern Christian ministers usually offered. Muhlenberg and Kerfoot’s ways were different, but the ends were the same. As will be seen, Muhlenberg’s emphasis on moral character, conveyed


through his dramatized Evangelical Catholicism at the Flushing Institute, impacted Kerfoot
during Saint James’s founding years, making his tenure the best representation of diversity,
equity, and inclusion for that time.

**Muhlenberg’s Vision in the Anglo-Catholicism of Present-Day Saint James School**

Anglo-Catholicism sought (and still seeks) much that was in common with
Muhlenberg’s vision, such as its aim to provide its adherents a foretaste of the perfect union
that will one day be shared with God in Heaven. Its stress on community and the view of
the Church as Christ’s visible Body of equals on earth would make Anglo-Catholicism a
diverse and inclusive tradition. Anglo-Catholicism has appealed to racial minorities
because of its commitment to the social equality of the members of the Body of Christ and
its rich liturgical heritage.

There are two aspects of Anglo-Catholicism that in some ways reinforce
Muhlenberg’s Evangelical Catholic theology and Church school philosophy upon which
Saint James School was founded 178 years ago. The first is the Anglo-Catholic emphasis
on a corporate society of equals. Anglo-Catholicism stresses a cooperative social vision,
emphasizing the Church as Christ’s united visible Body on earth and an integral element
in the proclamation of the Gospel. Similarly, Muhlenberg conceived of the Church school
as being like a “scholastic brotherhood” of different yet equally important people. The
importance of this idea cannot be understated in terms of what makes Saint James the
school it is among American boarding schools. The strong *philia* love noticed by visitors
is a hallmark of who it is as a community.\(^{31}\)

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The second is Anglo-Catholicism’s commitment to the transformation of persons. At the heart of Anglo-Catholic spirituality is a willingness to being open to the Holy Spirit’s power to transform both the individual and the community. Similarly, Muhlenberg aimed for the Church school experience to deepen his students’ liturgical and devotional lives and lead to their spiritual transformation. Saint James’s support of its students and faculty of all faiths in their common pilgrimage of life is such an opportunity, opening the community’s worldview to the importance of social equality. The commitment at Saint James to personal and spiritual transformation leads to the desire to make and maintain a school community characterized by social equality and thus inclusion and diversity.

Upon William Augustus Muhlenberg’s Church school ideals and principles Saint James School was founded and still stands. Though Muhlenberg did not conceive the Church School Movement with racial integration in mind, within it were the seeds of diversity, equity, and inclusion that would become for this School a natural expression in various ways of its love for God and commitment to its Christian heritage. Because of Muhlenberg’s vision and, in my opinion, the grace of God, Saint James School is that diverse, equitable, and inclusive scholastic community whose learning lamp has not gone out.

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33 Cf. 1 Samuel 3:1-10
Chapter Two

William Rollinson Whittingham—The High Church “Pith and Sap” of Saint James School’s Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

William Rollinson Whittingham, the bishop who founded Saint James School, was born in New York City on December 2, 1805 and baptized soon after at Trinity Church. William’s father, Richard Whittingham (1776-1858), was a brass founder who “[cared] for knowledge” and “had a love for books as books.” His mother, Mary Anne née Rollinson (1785-1849), home schooled the young William. Mary Anne was determined that her son would serve God as an ordained minister. Thus, she framed William’s home-school curriculum as a sort of “pre-seminary studies” program.¹

When Whittingham was only ten, he wanted to be confirmed but his rector at New York City’s Zion Church felt he was too young. Bound and determined to be confirmed, he made a direct appeal to John Henry Hobart, the Third Bishop of New York, who, after examining the young Whittingham in the Catechism, found him sufficiently prepared and confirmed him. William Brand says that it was from that time on that Hobart and Whittingham were good friends whose confidence in each other grew all the way until Hobart’s death in 1830.²

John Henry Hobart—William Rollinson Whittingham’s “Father in the Ministry”


Hobart, the recognized leader of the American High Church Party in the early nineteenth century, was consecrated to the episcopate at New York City's Trinity Church on May 29, 1811. He brought to the High Church Party Catholic convictions together with ardor and aggression and his leadership revitalized and strengthened the party and the entire Episcopal Church.\(^3\) Summarizing his theology as “Evangelical Truth, Apostolic Order,” Hobart described the High Church Party as

Those who insist on the ministrations and ordinances of the Church, as constituted by Christ and His apostles, because they are the means and pledges of the faithful of that salvation which is derived through the merits, and intercession, and sanctifying grace of a divine Redeemer; and who love and adhere to the Liturgy as embodying and powerfully exhibiting evangelical truth and duty in the purest and most fervent language of devotion.\(^4\)

Hobartian High Churchmanship stressed the importance of the historic Apostolic Succession, maintaining the Book of Common Prayer as the essential Anglican rule of faith, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist as the means of God’s grace. From the “Hobartian Synthesis” came a theology, piety, and social perspective which served as an alternative to the religious and social assumptions of American Evangelicalism. While post-Revolutionary War Christian clergy were encouraged to put pastoral duties far ahead of intellectual pursuits, early nineteenth century American High Churchmen integrated both aspects into the exercise of their ministry. Such clergy inspired their parishioners to have deep Christian faith and to exhibit sincere care for the poor.\(^5\)

\(^3\) Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church, p. 140.

\(^4\) John Henry Hobart, The High Churchmen Vindicated: In a Fourth Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, A: the Opening of the Convention of the Said Church, in Trinity Church, in the City of New York, on Thursday October 17, 1826 (T. and J. Swords, 1826).

Whittingham credited Hobart’s example as the foundation for his ministry. Hobart’s example formed in Whittingham sacramental commitments like his: a full and living faith in Jesus Christ and a dedication to the propagation of the Catholic Faith as set forth in the Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds, the Scriptures, and the Book of Common Prayer. These precious tools powered Whittingham’s ministry. “My...friend, take little thought about present consequences,” Hobart counseled Whittingham. “Set yourself upon principle, and trust God with the result.”

Hobart likely planted a seed in Whittingham when he established in New York the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union in 1826. The Sunday School Union was based on Hobart’s belief that the Church is the center and origin of all efforts to spread the Gospel, hence any effort that did not lead to the Church was not part of God’s plan. With its focus on Christian catechesis, the organization’s aim was to be a conscious instrument of religious education for the entire Episcopal Church.

Hobart asked Whittingham, then a student at The General Theological Seminary, to help him start the organization. He felt Whittingham qualified for the work, because Whittingham had developed advanced and ambitious thoughts about Sunday schools and how to best conduct them. William Brand recounts that Whittingham had been a Sunday school teacher from the time he was fourteen years old until he was ordained. He and a fellow seminarian established a Sunday school in Jersey City, New Jersey and Whittingham later became the Sunday School head at Zion Church, which, during his tenure, numbered fifty-six teachers and 600 “scholars.”

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7 Brand, pp. 59-61.
Hobart likewise inspired Whittingham to evangelize free and enslaved blacks when
the latter became Bishop of Maryland. Years before, Hobart evangelized the Oneida Nation
of New York. In carrying the Gospel to the Oneidas, Hobart rejoiced to perform what he
believed his share of service. Because of the sincerity of his evangelistic labors, many of
the Oneidas solemnly professed the Christian faith.8

Hobart died in Auburn, New York on September 12, 1830 and was buried in the
Trinity Churchyard in New York City. He had an unusual force and vigor of mind and
character, devotion to duty, and a resolute courage and strength of conviction. Even though
many disagreed with his High Church principles, most still greatly respected him. Not only
did Hobart’s theology, piety, and social perspective make him the great American High
Church revivalist, but also, as George E. DeMille terms him, the “Foster Father of the
Oxford Movement.” Whittingham’s ministry became an illustration of Hobart’s influence
and guidance upon him. Whittingham later in his life reminisced, “For few of God’s many
blessings have I so much reason to be supremely grateful as for the day that brought me to
sit at the feet of Hobart.”9

Whittingham graduated with distinction from The General Theological Seminary
at the age of nineteen in 1825. Upon reaching the canonical age for ordination, Hobart
ordained Whittingham to the Diaconate in 1827. After his ordination to the Priesthood by
John Croes (1762-1832), the First Bishop of New Jersey, in 1829 and tenure as Rector of
St. Mark’s Church in Orange, Whittingham returned to New York City in 1831 to become


9 Brand, pp. 66; George E. DeMille in Peter Nockles, “The Oxford Movement and the United States,” The
Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930 (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 133-
134.
Rector of St. Luke’s Church. In 1836, after a year abroad to recover from ill health, he was appointed the St. Mark’s Church-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History at The General Theological Seminary, holding that position until his election as the Fourth Bishop of Maryland in 1840.\(^{10}\)

**Alexander Crummell’s Rejection from The General Theological Seminary**

Alexander Crummell (1819-1898) was a black Episcopal priest who was one of America’s most well-known Pan-Africanists. From 1827 to 1829, Crummell’s childhood home in New York City served as the publishing base for *Freedom’s Journal*, America’s first black owned and operated newspaper. His father Boston,\(^{11}\) a descendant of the Temne chiefs of West Africa brought to America as a slave in 1780, instilled in his young son a strong sense of solidarity with native black Africans. His parents’ influence and work with the Abolitionist Movement and his studies in England shaped Crummell’s Pan-Africanism and the work of his ordained ministry.\(^{12}\)

Describing his call to the ordained ministry, Crummell said, “At an early period of my boyhood, [I was] stimulated by the catechizing of my pastor, Rev. Peter Williams, then Rector of St. Philip’s Church, New York, and kindled…by a sermon by Doctor (afterwards the Right Rev. Bishop) Whittingham.” He was determined to go to seminary, but, he said, “there was not [one] college or seminary…which would receive a black youth.” Noting the


\(^{11}\) Birth and death dates unknown.

"virulent Negro hatred...strong in the Church as in the State," Crummell vowed to fight any and all forms of "degrading conditions."\(^{13}\)

In 1839, Crummell was made a candidate for holy orders in the Diocese of New York. He applied to study and train for the Sacred Priesthood at The General Theological Seminary. Whittingham at the time was Dean of the Faculty. Crummell was denied admission to the Seminary on account of his race. After consulting with Whittingham and his rector, Peter Williams, Jr. (1786-1840), Crummell appealed the admission decision to the Seminary’s Board of Trustees. "You have just as much right of admission here as any other man," Whittingham told Crummell. "If it were left to me, you should have immediate admission to this Seminary; but the matter has been taken out of my hands."\(^{14}\)

The Board of Trustees upheld Crummell’s rejection, probably because South Carolina Episcopalians had recently donated to the Seminary several thousands of dollars for an endowed professorship and the trustees did not want to offend them by admitting a black student. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (1791-1861), the Fourth Bishop of New York, was not at all happy about the commotion stirred among the trustees by Crummell’s appeal. He immediately sent for Crummell and, “with a violence and grossness that I have

\(^{13}\) Alexander Crummell, *The Shades and the Lights of a Fifty Years' Ministry* (St. Luke’s Church, Washington, D.C., 1894), pp. 6-7. Perhaps Crummell was talking about Episcopal colleges and seminaries. G. Scott Cady and Christopher L. Webber in *A Year with American Saints* (Church Publishing, Inc., 2006) state, "Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797-1847) was born to a free African American family. He was only the second man of color to be admitted to an American institution of higher learning, and the first to be awarded a theological degree. He entered Princeton Seminary in 1825, graduated in 1828, and was called as pastor to the First Colored Presbyterian Church in New York City, the second largest church there at the time" (p. 108).

never since encountered,” struck his name from the list of New York’s holy orders candidates.15

“I was, as you may judge, completely at sea,” Crummell said, “and the ministry seemed to me a hopeless thing.” There were several people he noted who protested the trustees’ decision to uphold Crummell’s rejection. There was James Milnor (1773-1845), Rector of St. George’s Church in New York City, who presented Crummell’s petition to the trustees; George Washington Doane (1799-1859), the Second Bishop of New Jersey, who “stood alone in my behalf”; the abolitionist Episcopalians William (1789-1858) and John Jay (1817-1894), the son and grandson of the first Chief Justice of the United States; Charles King (1789-1867), son of the late New York Senator Rufus King; and Manton Eastburn (1801-1872), Rector of New York City’s Church of the Ascension (and later the Fourth Bishop of Massachusetts). But the one man, Crummell said, that exhibited toward him the most “genuine…tender, delicate, gentlemanly sentiment” was William Rollinson Whittingham. “Nothing could have been more gracious than his bearing towards me,” Crummell said.16

Whittingham and Crummell remained good friends until Whittingham’s death. Crummell recalled a visit he had with Whittingham in 1861 while back in the United States on vacation from missionary work in Liberia. After a long conversation together, Whittingham told Crummell, “I feel ashamed and mortified that I haven’t a pulpit to offer

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16 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
you on the morrow! But you know the state of things in [Baltimore]."\textsuperscript{17} This was, of course, during the early days of the Civil War.

In a sermon in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the Priesthood, Crummell evoked Whittingham as one of the “historic characters in our Communion,” calling him a “dignitary” and one of the “greatest...in the annals of our Church.”

[He was a man] who faced the deadly caste spirit of the age with lofty scorn, and bent, with the largest magnanimity, to the most despised people in the land. [His] was no tardy and reluctant philanthropy. It was...gracious, and spontaneous. No case such as mine had ever come before [him]...In a day of “trouble and rebuke and blasphemy” [he] championed, with zeal and alacrity, the cause of the Negro!\textsuperscript{18}

A Muhlenbergian Church School for the Diocese of Maryland

The Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland elected Whittingham to be its bishop during its annual diocesan convention on May 28, 1840. James Lloyd Breck (1818-1876), one of Whittingham’s seminary students, soon after wrote in a letter to his brother Charles:

“Professor Whittingham [has been] elected Bishop of Maryland, and of course, according to his Catholic principles, will accept. This is a glorious thing for Maryland, and doubtless, must be for the Church at large...His piety, his zeal, and his Catholic and Apostolic principles, will command the respect of all.”\textsuperscript{19}

At the time of Whittingham’s election, the divisions in the Diocese of Maryland between the Evangelical and High Church Parties were severe. The Maryland Evangelical

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 22.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., pp. 22-23.

Party's principles were described as "a rejection of the apostolic claims of a bishop, and a fear of episcopal prerogative as akin to popery." Whittingham's election may have been owed to the diocese's Evangelicals mistaking him to be one of them, which, due to the reputed intensity and plain practical nature of his sermons, was a common misconception made about him.\^20 They felt they had been deceived by the new bishop's supporters, who assured them they had nothing to fear. The Evangelicals charged Whittingham with bringing into the Episcopal Church in Maryland a "concealed and covered Puseyism which seeks by gradual and indirect movements to establish another Gospel."\^21 Whittingham, though, stood firm on his convictions. Like his High Church contemporaries, Whittingham assumed that the dominical Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist are the primary means of God's grace. Whittingham believed that Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist and the historic Apostolic Succession were important articles of faith. They were essential elements of the Gospel he championed until his dying day.

Whittingham was consecrated as the Fourth Bishop of Maryland at Baltimore's St. Paul's Episcopal Church on September 17, 1840. Three days later, he ordained Theodore Benedict Lyman (1815-1893), one of his former seminary students, to the Diaconate. At Whittingham's request, Lyman began his ordained ministry as Rector of St. John's Church in Hagerstown in Washington County, Maryland. Sharing Whittingham's belief in the importance of religious education, Lyman approached his former teacher about starting in
Hagerstown “a school of a high order for boys” six miles southwest of Hagerstown on a large slave estate known as “Fountain Rock,” once the estate of the Ringgold Family, so named after an ever-flowing spring on the property known by local Native Americans as *Bai Yuka* (meaning “Fountain Rock”).

The Ringgolds were an old Maryland Eastern Shore family who, in 1792, moved to Washington County and built Fountain Rock. When Samuel Ringgold (1770-1829) descended into serious debt and his brother Tench (1777-1844) moved to Washington, D.C. to serve in the administrations of Presidents Monroe, Adams, and Jackson, the mansion and 2,500 acres of limestone land were sold at auction on August 9, 1832 to Jacob Hollingsworth of Ann Arundel County, Maryland. Fountain Rock was sold at least twice more but the owners found it too much to manage and they let it deteriorate.

In 1841, Fountain Rock was bought “by joint subscription of churchmen in Washington County” for the Diocese of Maryland under the provision that “progress...be made for the establishment...of a diocesan school on the strictest of principles of the Church, of a high literary character, and limited to a moderate rate of charges.”

Whittingham accepted their offer, reporting to the diocese that “Maryland should have at

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least one diocesan school inferior to none in the United States, and under government which the whole church has already learned to admire and trust.”

Slaves, many of them owned by and descended from those of the Ringgolds, lived and worked at Fountain Rock before its purchase by Lyman and his Washington County parishioners in 1841. Tench Ringgold owned thirty-four slaves on his 1,500-acre section of the estate, with his brother Samuel owning eighteen slaves on his 15,000-acre section. This made Fountain Rock have one of the largest groups of slaves in Washington County. A Ringgold Family history notes the 1877 death of “Sophie Gowins, a former slave of General Ringgold’s, who was sold from the steps of the Manor” when Fountain Rock was purchased by Maryland Episcopalians. Slave labor certainly helped erect and maintain the buildings on the estate, including the slave quarters that stood on the school’s grounds well into the twentieth century.

Whittingham’s choice to head the new diocesan school at Fountain Rock was William Augustus Muhlenberg, the Headmaster of St. Paul’s College and Grammar School in Flushing, Long Island. Whittingham shared with Muhlenberg the belief that the Church had a commission from God to help educate and raise up its young children. Muhlenberg believed the new diocesan school could “operate favorably on the cause of education in

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various ways of, and not least showing the true way of beginning a Church School.” He envisioned sending to Maryland from St. Paul’s a few “pious, intelligent, respectable young fellows... who would care nothing about their support and enter upon their work con amore.” 27 “They would be the soul of the thing,” Muhlenberg said, “and gradually they would generate the body around them.” 28 Declining Whittingham’s invitation to come to Maryland, not feeling the call to leave Long Island, Muhlenberg instead sent his former student and Church school protégé John Barrett Kerfoot to head the new Maryland diocesan school. 29

Muhlenberg saw Kerfoot’s departure for Maryland as “[the] commencement of a mission in Christian education.” He called it “a good beginning, and a step [toward] that which I believe to be the especial duty of our Church in this country.” 30 In sending Kerfoot to Maryland, Muhlenberg’s hopes for the Church School Movement were put into a new venture, all for God’s greater glory.

On October 3, 1842, with an enrollment of fourteen students, “Saint James Hall” formally opened. Two years later, “the Hall” received its charter from the Maryland Legislature and became known as the “College of Saint James.” Kerfoot soon after started

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27 Italian meaning “with love.” This phrase is also used to describe devotion and zeal.


29 Muhlenberg, “The Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg to the Bishop of Maryland (March 9, 1841)” in Harrison, Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot (Volume I), p. 33; Harrison, p. 156; Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland, p. 48.

a two-year preparatory grammar program. This academic setup lasted until Saint James temporarily closed because of the Civil War from 1864 until 1869.\textsuperscript{31}

\section*{The “Pith and Sap” of the Christian Faith}

Out of all of Whittingham’s concerns relating to the Episcopal Church in Maryland, the College and Grammar School of Saint James was always a priority. He liked being informed of Saint James’s happenings, particularly about finances and whatever concerned the school’s moral and religious life. There were, of course, times that certain matters caused disagreement between Whittingham and Kerfoot. These were times where it was important for Whittingham to remember the balance he needed to maintain between his positions as diocesan bishop and the college’s “Visitor.”\textsuperscript{32} Whatever disagreements the two had were quickly resolved and their friendship never suffered because of them. Whittingham and Kerfoot’s collegial association was a good example of sound institutional governance.

In a February 8, 1843 letter, with a previous letter from Kerfoot having included “information about…discarded dressings in the chapel,” Whittingham took the opportunity to bring up a topic it appears he had been wanting to broach with Kerfoot for some time—“symbolism” in chapel services. He advised the twenty-six-year-old school head

Pray be very cautious about your externals. Do not give in to the desire to symbolism. I have heard much from many quarters about the “popish doings” at St. James’s. The latest thing is perverted, distorted, magnified, until it becomes to the silly imaginations of the vulgar herd of soi-disant Protestants an enormous corruption. Pray eschew anything capable of such abuse, to the very extent of your ability. I have had to fight battle after battle for your candlestick already. If they had known of your hall-lamp burning all Christmas Day, it would have blown the Hall up…. You know my views in these matters;


\textsuperscript{32} Brand, pp. 156-157.
but we cannot afford to destroy such an undertaking as St. James’s for the sake of those garnitures which can be most easily brought in when the school has established itself, as, please God, it will before many years or even months roll around...Beware of the oratory which I had to pull down with my own episcopal hands and all other such enormities. They are the very bark of Catholicity. Let us strive for the pith and sap. The bark will grow of itself afterward.\textsuperscript{33}

Whittingham’s letter is explicit about the caution required of a priest in the fractious Maryland situation. It offers advice but also shows the influences which shaped both Whittingham and Kerfoot in their respective understandings of ordained leadership in the Church. The difference between them reveals the major influence of John Henry Hobart on Whittingham and William Augustus Muhlenberg on Kerfoot. Kerfoot was one of Muhlenberg’s “spiritual sons” and fellow teachers and administrative colleagues at the Flushing Institute, later St. Paul’s College and Grammar School. In the 1830s, Muhlenberg introduced in the Flushing Institute chapel liturgical innovations that stressed the need for beauty in worship.\textsuperscript{34} Clearly, Kerfoot shared his mentor’s belief that young minds must be impressed with religious truth and he sought to incorporate this belief into the religious life of the very young school.

Neither Whittingham nor Muhlenberg wanted to be mistaken for Roman Catholics. In the background was an attitude \textit{contra} Roman Catholicism—uncompromising and almost bitter—which characterized many American Protestants in that day. “The real evils of the papal system I suppose [are] its setting the letter above and instead of the spirit; authority above and instead of conscience; dogmatic formula above and instead of

\textsuperscript{33} William Rollinson Whittingham, “To the Rev. John B. Kerfoot. St. James’s Hall, Hagerstown, MD (February 8, 1843)” in Harrison, p. 298.

evangelic faith. Little is to be accomplished, in my opinion, by hacking at the boughs and foliage of the upas tree nourished by these roots.”35 Any liturgical action that appeared to depart from the Prayer Book’s rubrics Whittingham counseled against. He did not want Saint James to fold on account of people’s perceptions of wannabe “Romanism.”

Whittingham’s advice to Kerfoot to “strive for the pith and sap” and let “the bark...grow of itself afterward” was in keeping with the High Church tradition of Hobart and shared by Edward Bouverie Pusey, who, in 1849, gave the same counsel to George Rundel Prynne (1818-1903), the Vicar of St. Peter’s Church in Plymouth, England: “We must first win the hearts of the people, and then the fruits of reverence will show themselves...If we win their hearts, all the rest will follow.” Pusey further counseled Prynne that “we [are] bound to use wisdom...so as [to] not...risk losing what is of far more moment, the hearts of the people. We have high authority for avoiding even words which may give offense...and try to teach truth in as acceptable a form as [we] can.”36

The Oxford Movement’s leaders such as Pusey and John Henry Newman believed that the need to communicate Christian doctrine with reserve, to quote the latter, was “not from the arbitrary will of the Dispenser, but from the necessity of the case, the more sublime truths of Revelation affording no nourishment to the souls of the unbelieving or unstable.”37 The principle of reserve in the communication of religious knowledge was


viewed as a mercy of God, whose gradual revelation throughout the Old and New Testament was purposeful so that people could receive the truth about God in ways they could best understand and would not be injurious to them. God’s self-disclosure accords with the state of each person’s heart, depending on their readiness to order their lives in accordance with God’s Word.38

Hence, Whittingham’s Hobartian sentiments kept him firm in the belief that there had to be a proper balance between how fast and in what ways religious knowledge was to be communicated. Whittingham feared that excesses in liturgical worship would overwhelm his people and, in turn, close their hearts to receiving God’s truth. An example of Whittingham’s advocacy not just for reserve but also religious and moral education comes from early during Saint James’s second academic year.

Kerfoot, who had been suffering from bronchitis during the summer and early fall of 1843, was advised to go to England for recuperation. However, back in Maryland, there was serious trouble and insubordination at Saint James, owing chiefly to the incapacity of the teachers to maintain order without Kerfoot’s presence. Having received many letters detailing the troubles, Whittingham “hurried…to [Saint James] to do what he could to cast oil on the troubled waters.”39

In a report he left for Kerfoot upon his return that November, Whittingham said, “Your eye and head and voice as a father confessor of all, from least to greatest, are greatly wanted...The brethren need more self-denial, rigid self-discipline, [and] devotion. There


is too much chat, too much gossip, too little example of minute and punctilious obedience and regularity, too little study and private prayer."^{40}

Whittingham’s report echoes the stress John Henry Newman (1801-1890) placed on personal influence in religious matters.

How…has [Truth] maintained its grounding among men, and subjected to its dominion unwilling minds, some even bound to the external profession of obedience, others at least in a sullen neutrality, and the inaction of despair?

I answer that it has been upheld…not by books, not by argument, nor by temporal power, but by the personal influence of such men…who are at once the teachers and the patterns of it.^{41}

Whittingham’s Ecclesiastical Reserve and Patriotic Erastianism

Not only did the principle of reserve match Whittingham’s vision for Saint James’s religious life, it was also why he was vehemently opposed to abolitionism. Abolitionism was primarily a movement of religious radicals whose aim was for the immediate end of slavery. “I am no abolitionist,” Whittingham wrote one of his clergy, “and I have not the slightest sympathy with any of those who are.”^{42} William Lloyd Garrison, the prominent leader of the Abolitionist Movement, offers a primary account of Northern hostility toward abolitionism.

During [a] recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free States—and particularly in New England—than the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave-owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted but did not dishearten me. I

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^{40} William Rollinson Whittingham, “To the Rev. John R. Kerfoot, St. James’s Hall, Hagerstown, MD (November 18, 1843)” in Brand, pp. 299-300.


determined at every hazard to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation.\textsuperscript{43}

Whittingham opposed abolitionism out of his belief that it was an extreme radical movement. "I loathe and abhor the spirit of abolitionism as it has developed itself [in] the North," he wrote in 1842, "firmly believing it to have proceeded from the first great rebel and fosterer of...insubordination."\textsuperscript{44} Furthermore, Whittingham regarded abolitionism as a question not explicitly discussed in the Scriptures or by the early Church councils. It was, in his opinion, a secular issue in which the Church had no business meddling. As such, abolitionism was an issue not worthy of the Church's reflection.

From the outbreak of the Civil War, Whittingham supported the Union, believing the American government to be the legitimate civil authority. As Nelson Waite Rightmyer notes, the Civil War caused Whittingham to act a different way in regard to his Union sympathies apart from his reserved conduct to that of Church matters. Rightmyer describes Whittingham as having an Erastian position regarding his duties toward the American government.\textsuperscript{45} William Brand recalls a Maryland Episcopal priest "who [had] no difficulty...thanking God for victories over the Southern Confederacy" living "in a community having a different estimate of right and wrong." He wrote to Whittingham for


\textsuperscript{44} William Rollinson Whittingham, Letter to Dr. John Scott (December 1842) in Brand, p. 264.

\textsuperscript{45} The term "Erastian" comes from Thomas Lieber (1524-1583), who wrote under the Latinized name \textit{Erastus}. It loosely refers to an undue subservience of the Church to the State.
advice on how to “avoid wounding a ‘strong dissentient element,’” and “escape a thanksgiving which could not be a congregational act.”\textsuperscript{46} Whittingham replied

Besides [the Divine rule], as rector of a parish, you are the head of a civil corporation from which the Government has a right to expect and exact some corporate symbol and expression of its loyalty, in a way not inconsistent with its true ends, aims, and rights. The ends, aims, and rights of a parish in the Protestant Episcopal Church are observed in any canonical action of its rector. Whenever, therefore, it is canonically in your power, the Government has the right to expect and exact from you the public expression of the loyalty of the corporation to the Government which gives and maintains its existence and rights as a corporation.\textsuperscript{47}

Brand further recalls how Whittingham viewed all clergymen with Confederate sympathies “as sinners...rebels or fautors of rebellion.” Responding to a priest who refused to “offer...prayers asking God’s blessing on arms used against the South,” Whittingham said that he considered the priest as being “so hoodwinked as to [be] unable to see relations and duties, common to us all, in the clear light which they present themselves to me.”\textsuperscript{48}

Such statements were out of character for the otherwise reserved Whittingham.

In early 1863, Whittingham’s Erastian mood was on full display in the selection of trustees for the College and Grammar School of Saint James. Three seats on the Board of Trustees became vacant. The College’s Headmaster, John Barrett Kerfoot, nominated to Whittingham three Confederate sympathizers—two from Baltimore, both friends of Whittingham, and the third at the time a College professor. Kerfoot nominated them because of their sincere regard for the College and commitment to seeing it continue. He


\textsuperscript{47} Brand, pp. 27-28.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., pp. 34-35.
hoped their service would make it easier for the trustees to meet and work harmoniously together.⁴⁹

To Kerfoot’s surprise and dismay, Whittingham rejected his nominations. “I will rather resign my connection with St. James’s than consent to serve [on] its board of trustees with the addition of a single disloyal member.” Whittingham wanted the equivalent of a “loyalty oath” to the Union from prospective trustees before approving their appointment. The idea caused Kerfoot deep anxiety. He said that “the four laymen now on the board will leave, and two-thirds of our boys” if such a thing became required. Kerfoot needed to come up with another solution as the three vacancies needed to be filled for the board to reach a quorum and conduct business.⁵⁰

Whittingham frequently said how fortunate he was to have John Barrett Kerfoot at the helm of Saint James during its first years. Having learned from William Augustus Muhlenberg, Kerfoot had real administrative experience with Church schools and earned Whittingham’s admiration and trust. The two men became good friends, each appreciating the gifts the other brought to the table for Saint James’s educational mission to the Church.⁵¹

But despite sharing the same goals for Saint James, Kerfoot and Whittingham differed in this instance on the right way of achieving their mutually intended end. Like his mentor Muhlenberg, Kerfoot, by nominating as trustees three men with whom on one


subject he disagreed, showed that he was willing to allow for a certain degree of diversity for the sake of the institution’s success. Though their sectional views conflicted with each other, the pro-Union Kerfoot and the three pro-Confederate nominees appeared to have been willing to lay their conflict aside to work together.

Whittingham, on the other hand, displayed a Hobartian response to the three nominees. His refusal to serve with Confederate sympathizers is akin to John Henry Hobart’s refusal years earlier to affiliate with Christian organizations not in any way possessing the historic episcopate. Like Hobart, Whittingham showed an unwillingness to serve with those with whom he disagreed. If these men were willing to sympathize with Confederate rebels, what is to say they would not try to bring down Saint James?

Kerfoot offered Whittingham another proposal: fill the three vacancies with current members of the College faculty. His proposal renewed “the old idea of professors being trustees,” and would allow the professors to serve the College in a merited position. Two of the three prospective faculty-trustee nominees were Union supporters. The third, Hall Harrison (1837-1900), the sole Confederate sympathizer on the faculty, Kerfoot assured Whittingham “is so loyal to you, the College and me, that he would always work right and well.” He hoped his counter proposal would both eliminate Whittingham’s loyalty oath demand and even the balance between Union and Confederate supporters.52

Kerfoot’s new proposal met Whittingham’s approval.

Your new proposal totally changes the ground…to my satisfaction…This change of plan quite takes away my objection to [Harrison]. As one of the professors, he is in the College…To his admission with [Falk] and [Coit] I have no objection at all.

52 Kerfoot, “The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to the Bishop of Maryland (February 2, 1863)” in Harrison, p. 257. Kerfoot’s advocacy for Harrison would very soon backfire on him. The reason why is discussed in Chapter Three.
I most heartily approve of the reintroductory of Professors into Trusteeships, even to the extent, if need and opportunity occur, of making the whole Board to consist of them only.

Not...that I mean any present change in our Baltimore members. They are in, and willing to serve; so much the better. But that is enough. No more in that direction.53

Nelson Waite Rightmyer reports that the 1865 Maryland Diocesan Convention “was a sad indication that both the clergy and laity were determined,” due to Whittingham’s Erastian actions, “not to follow the leadership of their bishop whenever it was possible to do otherwise.” Perhaps as his way of attempting to make amends with his diocese’s Confederate sympathizers, during the 1865 General Convention, Whittingham was the leading episcopal advocate for the Episcopal Church’s reunion with the South. He also negotiated within the House of Bishops the terms for its recognition of Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900) as the Second Bishop of Alabama.54

But the differences of opinion regarding the Civil War did too much damage. Prior to the Civil War, Whittingham experienced little opposition and led a prosperous, growing, and happy diocese for nearly a quarter of a century. But his Erastian actions during the Civil War alienated many in the diocese from him. The drift left Whittingham a rather disappointed man during the last years of his episcopate. His ill health caused him not to

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54 Rightmyer, “The Church in a Border State—Maryland,” p. 419; Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Assembled in a General Convention Held in St. Andrew’s Church in the City of Philadelphia From October 4 to October 24 Inclusive, In the Year of Our Lord 1865 (William A. Hall, 1865), pp. 156-157. Wilmer, consecrated as Alabama’s Second Bishop on March 6, 1862 at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church in Richmond, Virginia, was the only bishop ever to be consecrated by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America (Joseph Blount Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States: A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, Longmans, Green and Co., 1912, p. 52).
he able before his death to work toward healing the emotional wounds felt by many of his
diocesan flock.55

Whittingham’s Ministry to Maryland’s African Americans

Regarding African Americans, William Brand recounts how Whittingham never
failed when visiting any parish or private home from late 1840 to mid-1865 to address all
black slaves and remind their masters of their responsibility to both provide for their slaves’
needs and instruct them in the Christian faith. He then tells a story of Whittingham traveling
with one of his clergy through his parish when a young black boy ran out from a cabin to
open “one of the one hundred and one gates” through which they had to pass. Whittingham
told the priest to stop and gave the little boy a small bit of money. “Do the same at every
gate and you will go home penniless,” the priest told Whittingham. “Well, I would like
even the poor to be glad on hearing that the Bishop is coming,” replied Whittingham.56

Whittingham was a gradualist on the issue of race, as can be seen when the question
of the admission of black congregations into full union with the diocese was brought up at
the 1862 Maryland Diocesan Convention. Brand recounts

To the question, put to him in private after this discussion, “Is not a black man—is not a
slave in Christ entitled to all the rights of a Christian? [Whittingham] answered,
“Doubtless; but I do not consider representation in Convention to be a Christian right.”
The black congregation referred to [St. James First African Church of Baltimore], whom
he considered his children, although they had no seat in the legislative body where he
was addressed as Mr. President, received from him special attention, and in his not
infrequent visits nothing could be more courteous than his demeanor...Although content
that the slave should abide in his calling until his one Master should change his condition,
or rather not willing to further the philanthropic views of the political agitators of the day,

55 Rightmyer, pp. 411-412, 421.

56 Brand, pp. 262-263.
the [black man] was his fellow-man, his brother in Christ, for whose true good, as for that of the highest in the land, he was responsible to God.\textsuperscript{57}

It must be kept in mind how Whittingham's High Churchmanship (at least in ecclesiastical matters) precluded him from instituting or encouraging any sort of sudden changes. He maintained like his mentor Hobart did the view that any question not discussed in the Scriptures or by the early Church councils or supported by received tradition did not warrant a declaration by the Church. High Church theology emphasized the Church as the mark of "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" as "one body," there being "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" (Ephesians 4:3-6). Whittingham thus feared that entertaining the question on admitting black parishes into union with the diocese would trigger further division throughout it. That was a risk Whittingham was not willing to take.

Nevertheless, George Freeman Bragg (1863-1940), who from 1891 until his death was the Rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Baltimore, the oldest black Episcopal parish south of the Mason-Dixon Line, once wrote that

Bishop Whittingham, during his entire episcopate in Maryland, was perfectly devoted to the interest of...blacks, and they knew it. He came among them...as a loving father. He was never afraid to speak out on their behalf. Whenever he made his visitations to the counties, the afternoons of Sundays were solemnly set apart that he might meet with [black] people and instruct them himself in the principles of the Christian religion. He ever took the most affectionate interest in the welfare of St. James's First African Church of Baltimore...Although a native of New York, yet there have been few, if any, native South Bishops who were more truly identified in feeling and thought with representative Southern life, than the great Bishop Whittingham of Maryland.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 265.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion at Saint James School and the Principle of Reserve

Though gradualism may have been the most prevalent position on race in the nineteenth-century Episcopal Church, it is not a good framework for diversity, equity, and inclusion in the twenty-first century. Nevertheless, the case can be made that this religious philosophy of reserve he helped establish and instill at Saint James during its early years paved the way for the Gospel to do its work in growing among faculty and students an appreciation for the diversity, equity, and inclusion they experience, learn, grow by, and enjoy today. “For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and all were made to drink of one Spirit. For the body does not consist of one member but many” (1 Corinthians 12:12-14).

If the Gospel is true, its truths must be integrated into a Church school’s daily life. And as Whittingham insisted, its integration must be effective, but with reserved care and discretion.\(^59\) This formation of character takes time; it does not happen overnight. But when young people are bidden to seek virtues of faith, hope, and live in a community inspired by these ideals and committed to living by them together in fellowship, the virtues and character do become grafted in the heart and lived out through service. Hence, the School’s motto, “Every good gift and every perfect act of giving is from above” (James 1:16).

William Rollinson Whittingham, by his own actions noted throughout this chapter, strove to offer ministry that reflected God’s ideal of diversity, equity, and inclusion. All the extant sources reveal that Whittingham was an Episcopalian with a sincere regard for

African Americans as his brothers and sisters in Christ. Whittingham also sought to make Muhlenberg’s *beau ideal* of the Church school a visible reality in Maryland.
Chapter Three

The Developmental Complications of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion
During the Kerfoot Years

John Barrett Kerfoot was born on March 1, 1816 in Dublin, Ireland to Richard Kerfoot (1781-1825) and the former Christiana Barrett (1782-1858), both of Scotch-Irish descent and brought up as Irish Anglicans. At two years old, John came to America with his parents and was raised in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Richard, though “first successful in business, but afterwards [having] lost a considerable sum of money from endorsing notes for his friends,” died of inflammatory disease in 1825. To the nine-year-old John’s great fortune, a 29-year-old Episcopal priest stepped in as a mentor and surrogate father.¹

William Augustus Muhlenberg—John Barrett Kerfoot’s Surrogate Father

William Augustus Muhlenberg was in 1825 the Rector of Lancaster’s St. James Episcopal Church. It was as a student at the Sunday school that the young John first met Muhlenberg in 1822. Muhlenberg perceived in the young Kerfoot the possession of good character and took the boy under his wing. Kerfoot became devoted to Muhlenberg from the very beginning. After Richard Kerfoot’s death, no one ever took Muhlenberg’s place as John’s surrogate father. Their friendship continued all the way until Muhlenberg’s death in 1877.²

In 1826, Muhlenberg left Lancaster to become the Rector of St. George’s Episcopal Church in Flushing, Long Island. Two years later, he started the Flushing Institute,


² Harrison, Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot (Volume I), pp. 2-3.
becoming in 1836 St. Paul’s College and Grammar School, the prototype of the Church School Movement and the success of which made Muhlenberg one of America’s most revered educators. Because of the kindness of a Miss Yeates from Lancaster, Kerfoot was able to go to Flushing and rejoin Muhlenberg, being again under the guidance of his old Sunday school teacher and surrogate father.³

Kerfoot was very grateful that God blessed him to be under Muhlenberg’s care and instruction in Flushing. Hall Harrison, Kerfoot’s biographer, says Kerfoot was fascinated by Muhlenberg’s “elevation of his sentiments...the strictness of his religious instruction, and...the marked confidence he reposed in his pupil.” It was from Muhlenberg’s influence that Kerfoot felt God’s call to ordained ministry. Ordained to the Diaconate by Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, the Fourth Bishop of New York, in 1837 on his twenty-first birthday, Kerfoot returned to St. Paul’s College and Grammar School to teach and serve as Muhlenberg’s main assistant. Onderdonk ordained Kerfoot to the Priesthood in 1840 on his twenty-fourth birthday.⁴

In February 1841, Muhlenberg sent Kerfoot to serve as the founding Headmaster of “Saint James Hall.” Kerfoot had been sufficiently prepared by Muhlenberg for the task that awaited him in Maryland. On October 3, 1842, with an enrollment of fourteen students, Saint James began its first academic session. In Kerfoot was put into action Muhlenberg’s hopes for the spread and continued mission of the Church School Movement.⁵

³ Ibid., p. 4.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 6-7, 14, 27.
Slavery at the College and Grammar School of Saint James

Slavery was an institution in Maryland since the arrival of thirteen enslaved Africans on a cargo ship in St. Mary’s City in 1642, yet, by 1860, had declined at a faster rate than any other Southern state. The 1860 United States Census counted Maryland’s enslaved population standing at 87,189. Eighty percent of the state’s slaves were concentrated in Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore while the other twenty percent lived in Northern and Western Maryland. Of the total black population of 3,112 in Washington County, 1,435 were slaves. The county’s total population was 31,417, of which 28,305 were white, of which only 398 were slaveowners. Thus, 1.4% of the total white population of Washington County together owned 46.1% of its total black population and only 0.21% of that of the entire state of Maryland.6

Slaves had lived and worked at “Fountain Rock,” the land on which Saint James was established, since 1792 when the Ringgold Family of Maryland’s Eastern Shore moved to Washington County and settled on the property. Many of the slaves still living and working at Fountain Rock at the time of Saint James’s establishment were either at one time directly owned or were descendants of slaves owned by the Ringgolds. Since no definitive records exist of Kerfoot owning slaves prior to coming to Maryland, nor of his wife Eliza (1821-1906) owning and bringing any slaves with her into their marriage, it is

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likely that Kerfoot, upon arriving to Fountain Rock, became an *ex-officio* slaveowner rather than an intentional one.\(^7\)

Kerfoot was personally involved in slave-owning and with slaveowners. Yet, he was “a decided Union man” who believed that any state’s secession without permission from the others was tantamount to rebellion. In a January 5, 1861 letter to William Gilpin Harrison (1802-1883), a prominent Baltimore businessman and pro-secession Saint James trustee, Kerfoot wrote that “if God decrees the shattering of our confederacy, to see Maryland go with the South,” though he would not like it, he would accept it. Only one thing, Kerfoot said, would be an outright deal breaker—the reopening of the African slave trade. “Such...act would compel me...to withdraw from any State or nation responsible or consenting.”\(^8\)

**An Important Discovery**

Thomas Henry (1794-1877), a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Maryland, recalls in his autobiography a very interesting story. Deborah Peeker was one of Henry’s Hagerstown parishioners who had five children, three girls and two boys. Three of her children were sold into slavery and one of her sons ran away. This left Deborah with only one daughter, Catharine, who was sold to Jonathan Hager (1792-1864), the grandson of the town’s founder. Hager discovered that she was disabled in one hand and had her sent

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\(^8\) John Barrett Kerfoot, “The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to Wm. G. Harrison, Esq. (January 5, 1861)” in Harrison, p. 194.
to jail to be sold. Catherine had a thirteen-year-old daughter owned by an Alexander Neale\(^9\), also a Hagerstown resident. Henry says that one day while visiting Deborah at her home, "[an unknown] gentleman stopped at the door and asked if there was a girl in jail to be sold." Deborah told the gentleman that there was, so he went to the jail and bought Catharine, then went to Neale's home and bought her daughter. What Henry next says is what makes the story relevant: the unknown gentleman "took them both down to St. James College in Washington County, six miles below Hagerstown; and in less than three years they were both free."\(^{10}\)

Mid-nineteenth century Washington County Circuit Court land records identifies Richard Tilghman Hollyday (1806-1875) as the "unknown gentleman" that purchased Catherine Peeker (who went by the name "Kitty Brooks" after her marriage to a Samuel Brooks) and her daughter Eliza Robison in 1843. Kerfoot, in turn, purchased Catherine and Eliza from Hollyday and worked out a manumission agreement for them to pay off their respective purchase prices. Kerfoot manumitted Catherine "Kitty" Peeker Brooks on May 11, 1848.\(^{11}\)

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\(^{9}\) Birth and death dates unknown.

\(^{10}\) Thomas W. Henry, *From Slavery to Salvation: The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the A.M.E. Church* (University of Mississippi Press, 1994), pp. 39-40. This fact from Henry's story raises similarities to a manumission scheme devised by John McDonogh (1779-1850), a native of Baltimore, Maryland whose later adult life was spent in South Louisiana just outside New Orleans. His scheme entailed offering his slaves a chance to earn their freedom by paying them for the work they did between mid-day and midnight on Saturday. As a member of the American Colonization Society, which organized the transportation of freed black slaves to Liberia on the coast of West Africa, McDonogh's scheme was offered to slaves based on that condition following their manumission. The overall process took fourteen to fifteen years to complete. He died in 1850, willing most of his fortune to the cities of Baltimore, Maryland and New Orleans, Louisiana for the building of public school for poor white and freed black children. The McDonogh School in Owing Mills, Maryland is named for him (Allan Yarema, *The American Colonization Society: An Avenue to Freedom?* University Press of America, Inc., 2006, p. 48).

\(^{11}\) Washington County Circuit Court (Land Records) 1848-1849, IN 13, MSA CE 18-18, pp. 298-300.
Upon Catherine’s completion of repaying Kerfoot for his purchase of her, as well as regarding his continuing ownership of her twelve-year-old daughter Eliza, Kerfoot wrote and recorded with Washington County the following manumission statement:

Since my purchase of [Catherine] Kitty [Peeker] Brooks she has borne three female children, the only children of her present husband Samuel Brooks. I now on the 11th day of May 1848 manumit Kitty Brooks, according to my original design, and...manumit and wholly liberate these three children allowing Kitty also her own wages, etc. from the 1st day of April last.

In as much as I am not yet fully repaid my outlay of cash there being $102.50 of which outlay...and as the child Eliza now about 12 years old requires such care as I do not expect she would receive from her own family, I retain her with the design to manumit her at such a time and under such circumstances as my own discretion may direct; of which design, etc. its probability of fulfillment I give no other proof than this account and paper and deed of Manumission of Kitty and her three infant children give herewith.

This statement is thus made and give[n] to the husband and father Samuel Brooks for his satisfaction and that of anyone else who may have any right or call to interest themselves in the matter.

Fountain Rock, Washington County, Md.
May 19th, 1848
John B. Kerfoot

This record lends further plausibility to the idea that the slaves Kerfoot owned he intended to gradually free. This also makes it plausible that he engaged in private gradual efforts to stop slavery’s expansion and bring a local end to it. Kerfoot conceivably felt that gradual manumission was the best way to end slavery while also trying his best to hold the Saint James community together. In keeping with nineteenth century High Churchmanship, Kerfoot did not want to lend aid to either the School’s or the country’s growing divisions.

Pro-Union Faculty, Pro-Seccession Students, and the Marriage Issue of a Free Black College Employee

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
Like his bishop, William Rollinson Whittingham, Kerfoot was not an abolitionist. He believed that a gradual approach was the most effective way to bring about slavery’s end. Kerfoot believed abolitionists to be a major cause of the Civil War. He said to William Harrison:

'It is a sad, sore trial to me to see my adopted country...thus dashing to pieces on the rocks which infidel and lawless abolitionism and...hasty anger and terror have cast into her pathway. May God save her yet, and pity and convert all who sin against Him and His earthly ordinances!'

In a January 21, 1861 letter to Whittingham, Kerfoot said that the students were "peaceful and friendly, though three-fourths of our Southern boys are, as their families are, 'Union men...'. This convinces me that the solid men and homes of the South are not secessionists. The folks that send us boys are clearly not of this class."[

Three months later, on April 27, 1861, Kerfoot wrote to Whittingham that "six [boys]...left...from parents' panic." He said the remaining students continued to "behave beautifully," but that "most of them are now Secessionists." Then, on June 13, 1861, in a letter to a Saint James alumnus, Kerfoot reported that "80 boys are here. Some 23 have gone of late, most of them from war alarms." Kerfoot, though, still held out hope. "We believe St. James's will live on in, through and after war anxieties. May God so grant!"

When Saint James reconvened for the 1861-1862 academic year, only sixteen students returned to campus. From then until its closure in 1864, total enrollment never

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13 Kerfoot, "The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to Wm. G. Harrison, Esq. (January 5, 1861)" in Harrison, p. 194.

14 John Barrett Kerfoot, "The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to the Bishop of Maryland (January 21, 1861)" in Harrison, p. 199.

15 John Barrett Kerfoot, "The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to the Bishop of Maryland (April 27, 1861)" in Harrison, p. 210; John Barrett Kerfoot, "The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to a Maryland Clergyman, a Graduate of St. James's (June 13, 1861)" in Harrison, p. 211.
went past fifty students. Military activity became frequent near and around Saint James and the strain of conducting a school during wartime became evident.

College student William Wilkins Davis (1842-1866), “a straight out ‘Southern Rights’ man,” wrote to his sister Rebecca (1843-1921) on May 22, 1861 that “an advanced guard of 1,500 Virginians has encamped within four miles of us, and we are daily expecting the advanced guard of 10,000 Pennsylvanians at Hagerstown six miles on the other side of us.” A “good number” of Saint James students, according to Davis, made a secret visit to the Confederate camp at Williamsport, “but lynx-eyed John B. [Kerfoot] got wind of it and made...a stump speech on the subject.” Kerfoot forbade any further military base visits, threatening to “dismiss all students he caught in the direction of Williamsport.” Most of Saint James’s Southern students later either withdrew to enlist in the Confederate Army or were kept home by anxious parents.

Joseph Howland Coit (1831-1906), an 1851 Saint James graduate and the College’s physics and chemistry instructor, wrote in his journal on June 15, 1863 that a 1,000-strong Confederate Army unit passed by the campus while making its way to Pennsylvania. “They went on very quietly.” He wrote that the students rushed out to greet the soldiers, cheering and waving their hats. He and Kerfoot “stood on the circle watching...with sad hearts.” But it was not only students cheering on the soldiers. Hall Harrison (1837-1900), an alumnus of the Class of 1857, William Harrison’s nephew, and the Greek, Latin, and English instructor, joined the students in their cheering. Coit wrote two days later, “Hall

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17 David Hein, ed., Religion and Politics in Maryland on the Eve of the Civil War: The Letters of W. Wilkins Davis (Wipf & Stock, 2009), p. 120.
Harrison resigned his professorship yesterday. The Rector [declined] to consult with him...on account of his conduct Monday evening.”

Though most Southern students came from families that were pro-slavery and pro-secession, there were some whose families owned slaves, but opposed secession. One such student’s family was that of Leighton Hamner Cobbs (1840-1871), an alumnus of the Class of 1860 from Montgomery, Alabama and son of Nicholas Hamner Cobbs (1796-1861), who by 1860 had served as the First Bishop of Alabama for sixteen years. A Virginian regarded as the “Saint of the Southern Church,” Cobbs was a High Churchman who strongly opposed secession in any way, at any time, and for any reason. He implored Alabamians to remain in the Union and fight under its flag. In December 1860, as Cobbs lay dying in his bed, his family kept from him the news of South Carolina’s secession, fearing it would hasten his death. Though his last official act was to direct his diocesan clergy to omit the Prayer for the President of the United States upon the moment of Alabama’s secession from the Union, it was said that Cobbs prayed that he would not live to see that day. At 12:20 P.M. on January 11, 1861, within an hour of the state’s Secession Convention’s deciding vote to leave the Union, Bishop Cobbs died.

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18 James McLachlan, ed., “The Civil War Diary of Joseph H. Coit,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* (Vol. 50, No. 3, September 1965), pp. 248, 250. The passing Confederate Army unit were the combined First and Third Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia making their way to Gettysburg. After the Confederates’ defeat at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, the battered unit passed again through Hagerstown, with Union Army commanders having received intelligence that Confederate supply wagons were making their way to the city. This set the stage for the Battle of Hagerstown, fought on July 6, 1863 with the result being inconclusive. While relatively small compared to the Battles of Antietam (fought only eight miles south of the College on September 17, 1862) and Gettysburg, involving roughly 2,000 soldiers and resulting in nearly 200 casualties, the Battle of Hagerstown was “probably the largest mounted urban cavalry battle of the Civil War” (Dan Dearth, “Remembering the Battle of Hagerstown 150 Years Later,” *The Herald-Mail*, July 4, 2013).

In April 1861, Kerfoot wrote to William Rollinson Whittingham, the Bishop of Maryland, requesting his judgment on a marriage issue concerning Margaret Green Collins, one of Saint James’s free black employees who wanted to get remarried. The problem was that Collins’s first husband, B. Green, an enslaved man who was separated from her when he was sold away from the area around 1854, was found living with another woman. Kerfoot explained that Green started living with the other woman three years after his separation from Collins, having written her “to [tell] her that he had done this.” Furthermore, as Maryland law did not recognize black marriages, a legal divorce could not be obtained. The question was, “Can there be no divorce unless the civil law and magistrate intervene?” Kerfoot’s opinion was that Collins and Green were divorced ipso facto\(^{20}\) by Green’s admittance to living with another woman, thus committing adultery. His hope was that Whittingham, knowing the circumstances, would allow Collins to remarry in the church to the man she wanted to become her husband.\(^{21}\)

\(^{20}\) Latin meaning “by the fact.”

\(^{21}\) John Barrett Kerfoot, “The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to the Bishop of Maryland (April 7, 1861)” in Harrison, pp. 170-172. Emilie Amc provides some additional facts regarding Margaret Collins’s situation: After Green’s letter, “Margaret then married a man named Collins, a waiter at the College. Both were Episcopal communicants, but they were married by a black minister while away ‘on vacation.’ Collins died in 1858; in 1861 Margaret wished to remarry again, this time in the church” (“Down from the Balcony: African Americans and Episcopal Congregations in Washington County, Maryland, 1800-1864,” Anglican and Episcopal History, Vol. 86, No. 1, March 2017, p. 30).
Whittingham denied Kerfoot’s petition for Collins’s remarriage in the church. Regardless of the case’s complications, his ultimate question was whether Collins was still married to Green. His view was that even though Green was committing open adultery by living with another woman, because a divorce could not be obtained, in the eyes of the Church, Collins was still married. Whittingham explained his answer via a copied response he gave another clergyman some years prior on a similar case concerning “a woman of the highest connections in Maryland.” He wrote back to Kerfoot:

I am able to send you my reasons...as stated in another case, with reference to a woman of the highest connections in Maryland—a fact which I mention as showing that it is not mere dealing with a poor slave that makes me take the harsher view; that the law for her is what the Church deals out to her most favored and pampered daughters.  

Whittingham’s response upheld the typical High Church prohibition of divorce for blacks and whites.

Kerfoot’s plea for Collins to Whittingham suggests a level of pastoral care for black Americans beyond what many white Christian ministers, especially in the South, would have customarily offered. It makes one wonder if Saint James’s black slaves and free employees had such a “separate and unequal” place when it came to the College’s religious life. Emilie Amt notes how slaves and free blacks typically sat apart from whites in a rear upstairs balcony. She says it “appears that all six of Washington County’s pre-Civil War Episcopal parish churches (excluding the College of Saint James) were built with galleries or added them.” Amt mentions elsewhere that “slaves and their free black relatives made up part of the congregation that worshiped in the College chapel.” Kerfoot, thus, appears

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to have cared as much for the spiritual lives of his black slaves and free employees as he did those of his white colleagues and students. In this regard, Kerfoot was ahead of his time.

In turn, Kerfoot’s petition shows the likely regard Collins had for Kerfoot. Collins, like other free black Christians, could have sought spiritual care in a black Baptist or Methodist church. But the fact that she was a free black communicant in the Episcopal Church at the Chapel of the College and Grammar School of Saint James before the Civil War is significant. Collins must have heard in Kerfoot’s preaching and saw in his actions a striving to make known to his white community members and her the reality of God’s Kingdom.

The Gradualist John Barrett Kerfoot

Thus, the fairest conclusion that can be made about Kerfoot on the issue of race is that he was a gradualist. Kerfoot’s racial gradualism can be traced to the influences of the “Hobartian Synthesis” and that of his mentor William Augustus Muhlenberg. Part of that perspective was the dissuasion from instituting or supporting any sort of sudden changes, particularly if they were not backed up by Scripture or received tradition and/or ran the risk of dividing the Church. Kerfoot took no public position or did any radical action to bring about slavery’s end.

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24 One available option in Hagers-town was Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church. “In 1840, some members of Asbury [Methodist Episcopal] Church, Hagerstown, seeking even more autonomy in their worship and the right to purchase property, founded Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church...The Hagerstown congregation used a series of different buildings along West Bethel Street. Its last historic building was demolished in the 1990s.” (“Cemetery—Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), Hagerstown,” https://digital.whilbr.org/digital/collection/p16715coll37/id/9/).

Yet one must consider Muhlenberg’s direct influence on Kerfoot. As was stated in Chapter One, Muhlenberg abhorred slavery, calling it “an immense national evil.”

Though no letters between the two seem to exist detailing any counsel the elder Muhlenberg might have given the younger Kerfoot on slavery, surely the latter was aware of his mentor’s views of the institution. Muhlenberg’s desire for slavery’s end, albeit gradually, arguably influenced Kerfoot’s own private gradualism toward the same goal in Maryland.

There should also be considered Hall Harrison’s 1886 biography of Kerfoot. Harrison, as previous mentioned, was a supporter of the Confederacy. A typical trait of biographies written by authors with sympathies like Harrison’s in the post-Civil War Era was to offer a defense for the South as it was and of a person’s reasons for owning slaves. Their writings helped give rise to the “Lost Cause,” the idea that the South’s cause during the Civil War was just and heroic.

Harrison makes clear that Kerfoot supported the Union. He specifically says that Kerfoot was glad for “the triumph of the national authority and the overthrow of slavery.”

If Kerfoot had really been pro-slavery, Harrison would have said so. The fact that Harrison stresses Kerfoot’s staunch Union stance and does not hoist him up as a “benevolent and kindly master” lends itself to the view that Kerfoot, while acknowledging slavery’s

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27 See Footnote #24 in Chapter One.

28 William Mecklenburg Polk’s (1844-1918) two-volume biography of his father Leonidas Polk is an example (Leonidas Polk: Bishop and General, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894).

existence and engaging in it, did not seek its continuation. For a biography of a Unionist written by a once Confederate sympathizer, this is quite telling.

Thus, Kerfoot’s gradualism was, in a paternalistic way, his method of preparing black slaves for life as free men and women. Being that a life of involuntary servitude was the only kind of life they knew, Kerfoot tried to make the transition as easy as possible. Gradualists such as Kerfoot sought to fulfill their duty to God and their country as law-abiding citizens by preparing black slaves for freedom in carefully graduated steps through some form of education or vocational training and Christian catechism. The overall concern was for the slave’s positive and future welfare.30

Kerfoot’s Hope for the Future of Saint James

In his final address as Headmaster of the College and Grammar School of Saint James, Kerfoot remained hopeful about the future.

It is our hope and resolve to keep our College alive, and busy in so much of this work as God may now send it; and ready for full work when He shall restore to us the usual scope and demand of it. To-day we choose not to measure our College by the mere present. We think of the seven hundred and twelve pupils who, through twenty years, have been under our tuition. And we remember, too, how often the hours and the youths that seemed to promise no fruit in requital for our efforts, have turned out before our own eyes the most fruitful hours and hearts in our record. So do we care the less to-day that the times have left us but three graduates, when we know that these make up the fair, satisfying sum of ninety-one graduates at fifteen commencements. We expect to send out many more good men such as we now know among the hundreds who have been here. But, even if there this were not our hope now, none of us would deem the past a vain expenditure of time and work for any of us.

Other...pupils will grow out of this work here. The foundations are laid deep and sure. The walls have risen up high enough to develop the work and tell of its full outline and sober dignity. Future years and other men must and shall take up the task and complete it...The foundation is deep and strong, the plan distinct. The promise—none may doubt it. That work must and shall be finished. God may yet give us the task and privilege. He

will give both to some agents else, if not us. If not we nor our times, the men that come after us shall see what was well begun, and their consciences and their hearts will compel them to complete it.31

After the College’s closure, Kerfoot accepted the presidency of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. In November 1865, a month after the Episcopal Church’s General Convention’s approval of the establishment of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, the new diocese elected Kerfoot to the episcopate on the first ballot. He was consecrated on January 25, 1866 at Pittsburgh’s Trinity Episcopal Church and served as the First Bishop of Pittsburgh until his death in Meyersdale, Pennsylvania on July 10, 1881.32

Diversity, equity, and inclusion at Saint James during the Kerfoot headmastership was hindered by the fact that most of his students were Southerners. Kerfoot tried to keep the College’s Union and Confederate factions united, distinguishing his support for the Union as a private citizen apart from his political neutrality as an Episcopal priest. The sectionalist fervor sweeping the nation made this hard to achieve. “It is a poor Christianity that cannot find charity for other folks as good as and better than ourselves,” Kerfoot once said. “My own resolve is to try, by God’s help, to be myself independent, frank, and peaceable, and to keep on loving my friends who try to be so, too.”33

W. L. Prehn ends his chapter in Saint James School of Maryland by remarking how what developed at Fountain Rock between 1842 and 1864 was as rare and impressive as Muhlenberg’s St. Paul’s College in Flushing, Long Island. The leadership of John Barrett


33 Kerfoot, “The Rev. Dr. Kerfoot to a Maryland Clergyman, a Graduate of St. James’s (June 13, 1861)” in Harrison, Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot (Volume 1), p. 211.
Kerfoot was the element that helped Saint James become an institution of uncommon excellence. Kerfoot's actions, for the times in which he lived, were his best way to serve all his people, white and black. Because of the gradual start of the development toward diversity, equity, and inclusion exhibited by Kerfoot's actions, Saint James School is today a place where all its people can claim their rightful place as equal members. And as Prehn says, "a mission imperative so firmly established must endure."34

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34 W. L. Prehn, "The 'Soul of the Thing': Saint James School in the Beginning—1842-1861." Saint James School of Maryland, p. 50.
Chapter Four

*The Onderdonks, John Owens, and the Headmasters in Between—The Stop and Restart Toward Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion at Saint James School*

When Saint James School reopened in 1869, John Henry Hobart, the acknowledged leader of the High Church Party in the early nineteenth century, was dead. Those still alive included Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), the First Bishop of Wisconsin and "Apostle of the Western Church," and William Rollinson Whittingham, the Fourth Bishop of Maryland and founder of the College and Grammar School of Saint James, both disciples of Hobart. Continuing in the South were William Mercer Green (1798-1887), the First Bishop of Mississippi, and Charles Todd Quintard (1824-1898), the Second Bishop of Tennessee and first Vice-Chancellor of the University of the South.

For the passing High Church generation, the most effective method for sparking renewal within the Church was intellectual. High Church theology was based on the Church Fathers and seventeenth century Caroline Divines such as Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) and William Laud (1573-1645). By emphasizing the Sacraments as the primary means of God’s grace and the importance of the historic Apostolic Succession, many found the High Church Party’s argument for the Episcopal Church’s continued existence attractive.

But a younger generation felt the need for something more. "Anglo-Catholicism" was beginning to take shape by the beginning of the Civil War.¹ This new party set out to develop the principal doctrines and ideals of the predecessor High Church generation in sometimes innovative ways, particularly in terms of the Church’s ceremonies and rituals.

The old High Churchmen and the young Anglo-Catholics held many beliefs in common. They believed as Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667) professed that Anglicanism “hath the same faith without dispute that the Church had for four or five hundred years, and therefore there could not be anything wanting here to saving faith if we live according to our belief.” They believed as Richard Hooker (1554-1600) did in the importance of the Church’s Sacraments. “As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the seed of their regeneration by the ministry of the Church which useth to that end and purpose not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and virtue.” And they believed like William Law (1686-1761) that “if there be no uninterrupted [apostolic] succession, then there are no authorized ministers from Christ; if no such ministers, then no Christian Sacraments; if no Christian Sacraments, then no Christian Covenant; whereof the Sacraments are the stated and visible signs.”

Yet, despite all they had in common, the older generation of High Churchmen (and others) were concerned about the new Anglo-Catholics. In 1866, a group of clergy and laity wrote to Presiding Bishop John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868) about the rising tide of Anglo-Catholic ritualism. They asked if “[its] increase...would be advisable among us, or whether...present parochial practice would best carry forward the great work of the Church in such a country as ours.” Hopkins responded with a small booklet, The Law of Ritualism (1866).

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Hopkins said that just as there were two classes of thought in the Church’s very beginning days—the Jews who kept the ceremonial law, and the Gentiles who were free, but borrowed from the law the parts deemed best adaptable to edification—there now appeared to be different classes of thought within their branch of Christ’s Church and there was room for both. He stated that they were in days of religious diversity and advocated toleration. Hopkins believed ritualism to be a “lesser” issue as long as it did not invade the Gospel’s essential message and the Church’s laws of order. “Surely...if ever there was a case of difference in lesser things which called for kindly toleration, the claim of liberty for our brethren who desire to restore the ancient Ritual would seem to have the strongest right of allowance.”

Hopkins concluded that “the judgment of the Ritualists [is] legally defensible...At this day, however, it must be considered an experiment, which I am...willing to have fairly tried, but on whose beneficial results...I do not feel qualified to pronounce judgment.”

Hopkins, though, did predict that Anglo-Catholicism will grow in favor, by degrees, until it becomes the prevailing system. The old, the fixed, and the fearful will resist it. But the young, the ardent, and the impossible will follow it more and more. The spirit of the age will favor it because it is an age of excitement and sensation. The lovers of “glory and beauty” will favor it because it appeals with far more effect to the natural tastes and feelings of humanity. The rising generation of the clergy will favor it, because it adds so much to the solemn character of their Office, and the interest of their service in the House of God.

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*Primitive Church, the Church of England, and to The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States* (Joseph Masters and Son, 1867), p. iii.

4 Hopkins, *The Law of Ritualism*, pp. 73, 78.

5 Ibid., p. 78.

Perhaps the cause for the transition from the old High Churchmen to the Anglo-Catholics was, as E. Clowes Chorley posits, the former’s failure to grasp the profound significance of the doctrine of the Incarnation. The Word of God was not only taught but became visible in the Second Person of the Trinity, Jesus Christ. It is the revealed truth of the Christian faith that makes it joyful to live, too joyful for just intellectual prose.\textsuperscript{7}

The Oxford Movement had considerable impact in America because Hobart and others appeared to have practiced a religion that anticipated it. Yet, the transition from old High Churchmanship to Anglo-Catholicism was not intentional. Regardless of intent, it was from the Hobartian High Churchmen that American Anglo-Catholics took what had been passed down to them and put it into ceremonial action.

**Black Episcopalians After the American Civil War**

After the Civil War, black Episcopalians had to decide whether to remain in the denomination of their baptism or join another Christian denomination. Allen Guelzo notes how many Southern white Episcopalians were prepared to apply the “Jim Crow” spirit of segregation to black congregations in concert with their civil laws. Guelzo recalls

In 1875, St. Mark’s Church in Charleston, South Carolina, whose membership was entirely composed of former slaves, applied for admission to the Diocese of South Carolina, only to be refused on the ground that black Episcopalians could never be considered the equals of white Episcopalians. The [South Carolina] diocesan convention explained: “The Church is bound to recognize, in all its relations to the world, and its offices to mankind, that distinction between the races of men which God has been pleased to ordain, and to conform its polity and ecclesiastical organisms to his divine ordinance.”\textsuperscript{8}


Like their South Carolina counterparts, such actions caused many blacks to leave the Episcopal Church, understandably no longer wanting to be part of a denomination that enslaved them and viewed them as non-equal subordinates. But those black Episcopalians who remained did so having rightly understood Anglicanism’s catholicity reinforcing the Church’s formularies, practices, and constitutions being pre-slavery and in place well before racial inequality. Hence, black Episcopalians who stayed became resolved to point out the Church’s theological inconsistencies on catholicity, showing themselves to be neighbors the larger Episcopal Church could love as they did themselves.\(^9\)

Harold Lewis remarks how the Episcopal Church not only felt morally bound to minister to the faithful remnant of black Episcopalians but had to do so recognizing their newly granted status as free people. One of the Church’s ways of ministering to its black members in the new situation was through specialized ministries, agencies, and educational institutions. The Protestant Episcopal Board of Missions approved during a meeting at the 1865 General Convention a resolution establishing the Freedmen’s Commission to engage in “the religious and secular instruction and physical relief of the freedmen of the South.” Central to the commission’s work was the establishment of schools at which the freedmen could be educated and prepared to take their rightful place in society. Of all the Freedmen’s Commission schools established, the most successful (and the only one remaining) was St. Augustine’s Normal School and Collegiate Institute, now St. Augustine’s University, in Raleigh, North Carolina. By the 1877 General Convention, the Freedmen’s Commission

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ceased its work, stating how it could not offer a favorable report. The commission said that “of the four million...blacks upon our soil, the mass is untouched by our Church.”

One of the reasons for the failure of so many of the Freedmen’s Commission’s institutions was the Church’s racial majority’s persistent mistreatment of black Episcopalians “as separate and unequal, ministering to them as a special group and making no attempts whatever...to integrate blacks into the mainstream of the Church’s life.” Instead of integrating blacks into the Church’s larger life, the Freedmen’s Commission’s initiatives further segregated them. But to its credit, the Freedmen’s Commission at least tried to reach out to the remnant black Episcopalians in the crucial years following the Civil War.

Saint James School could have reopened with a part of its academic program being an extension of the Freedmen’s Commission’s initiatives. But it did not entertain such a thought. And it would be a lost opportunity that would lead to an eighty-six-year setback of Saint James restarting its course to becoming a fully diverse, equitable, and inclusive academic community.

Saint James’s Setback Toward Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion


11 Lewis, pp. 55-56.
William Rollinson Whittingham received many inquiries after the Civil War from parents throughout the Diocese of Maryland about the reopening of Saint James. He was aware of the campus’s deterioration and the difficulties he would encounter raising the money needed to reopen the campus. Nevertheless, Whittingham pressed on. Saint James dropped its college work and was re-founded as a preparatory boarding school in 1869. The School drew students from Maryland and the Northern States, offering to students excellent training in mind and body, together with the influence of a Christian home life. As John Barrett Kerfoot, Saint James’s First Headmaster, hoped five years earlier, “The men that come after us shall see what was well begun, and their consciences and their hearts will compel them to complete it.”

Henry Onderdonk, at Whittingham’s urgent solicitation, became Saint James’s Second Headmaster. Onderdonk came from a Hobartian High Church family. His uncles were Henry Ustick Onderdonk (1789-1858), the Second Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, John Henry Hobart’s successor as Bishop of New York, who had forbidden African American candidates for the ministry from The General Theological Seminary. The younger Henry discerned a possible vocation to the Priesthood and went to seminary after graduating from Columbia University, but withdrew after his first year. He, instead, went into education.

Onderdonk got his start in education in 1846 serving under Libertus Van Bokkelen, a former College Point student of William Augustus Muhlenberg and later Maryland’s first

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13 Adrian Holmes Onderdonk, Memoirs of Adrian Holmes Onderdonk (Unpublished, 1974), p. i.
Superintendent of Public Instruction, at St. Timothy’s School for Boys in Cantonsville, Maryland. In 1861, he became President of the Maryland Agricultural College (now the University of Maryland, College Park), resigning in 1864. Onderdonk taught in Baltimore for the next five years before accepting the headmastership of Saint James School. He served Saint James as Headmaster from 1869 until his death, converting the School from a ruined campus to one of Maryland’s most scenic sites.

In the winter of 1903, Adrian Onderdonk, Henry’s son, an 1895 Saint James School graduate, and an 1899 graduate of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, received a letter from James Harrison (1878-1943), his fellow 1895 classmate, stating his intention to resign as Saint James’s Fourth Headmaster at that school year’s end and encouraging Onderdonk to consider succeeding him. Onderdonk, at the time, was teaching at the Gilman School in Baltimore, having started there his teaching career in 1900. He had further

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14 Libertus Van Bokkelen, an Episcopal priest, was appointed as Maryland's first Superintendent of Public Instruction by Governor Augustus Bradford (1806-1881) on November 12, 1864 in fulfillment of the state’s then new Constitution. It was in this position that Van Bokkelen planned and put together the mechanics of the state’s first uniform system of public schools. According to Richard Paul Fuke, Van Bokkelen was a “strong friend of Negro education.” Part of his public school system plan was the use of general taxes for the funding of black schools, an idea that was met with fierce opposition from many in the Maryland General Assembly. Though Van Bokkelen’s public schools plan passed the General Assembly (primarily due to its Unionist majority), black schools never received their due financial support. This prompted the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the Colored People, of which Van Bokkelen was a member, to help. Through Van Bokkelen’s assistance, by 1867, the organization had established twenty-two black schools throughout Baltimore and another sixty-two such schools in various Maryland counties, all of which together enrolled 8,600 black students. The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Intellectual Improvement of the Colored People became Maryland’s most active organization in establishing late and post-Civil War black schools (L. E. Blauch, “The First Uniform School System of Maryland, 1865-1868,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 26, No. 3, September 1931, pp. 205, 217-218; Richard Paul Fuke, “The Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People, 1864-1870,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. 66, No. 4, September 1971, pp. 369-372). This further proves the point made in Chapter One about how Muhlenberg’s Evangelical Catholicism influenced many of his students at Flushing and College Point and continued to impact their moral character throughout their own ministries and other chosen professions.

conversations with Bernard Carter (1834-1912), the President of the Board of Trustees, and William Paret (1826-1911), the Sixth Bishop of Maryland, who were not hopeful about the School’s future. Onderdonk wrote, “[Both] of them advised me not to give up a position which was certain and where I was so content to undertake a work which was most uncertain and where a failure might end my career as a schoolmaster.” But, he said, it was “my love for my old home…and a spirit of adventure [that] whipped me into making my decision.” Onderdonk served as Saint James’s Fifth (and, to date, longest serving) Headmaster from 1903 until 1939, then stayed on as Chairman of the Latin Department until the death of his first wife Evelynne (1887-1947).16

As academic administrators, both Henry and Adrian Onderdonk were men of firm character. Adrian particularly fostered at Saint James a background of academic integrity and accomplishment and an atmosphere of loyalty and devotion. But in diversity, equity, and inclusion, both Onderdonks were not successful. A reputed event from Henry’s time at the Maryland Agricultural College and three stories from Adrian Onderdonk’s Memoirs provide the likely reasons why.

The only indicator we have of Henry Onderdonk’s leanings on race is based on an event that occurred during his time at the Maryland Agricultural College. John McCardell notes the arrival to campus in late 1864 of the First Maryland Infantry, CSA under the command of Brigadier General Bradley Johnson (1829-1903) as part of Major General Jubal Early’s (1816-1894) advance on Washington, D.C. From the arrival of Johnson’s small Confederate unit arose the legend of Onderdonk hosting an “Old South Ball.” He

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16 Onderdonk, pp. iii-iv, 33-34, 36; “Mr. Onderdonk Dies, Aged 78,” The Morning Herald (January 14, 1956).
was said to have thrown a large banquet for Confederate Army officers and invited the entire town to join in the party at the College’s Rossborough Inn.¹⁷

The College vigorously denied the various stories about the event appearing in area newspapers. Onderdonk denied both hosting and being present at the event. The only fact he claimed was true was that Johnson’s army unit passed through the College’s campus. A federal investigation could not produce any clear-cut findings. Despite this, Onderdonk’s reputation was tarnished. He resigned the Maryland Agricultural College presidency and returned to teaching in Baltimore until his call to Saint James School in 1869.¹⁸

The first of Adrian Onderdonk’s three alarming recollections from his Memoirs is his boyhood memory of “Aunt Violet” McAbee, who had been a Ringgold Family slave. She was employed by Saint James during the first Onderdonk headmastership. Onderdonk said that McAbee “had always lived on the property. My mother once asked her how old she was. [Violet’s] reply was, ‘Deed, I dunno, ma’am. But I remember seeing General Washington when he come heah.’” Because of McAbee’s advanced age, her only job was to milk the cows, which it was Onderdonk’s job to bring in for her every morning and evening for “the large wage of two cents a week.”¹⁹

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¹⁸ Shaw, “The Confederate Army’s ‘Old South Ball.’”

What is particularly alarming is how Onderdonk begins this memory. "Aunt Violet was an old colored woman whom my father inherited when he took over the School."\textsuperscript{20} Henry Onderdonk became Saint James's Second Headmaster in 1869. The Civil War had been over for four years. The Thirteenth Amendment outlawing slavery and involuntary servitude "except as a punishment for crime" was constitutionally ratified on December 6, 1865. Therefore, Onderdonk's description of a free black woman as being inherited by his father upon the beginning of his headmastership is a noticeable concern.

The second recollection, also from the second Onderdonk's childhood, is his memory of "a very amusing wedding" that took place in the Saint James School chapel. "The bride and groom were Negroes." The real amusement for Onderdonk was the sight of "five or six...male Negroes...beating time by clapping their hands while...others danced the Virginia Reel. There was no other sound save the clapping of the hands of the would-be orchestra and the tapping of the feet of the dancers." The wedding reception was an all-night party. Apart from the patronizing tone, it is Onderdonk's beginning description that is alarming. After noting that "the bride and groom were Negroes," he said, "One side of the chapel was filled with darkies and the other side with the School boys and the members of the School family."\textsuperscript{21}

The last recollection is of an African American named Jeriningham Diggs. Diggs was Saint James's headwaiter during the first Onderdonk headmastership. After Henry Onderdonk's death in 1895, Diggs was employed as a butler for a wealthy Hagerstown family. Adrian Onderdonk, upon returning to Saint James as Headmaster in 1903, invited

\textsuperscript{20} Onderdonk, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, pp. 10-11.
Diggs to come back to his old home and job. “Unfortunately, [‘Jern’] was with me for less than a month. He died in the buckboard...he was driving to Hagerstown.” Onderdonk “felt Jern’s death very deeply, for not only had the School lost a valuable servant, but I had lost a life-long friend.” Instead of describing his longtime friend as a wonderful man, Onderdonk says that Diggs “was a wonderful Negro.”22 The perceived implication from this statement is that black people, with few exceptions, are inherently not good people.

This setback to diversity and inclusion persisted in the twenty-four years bookended by the two Onderdonks’ tenures. Thomas John Chew Williams states quite clearly that the headmasterships of Julian Hartridge from 1896 until 1899 and James Harrison from 1899 until 1903 were not prosperous. The only major occurrence from these years was in 1896 when the School’s name changed to Saint James School. Following Adrian Onderdonk’s resignation as Headmaster, James Drake’s pro tempore headmastership from 1939 until 1942 hardly noteworthy.23 Vernon Kellett (1894-1981), Saint James’s Seventh Headmaster from 1942 until 1955, put “the School plant...in better condition than ever before.” But the School was financially struggling and Kellett resigned on June 9, 1955 “over the question of administrative policy.”24 The duty fell to Noble Powell, the Ninth Bishop of Maryland and Chairman of the Saint James School Board of Trustees, to choose the next Headmaster.

22 Ibid. pp. 41-42.

23 Birth and death dates unknown for Julian Hartridge and James Drake.

The Episcopal Church’s Changing Views on Race

By the 1950s, the Episcopal Church was only beginning to exhibit a changed heart on race. In 1951, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Fourth Province (the Province of the former Confederacy) advised that it was “undesirable and inadvisable” to establish a separate provincial seminary for black students and recommended that all existing Southern seminaries accept students of all races—chiefly, the School of Theology at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. The Fourth Province’s support of this proposal was the foundation for Sewanee’s Board of Trustees’ controversial approval in 1953 of its School of Theology’s consideration of admission applications “without regard to race.”

In 1955, following the Supreme Court’s landmark decision in Brown v. Board of Education the year before, the Episcopal Church’s General Convention said “that unjust discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God.” The Convention called on all Episcopalians to open “channels of Christian conference and communication between the races” to start locally implementing the Court’s decision. And in 1959, over 100 ordained and lay Episcopalians met on the campus of St. Augustine’s College in Raleigh, North Carolina to establish the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. Its objectives were three-fold: the elimination of single-race parishes; ending racial criteria in admitting people to the Church’s affiliated schools, camps, hospitals, and

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25 "A Statement Concerning the Background of the Question Considered by the Board of Trustees of the University of the South Concerning the Admission of Qualified Negro Students to the Theological Department of That University (May 8, 1953),” Charles C. J. Carpenter Papers, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, Alabama; “Recommendation from Fourth Province Synod to Board of Trustees (November 10, 1951),” Charles C. J. Carpenter Papers, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, Alabama; “Sewanee Board Votes to Consider All Applicants—Race No Barrier,” Episcopal Churchnews (Sunday, June 21, 1953—Third Sunday after Trinity), Charles C. J. Carpenter Papers, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, Alabama.
other institutions; and to support all Episcopalians working to overturn racial barriers throughout all of society. By mid-1960, ESCRU’s membership grew to over 1,000.26

While the Episcopal Church was calling on its members to support integration and ESCRU was pushing for the Church’s affiliated institutions to end all racial admissions criteria, many Episcopal schools in the South resisted. One notable example was the Lovett School in Atlanta, which in 1963 rejected six-year-old Martin Luther King, III’s admission application, believing integration would financially ruin the school. The young King’s rejection prompted the Fifth Bishop of Atlanta, Randolph Claiborne, Jr. (1906-1986), to cut diocesan ties with the school. Claiborne believed that “segregation on the basis of race is inconsistent with the principles of Christian religion.” For him, segregation had no place within the life and work of the diocese.27

Even though many Southern Episcopal schools resisted racial integration, not all of them did. Ascension Episcopal School in Lafayette, Louisiana, established in 1959, was from its inception open to students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. Jeanette P. Parker (b. 1934), Ascension’s founder, makes clear that Ascension was not founded with any intention of being a “white flight” school. Her sole motivation was to provide “a quality


education in a Christian environment for her children.” Parker had the full support of David J. Coughlin, Jr. (1920-1993), the then Rector of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension.28

Though the 1955 General Convention called on the Episcopal Church to embrace racial integration, it gave no instruction to parish clergy and institutional leaders on how to do so. The Church relied on local leaders to determine the best course of action for their context. For Saint James School, a headmaster was needed who was courageous and could institute integration with smooth and careful planning. For the institution of integration at Saint James, a headmaster was needed who could withstand all degrees of opposition.29

Thanks to Noble Powell, Saint James received the right kind of headmaster for the task.

**John Evan Owens, Jr.—The Eighth Headmaster of Saint James School**

John Evan Owens, Jr., Vernon Kellett’s successor, was originally from Ohio, but spent most of his life in Maryland. After graduating with a Bachelor of Science degree from Towson State College in 1939, he taught in the Baltimore County Public School System until his conscription in the United States Army during World War II. His wartime service earned him the Bronze and Silver Stars for heroic action during the assault crossing of the Rhine River on March 26, 1945. Upon returning to the United States, Owens, who had wanted to be a priest since he was twelve years old, was made a postulant for holy

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28 Ann Brewster Dobie and Mary Buie Skelton, *Remembering Ascension* (Historical Publishing Network, 2016), p. 67; Jeannette P. Parker, Conversation with the Author (Summer 2014); Ascension Episcopal School, *Ascension Episcopal School: Sixty Years of Excellence* (University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2020), pp. 1, 31-32. The author had the privilege to serve as Chaplain of Ascension Episcopal School from 2014 until 2019, at which time he was called to his current ministry at Saint James School of Maryland. Upon the author’s arrival at Ascension, Parker emphasized this point most strongly, stating that “white flight” intentions were never a factor in her founding the school.

29 Morris, *Forcing Progress*, p. 81.
orders by the Bishop of Maryland, Noble Powell, and enrolled at The General Theological Seminary in New York City. After graduating with his Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree in 1948, he was ordained to the Diaconate that same year, then to the Priesthood in 1949.\textsuperscript{30}

Unlike his predecessors, Owens was a staunch Anglo-Catholic. His Anglo-Catholic churchmanship was instilled in him while studying at The General Theological Seminary in the mid-1940s. The Seminary’s Dean during Owens’s senior year was Lawrence Rose (1905-1987), who had impressive Anglo-Catholic qualifications.\textsuperscript{31} Many of General’s students during Rose’s first year as Dean, including Owens, were war veterans who fought in the Pacific Front or on the Normandy beaches. The pastoral care and spiritual wellness of a large body of post-war veterans was Rose’s most important priority. Fully yielding himself to the needs of his students, it is as a priest, friend, and counselor that Rose is best remembered.\textsuperscript{32} Rose’s Anglo-Catholic faith and practice inspired and molded the young Owens’s own Anglo-Catholic faith and vocation.

In 1947, while treating Owens to dinner in New York City, Noble Powell “gently suggested” that he come to Saint James as Chaplain. He did so from 1948 until 1950, after which he asked Powell to let him serve in a parish. Powell wanted Owens to return to Saint James as Assistant Headmaster in early 1955 because his tenure as Chaplain “impressed


\textsuperscript{31} A graduate of the General Seminary Class of 1926, Rose’s teachers in the mid-1920s were a “who’s who” of Anglo-Catholic priests scholars. They included Hughell E. W. Fosbrooke (1875-1957), General’s then Dean and a scholar of the Old Testament, Frank S. B. Gavin (1890-1938), who taught Church history and was the literary editor of The Living Church, and Leonard Hodgson (1889-1969), who taught Christian Apologetics and was one of the most promising young scholars in the Anglican world (Powell Mills Dawley, The Story of The General Theological Seminary, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 321, 324, 338, 366).

the faculty most favorably and [he] was exceptionally popular with the students.” He also
"had the distinct advantage of being a priest of the Church [and] had taught in public
schools as well as at Saint James.” He “had proven administrative ability and is now in
charge of the Youth Movement in the Diocese of Maryland.” The trustees unanimously
agreed with Powell that “in view of Mr. Owens’s previous record at Saint James School
and the fact that he was so well liked by the faculty and boys...the position would be
offered to him.” At the time, deciding “that his bent lay in the parish field rather than in the
educational field,” Owens declined the invitation to return to Saint James as Assistant
Headmaster.33

After Vernon Kellett resigned as Headmaster on June 9, 1955, Powell approached
Owens about stepping into the position. Owens still did not think himself called to Church
school ministry. He went to Harry Doll (1903-1984), the diocese’s Suffragan Bishop, for
guidance.34 Doll convinced Owens to take the appointment. After concluding his ministry
as the Rector of All Saints Episcopal Church in Sunderland, Maryland, John Evan Owens,
Jr. became the Eighth Headmaster of Saint James School on September 1, 1955.35

School Board of Trustees (February 25, 1955)”; H. Douglas Cotton, “Minutes of Saint James School Board
of Trustees (March 7, 1955).” Saint James School Headmaster’s Office.

34 In the Episcopal Church, a Suffragan Bishop is a bishop that is subordinate to the Diocesan Bishop, elected
by a diocese to assist him or her in their sacramental and administrative duties.

35 Powell, “Saint James Headmaster Owens Looks Back with Satisfaction.” Whereas Owens says in Libbie
Powell’s article that he was asked to return to Saint James, D. Stuart Dunnan says that Bishop Powell ordered
Owens to return as Headmaster. According to Dunnan, because Powell wanted Owens as Headmaster, the
trustees simply agreed to his wish. Dunnan also says that Owens “tried to return to a parish several times, but
Bishop Powell would not let him” (D. Stuart Dunnan, “An Address to the Headmasters Association in
Saint James School Archives, D. Stuart Dunnan, Conversation with the Author, December 2, 2020).
Owens’s Philosophy of Education

Owens's philosophy of education was reflective of Saint James's historic Christian character and academic excellence. The points he listed served as the School’s “platform” for the next three decades.

1) To bear witness to the fact that God is the source of all knowledge and acknowledgement of Him and a proper response to Him as revealed in Jesus Christ are basic to the understanding of life and to the formation of character.
2) To hold onto that which is good, which is eternal in our ever-changing world.
3) To maintain standards of excellence.
4) To use Christian standards as point of reference and departure as a basis for living.
5) To bear witness to the fact that the whole of life is God’s concern.\(^{36}\)

Owens summarized his philosophy as follows

In answer to the question, “What is the ultimate purpose of education?” we hear that the purpose...is to prepare children for college or for a job, to help them earn more money, to train them to be good citizens or to teach them to live in a democracy. But behind all of these reasons is the more fundamental one which has to do with a basic philosophy and view of life. What is the real foundation for the formation of character for responsible citizenship, and for goodness? What is the answer for meaning, purpose and direction for life? It is, we believe, in acknowledging God as the source of all knowledge and responding to Him as He is revealed in Jesus Christ. This is perhaps another way of stating the First Commandment, to love God with all that one has and to make a total commitment of oneself to Him.\(^{37}\)

Owens did not modernize or “grow” the School dramatically as other school heads did during his time. In some ways that was good, in other ways it was bad. Under Owens, Saint James ran on such a tight budget that faculty salaries and benefits hardly kept pace with the market or inflation and dorm faculty housing remained relatively cramped and challenging. Owens, though, was not himself highly paid and lived in “Rich Cottage,” a small single-story house that once stood in the center of campus (in no sense the typical “Headmaster’s” residence). Another criticism that could be leveled against Owens is that


\(^{37}\) Owens, “The Philosophy of Saint James School.”
he maintained traditional values and a traditional approach to administration during the 1960s and 1970s. These were the years when young Americans fiercely resisted authority. Owens's approach caused Saint James to seem much the same in 1984, when he retired, as it had been when he began his headmastership in 1955.38

**Female Day Students Come to Saint James**

The student body grew from 114 boys from when the Owens headmastership began in 1955 to over 150 boys and girls by the time it ended in 1984. At its Fall 1974 meeting, the Board of Trustees formed a Subcommittee on Coeducation. One of the major reasons the trustees discerned making this change was because of the increasing demand by prospective female students wanting to come to Saint James. Both J. Donald Woodruff, Jr., a former School parent and history instructor from 1967 until 1987, and D. Stuart Dunnan, the current Headmaster, say that coeducation was a harder issue for Owens than racial integration, citing his personal belief that Saint James could have still benefited as one of the remaining options for families wanting a single-sex academic setting for their sons to discover and cultivate their own learning style. The School's faculty was split on the question, their concern being the possibility that boys might drop out voluntarily or be removed by their parents should coeducation be enacted. The subcommittee asked that the question be revisited "for further discussion...depending on the success of recruitment efforts."39


39 J. Donald Woodruff, Jr., Conversation with the Author (July 13, 2020); D. Stuart Dunnan, Conversation with the Author (January 27, 2021); John E. Owens, Jr., "Report of the Headmaster to the Board of Trustees of Saint James School (Monday, October 2, 1955)." Saint James School Headmaster's Office; Henry Callard,
With recruitment efforts successful, the Board of Trustees voted at its Fall 1975 meeting “to open the School to girl day students in September 1976.” The admission of female day students was a monumental change for the School in its 133-year-history. Woodruff says that Owens accepted the trustees’ decision and willingly put aside his personal views for the sake of the School’s continued mission and long-term success. The trustees said in announcing the decision, “Just as the campus has been enriched by...many foreign students...so will the addition of girl students be a benefit to the overall educational process. We also feel that we will be providing a service to the Hagerstown and Frederick communities and those families who are looking [for] a school with the stature of Saint James as a place for girls.”

The Admission of Saint James School’s First Black Students

Woodruff says it was in 1971 that a School alumnus was watching some local black kids playing a game while on vacation in Charlestown, Nevis. He walked over and started talking with them. One of the young men in the group was Lester Horace Blackett (b. 1955). The alumnus was so impressed with Blackett that he thought it would be good if the young man could attend Saint James. He called Owens, raved to him about Blackett, and

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asked if the young Nevisian could enroll the next academic year. Owens supported the idea. He advised that Blackett be admitted as an “international student,” as he felt that would be the best way of bringing Blackett into the community. Woodruff says Owens viewed Blackett’s admission as the crucial step to [further] integrating Saint James.41 Blackett enrolled in the Sixth Form (Twelfth Grade) and graduated *cum laude* in the Class of 1972. Blackett recommended to Woodruff that his best friend Gene Parris (b. 1955) be the next Nevisian to come to Saint James. Parris graduated in the Class of 1973.42

Two more Nevisian students came: Loston Macretnay Nisbitt ‘74 (b. 1956) and Carlysele Leroy Parris ‘75 (b. 1957), Gene’s brother. Then, in 1974, Woodruff and fellow faculty member David Barr (1925-2017)43 approached Owens about Saint James taking the next step of admitting an African American. They thought: Why not start in the Third Form and the student would stay all the way through the Sixth Form and graduate? All three men agreed that it was time for Saint James to take such a step. All that remained left to do was to discern who this first young African American man would be.44

Owens must have put out some “feelers” among his wide network of clergy friends and other acquaintances. A priest from the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio phoned

41 Before Lester Blackett’s admission as an international student from Nevis and as Saint James’s first black student in 1971, Tomoyuki Fukasawa ‘58 of Japan enrolled in the Sixth Form as the first non-white international student in 1957 (Saint James School, *Bai Yuka 1958*, Saint James School, 1958, p. 21).


43 Woodruff says that Barr was an unabashed supporter of civil rights and racial integration (Conversation with the Author, July 13, 2020).

Owens with a possible student in mind—Donald Lee Anderson (1959-2015) of Cincinnati. Owens and the faculty who met and interviewed Anderson all loved him. They agreed that he was the right young man for this important step for the School. Anderson enrolled as Saint James’s first African American student in the Third Form in 1974.45

Woodruff says that Anderson’s mother was not opposed to her son coming to Saint James, but, as the mother of an African American child, she still asked Owens if her son would be safe at the School. “We think [Don] will be treated well here,” Owens told her. “We believe Saint James is ready for this. For some of our Southern students, though, it may be hard.” Woodruff recalls that except for maybe one or two, Saint James students surprisingly did not have any problem with Anderson’s enrollment. Scott Barr ’78, faculty member David Barr’s son and one of Anderson’s classmates, says Anderson was more of a brother than a friend to him and that he was one of the best people he ever had the fortune of knowing. When asked what efforts the School’s administration did to ensure Anderson’s safe integration, Charles G. Meehan, Jr. ’65, a former Saint James math teacher, said that “[Owens] was the administration.” The large administration the School today has did not then exist. “Father Owens ran the show.” Meehan says Anderson was looked out for by Owens because how his Christian faith convicted him that integration needed to happen.46

The major dissent, Woodruff says, came from the surrounding community. He tells how a reporter from the Hagerstown Morning Herald called him a couple of days after Anderson’s enrollment to ask what encouraged the School to accept him. “We felt that it

45 Woodruff, Conversation with the Author (July 13, 2020); Charles G. Meehan, Jr., Conversation with the Author (December 1, 2020); Saint James School, Bai Yuka 1975 (Saint James School, 1975).

46 Woodruff, Conversation with the Author (July 13, 2020); Meehan, Conversation with the Author (December 1, 2020); Scott Barr, written eulogy for Don Anderson, pp.1-3. According to W. L. Prehn, “Some Southerners were ahead of their Northern peers on this matter” (Email to the Author, July 20, 2020).
was time," Woodruff said. Two days later, two men wearing Ku Klux Klan hoods carrying a wood cross drenched in gasoline were approaching Woodruff’s on-campus residence. Thanks to Woodruff’s Great Dane chasing the two Klansmen off campus, nothing further happened.\footnote{Woodruff, Conversation with the Author (July 13, 2020).}

Woodruff also recalls a sports game during which a group of students got a little emotional. One of the Southern students told Anderson, “I think I’m going to sell you.” Woodruff, who heard this, instantly got nervous, wondering how Anderson would react. “Well, I hope you have a good price,” said Anderson. “But I don’t think you’ll be able to sell me.” All the other students laughed, and the tense moment was defused. Woodruff then had an admonishing conversation with the Southern student. Anderson’s response, Woodruff says, was confirmation that the School made the right choice of its first African American student.

Anderson’s time at Saint James School was an overall success. In addition to being an excellent student and elected as the School’s first African American Prefect, he also sang in the School Choir.\footnote{Saint James School, 2020-2021 Saint James Handbook, p. 28: “The Prefects are [Sixth Formers] nominated by the faculty and student body voting in separate colleges and appointed by the Headmaster. Prefects are not student representatives; they act as liaisons between the students and the faculty. In this way, they are officers of the School and assist the faculty in administering the School.”} Anderson has also been described as Saint James’s best-ever athlete. He became an All-American lacrosse midfielder, the basketball team’s top scorer with 1,850 career points, the football team’s best freshman tackler, and the All-Independent League soccer goalie.\footnote{Barr, written eulogy for Don Anderson, p. 1. According to Barr, Anderson’s Saint James basketball record still stands.}
After becoming Saint James's first African American graduate in the Class of 1978, Anderson attended Franklin & Marshall College, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and was a four-year starter on the basketball team. He then went on to enjoy a successful career as a basketball coach and athletics administrator at institutions including Gettysburg College, Coppin State University, the University of Maryland-Baltimore County, and Florida A&M University. He died of an unexpected heart attack on June 17, 2015 at the age of fifty-six.  

Anderson paved the way for diversity, equity, and inclusion to be for the School a fuller present reality. His challenges were vastly different and greater than those of his fellow students, yet Anderson handled them with incredible strength, dignity, and humility. Every minority student who has since come to Saint James has had a much easier road to travel thanks to the pioneering enrollment of the “Nevisian Four” and Donald Anderson.  

But it all would not have been possible without the support of John Owens. In an address he gave to the Convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Easton, Owens said

The major problem of our day is that of race relations. We are judged by our young people not so much by what we say but by the example we set—our actions, whether these are of the individual or of the group. Certainly, no Church school should do less than have an open policy concerning members of all races.  

"Father Owens was fully committed to integrating Saint James," Woodruff says.

Out of all he accomplished, arguably Owens’s most significant perpetual contribution to

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51 Barr, written eulogy for Don Anderson, pp. 2-3.

52 Owens as quoted in Dunnan, “Father Owens, Eighth Headmaster of Saint James,” p. 150.
Saint James was in diversity, equity, and inclusion. “I’m pleased with the mixture [of races] in the student body,” he said in reflection preparing for retirement. Owens “encouraged the exchange of students from other countries.” In addition to already having had an exchange student from England for fifty-two years, Owens began exchange programs for students from Japan, Germany, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Mexico, Kuwait, Ecuador, the Bahamas, and several other countries.  

Owens brought to conclusion the School’s racial barriers in the admission of its students. To this end, he started again Saint James’s development toward becoming a fully diverse, equitable, and inclusive community—a development starting in the original vision of a Church school held by William Augustus Muhlenberg, his disciple John Barrett Kerfoot, and William Rollinson Whittingham. The great momentum fostered by these men was halted in 1864 when the Civil War came to Fountain Rock and the School was closed. Owens preached, taught, and did that which he believed, developed the School’s religious principles into a working system, and made the Gospel come alive for his students.

The Owens Era—Saint James School’s “Second Great Awakening”

Owens’s twenty-nine years as Headmaster has been called Saint James’s “Second Great Awakening.” His tenure brought the School back to the founders’ precept of a priest as its headmaster. Owens was the first Anglo-Catholic priest-headmaster in the School’s history. D. Stuart Dunnan, the incumbent Headmaster, says that Owens was “not the typical
outgoing headmaster who loved to host gatherings, chair meetings, and be visible on campus...He was in truth much more a priest than a headmaster. He was...a very prayerful priest who did not like to preach; he preferred to preach by example.” Owens cared deeply about the School’s religious life and was its transition from Tractarianism to Anglo-Catholicism.  

Owens not only helped young people sharpen their minds; he was also a model for them of good manners, deep religious convictions, and sincere respect and dignity for all people. By these things, Owens instilled in his students a foundation upon which they could build their lives and their outlook on life. The diversity, equity, and inclusion Saint James School today experiences is due to Owens’s modeling of them through his own life and ministry. “In these ways,” says Stuart Dunnan, “we are still Father Owens’s school.”


Chapter Five

Richard Baker, Stuart Dunnan, and the Present Development of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion at Saint James School

Richard Henry Baker, Jr.—The Eighth Headmaster of Saint James School

In June 1984, after twenty-nine years of service, John Evan Owens, Jr. retired as the Eighth Headmaster of Saint James School. The man selected to succeed him was Richard Henry Baker, Jr. Baker was a native Marylander who came to Saint James with impeccable academic credentials. After graduating cum laude in 1952 from the Groton School in Groton, Massachusetts, Baker enrolled at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree in History in 1956. A Rhodes Scholar, Baker received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theology from Christ Church, Oxford in 1958. He graduated with a Master of Divinity degree from Virginia Theological Seminary in 1960. Baker was ordained by Thomas Henry Wright (1904-1997), the Fourth Bishop of East Carolina, to the Diaconate in 1960 and to the Priesthood in 1961. He served in parish, campus, and school ministry in North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Ohio before returning to Maryland to serve Saint James as Headmaster from 1984 until 1991.

Although Baker’s tenure was short when compared to his predecessor Owens and successor D. Stuart Dunnan, he accomplished much. In 1985, Alumni Hall, the School’s athletic field house, was built. The Laidlaw Family donated squash courts. Meade Detweiler, III ‘39 (1920-1994) and James Holloway, III ‘39 (1922-2019) donated the

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1 Baker’s actual suffix was “V,” as his father’s legal name was “Richard Henry Baker, IV.”

wrestling rooms which bear their names. Stonebraker House was acquired as a new faculty residence. And in trying to modernize the School, Baker added four new positions to the School’s administrative staff: Business Manager, Academic Dean, Director of Admission, and Director of Development.³

**The Approval of Female Boarding**

Baker’s contribution to the development of full diversity, equity, and inclusion at Saint James School was his work toward the implementation of female boarding. In this regard, he built upon his predecessor’s work toward coeducation begun in 1975. Baker felt that the implementation of female boarding was the next logical step in Saint James’s goal to provide the most formative academic program for the entire School community.

Opponents of female boarding were worried that the School could not afford the new building costs that would be incurred. They also felt that Saint James had advantages as an all-male boarding school because in the market “so many...all-boy schools [were] going co-ed.” Defenders of an all-male school felt that families desiring “the old traditional all-boys school way” would see Saint James as an attractive alternative. Baker was instead encouraged to concentrate on getting Saint James’s finances in order. “Get done what is financially necessary before any talk of co-education is further talked about.”⁴

Baker and others in support of female boarding cited the advantages it would have for the School’s young men, current female day students, and for the School overall. It was

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stated that “men together without women...fantasize about [the] opposite gender...in sub-human ways.” They argued that limited social interaction with women could lead young men to think of women more as sex objects than actual people. Furthermore, they cited the real-world reality of how the School’s male students will work with women in business and law offices, assembly lines, etc. as equals. “This means that most of our male students will, at some time, work under a female supervisor or boss.” Female boarding, they said, would help prepare the School’s male students for appropriate collegial and social interactions with women as their equals.  

For the School’s current female day students, Baker and his supporters said that the “low percentage of girls...means that they are in a school almost completely dominated by young men.” They would often be isolated from each other, increasing their feelings of loneliness in a classroom full of men. In this respect, Baker felt that the School’s current female students were not being provided the same educational environment as the males. It was an unrealistic environment academically and socially for the present-day. Female students needed a more equal and secure environment to “learn how to use their own power effectively and positively.”

Baker and his supporters also argued that “the School must face realistically the demographics.” They argued

The raw numbers of children ages 12-15 is down and will come back up beginning in 1992. BUT when the numbers increase, the surge will be [centered] in minority populations and largely in populaces that cannot afford private education. We are not sure what this will mean for the future of Saint James, but it may mean that the number of families who have children who might want to come to Saint James AND can afford it is not going to increase out of the current down-turn.

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7 Ibid., p. 2.
Therefore, the reasons for the change were both financial and philosophical. In written “Arguments for Coeducation” presented at the trustees’ Fall 1990 meeting, Baker made his case about how the change would enhance the holistic formation of students, Saint James offering the same level of education and social opportunities to all its students, regardless of race, national origin, and gender. “We know that many young men want to go to a co-ed school. Being half-way between all-male and co-ed Saint James appeals to some but not to as many as we would if we become truly co-ed.”

Having considered both arguments, the Board of Trustees voted to begin female boarding starting in the fall of 1991. Bracing for the “[public relations] challenge...Saint James...will face with regard to [the] decision,” Heritage Foundation president and School trustee Edwin John Feulner, Jr. (b. 1941) offered to James Holloway, III, President of the Board of Trustees, suggestions on how to effectively explain to the School’s constituencies the facts that were considered in approving the decision. Feulner, the father of a 1990 School graduate, was “confident that...parents and former parents will greet the news with an overwhelming positive attitude.” He also recognized that “some of the alumni, however, will be much less enthusiastic.”

Feulner felt that a special letter to the School’s alumni signed by Holloway and all the other alumni trustees should be the first official announcement of the decision before any press releases. With the Sesquicentennial Capital Campaign slated to soon start, he felt it “incumbent on us to make sure this audience is reassured that the fundamental character

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8 Ibid.


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of Saint James is not changing.” Most importantly, Feulner said that the alumni trustees needed to convey the decision as having come from the duly vested “authority of a whole group of loyal Saint James [alumni] who clearly have the best long-term interest of the School at heart.”

Holloway agreed with Feulner. He conveyed to the Board’s Executive Committee the importance of notifying the alumni before the release of any public announcements and the mailing of Annual Fund letters. Holloway, a retired Navy admiral, did not want there to be any kind of perceived thought that the Board sought to hide “a potentially unpopular [decision] until after the appeal for contributions.” Baker’s tenure also saw the election of Carolyn Ann Dalton ’86 (b. 1968) as the School’s first female Prefect.

The Termination of the Baker Headmastership

Baker achieved a major victory when the trustees authorized female boarding. Unfortunately, he departed Saint James before this momentous change was implemented. Holloway, acting on behalf of the Board of Trustees Executive Committee, relieved Baker of his duties as Headmaster effective on June 30, 1991.

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11 Following his distinguished service in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, Holloway served as the Twentieth Chief of Naval Operations and, by virtue of this position, on the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1974 until 1978, serving under Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter. Saint James regards Holloway as its most prominent alumnus.

12 James L. Holloway, III, Memorandum to the Executive Committee of the Saint James School Board of Trustees (November 6, 1990), pp. 1-2, James L. Holloway, III (President, Board of Trustees) Papers, Saint James School Archives; Saint James School, Bai Yuka 1986 (Saint James School, 1986), pp. 24, 74.

13 The Rev. & Mrs. Richard H. Baker, Jr., Letter to Friends (May 6, 1991). James L. Holloway, III (President, Board of Trustees) Papers, Saint James School Archives. After his termination at Saint James, Baker served as Head of the Upper School at the Rocky Hill Country Day School in East Greenwich, Rhode Island from 1992 until 1994. He then returned to Baltimore, Maryland and served as the Rector of the Episcopal Church of the Guardian Angel until having to retire due to health reasons. Baker died of laryngeal cancer in Eagle’s
From the trustees’ perspective, Saint James had become lax in standards and inconsistent in discipline over the last three to four years. The appearance of the School’s buildings and grounds were “an embarrassment because of the litter and unrepaired vandalism.” Both the Parents Association and the Alumni Council announced to the trustees that they would not “recruit for the School until there was a turnaround in these conditions.”

Responding to a young alumnus who disagreed with the decision to let Baker go, Holloway explained that Baker was repeatedly advised by the Board to improve these deficiencies. But the trustees’ concerns “went unheeded with no evident effort to address the problems.” With no planned efforts for improvement likely, Holloway said it was then concluded that it was time for a change in leadership.

Baker described in a letter to Holloway how hearing the news of his termination was “numbing.” He thought he was making good progress regarding the School’s internal

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15 Holloway, Letter to Clark O. Spencer (September 25, 1991). An ad hoc “Committee on Standards of Cleanliness and Appearance” was formed by the Board of Trustees during its Winter 1991 meeting. A summary memo of the Committee’s scheduled campus inspections on February 9 and March 30, 1991 states that it was “evident that the response of the School’s administration to the clearly stated concerns of the Trustees regarding the cleanliness and appearance of the School has not been satisfactory.” The Committee cited finding “the conditions at the School totally unsatisfactory” during its February 9, 1991 inspection. It also cited how “the...hallways, common room, and bathrooms in Claggett” were cleaned “just hours before the ad hoc Committee arrived,” as well as the absence from campus of the staff member responsible for the School’s maintenance and cleanliness during its March 30, 1991 inspection. Holloway thus said, “In view of the clear lack of progress in getting the School cleaned up and establishing a systematic program to maintain the presentable appearance of the buildings and grounds, the ad hoc Committee on Standards will continue in force through the 1991-1992 school year, or until it is clear that its purpose has been achieved” (James L. Holloway, III, Memorandum to the Saint James School Board of Trustees. May 6, 1991, James L. Holloway, III (President, Board of Trustees) Papers. Saint James School Archives).
operations. In a letter to friends, Baker sought to justify his accomplishments. "One major building has gone up, annual giving has more than doubled in the last three years, [and] the School will board girls next fall for the first time." He honestly did not see his termination coming. He was shocked and sad to have been deemed "not the right Headmaster to carry the School into the campaign for the sesquicentennial."\(^{16}\)

When evaluating Baker's headmastership, three contextual facts should be kept in mind. The first relates to churchmanship. Whereas Saint James was founded by American leaders of the Oxford Movement and identifies as an Anglo-Catholic school, Baker was a classic Low Churchman, which made him ill-matched with the School. We have seen that Saint James had developed as an institution where the Headmaster is expected to be of the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Yet, Baker's actions point to Low Church sentiments pertaining to the Church's liturgy and the authority of its clergy.

One example of Baker's Low Churchmanship was his preference to being called "Mr." Baker instead of "Father" Baker and wearing of a dress shirt and necktie instead of a clerical collar, downplaying the School's traditional view of its priest-headmaster as a sacramental and authoritative leader. Yet, to his credit, Baker did honor Saint James's religious tradition by hiring an Anglo-Catholic priest, John Edward Merchant (b. 1946), as Chaplain in 1985.\(^{17}\) Baker's informal nature was something the School's wider community was not accustomed to and had a hard time accepting.

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Furthermore, W. L. Prehn says that D. Stuart Dunnan “restored required daily morning chapel and the voluntary Sunday [morning] Eucharist” upon succeeding Baker as Headmaster in 1992. This fact points to Baker’s Low Church proclivities toward reform and relaxing the strict nature of the School’s then structure. Thus, Baker’s “refashioning” of many of Saint James’s traditions, including the daily and weekly schedule, probably disgruntled many of the alumni, becoming a likely motivator for his termination.  

The next contextual fact is how upon Richard Baker fell the burden of following John Owens. For twenty-nine years, Owens was the guiding light to young people in the most formative stage of their life, a task he handled exceedingly well. For many in the wider School community, Owens was larger than life. Throughout the wider private school world, he was “THE great Father Owens.” As one former parent recognized: “Following Owens would have been a very hard task for anyone.”

This leads to the last contextual fact. Eileen Driscoll says that “a Board of Trustees should always be ready for a change in leadership...[T]he trustees should try to articulate the goals and needs of the school for the year ahead and review the plan for the next five, seven, or ten years.” This obviously did not happen with the Saint James School Board of Trustees in 1984. Because Owens ran Saint James in such a traditional and personal way for twenty-nine years, the Board of Trustees only met two or three times a year, there being

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a “final collection” at the last meeting to cover the usual deficit.\textsuperscript{20} This made the trustees ill-equipped and ill-prepared to search for Owens’s successor.

It was earlier mentioned that Baker received his Master of Divinity degree in 1960 from Virginia Theological Seminary. Established in 1823, Virginia was founded to be a regional seminary in the historic Low Church tradition. Unlike those of the Hobartian High Church General Theological Seminary in New York City, many of Virginia’s students and alumni by the 1850s began openly discussing political issues. Robert Prichard notes that in 1856 Phillips Brooks (1835-1893), the future Sixth Bishop of Massachusetts, and other Northern students threatened to withdraw from the school if it did not guarantee protection for those speaking out against slavery after a student was threatened by a local resident to be tarred and feathered. The seminary faculty agreed to offer protection and scheduled an on-campus discussion on the morality of slavery. In addition to Phillips Brooks, Virginia counts among its alumni important historic Church figures such as John Thomas Walker (1925-1989), the Sixth (and first African American) Bishop of Washington from 1977 until his death and a well-known social activist, and John Elbridge Hines (1910-1997), whose commitment to social justice as the Episcopal Church’s Twenty-Second Presiding Bishop from 1965 until 1974 kept the Church in the forefront of civil rights issues.\textsuperscript{21}

Such facts point to many Virginia Theological Seminary graduates traditionally not being bound to or observant of the theological principle of reserve. When searching for


Owens’s successor, the School’s trustees were not knowledgeable enough to pick up how this fact was going to make Baker ill-matched with the School’s Anglo-Catholic culture. And by hiring Baker as Headmaster, the trustees gave custodial power to a man whose Low Church qualities were in sharp conflict with the School’s longtime reserve.

Baker’s changes were for many too much and brought on too fast to accord with the School’s Anglo-Catholic culture and its reserved nature toward change. This, in several ways, caused his headmastership to be over before getting started. And because of the Board of Trustees’ lack of preparation and knowledge of churchmanship in searching for Owens’s successor, seven years following his retirement, Saint James School remained in financial distress and became severely divided.

Although female boarding is the permanent legacy of Baker’s headmastership, his termination did not hinder the School’s development toward fuller diversity, equity, and inclusion. Baker was at heart a pastor and teacher. He believed in effective discipline, proper manners, the importance of athletics, religion, fairness, truth, and understanding. Baker’s seven years as Headmaster were defined by his deep concern for the well-being of the faculty, staff, and student body. He worked closely with students and served as a counselor and friend to many.22

**Donald Stuart Dunnan—The Tenth (and Current) Headmaster of Saint James School**

In 1991, Saint James School was in its second Headmaster search in less than a decade. It was severely divided over Richard Baker’s termination. The task before the new

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Headmaster looked daunting. Yet, the thirty-three-year-old Chaplain of Lincoln College, Oxford chosen for the position was “a very mature young man with great seriousness of purpose.” The trustees felt that not only would his qualifications make him an excellent Headmaster for the School, they also felt that this young man “will clearly make his mark in education.” The Tenth Headmaster of Saint James School was Donald Stuart Dunnan.23

A native of Washington, D.C., Dunnan graduated cum laude in 1977 from St. Albans School, located on the grounds of the Washington National Cathedral. While at St. Albans he became a chorister in the National Cathedral Choir. Charles Martin (1907-1997), the Headmaster of St. Albans, had a profound influence on Dunnan. He was an Episcopal priest whose faith was deep and powerful. He saw the people of St. Albans as his parish family, serving its faculty and students without guile, religiosity, and false moralizing. Martin was a simple preacher, reducing the complexities of Christian doctrine to the essence of the Lord’s Prayer: Treat all people the way you hope God will treat you. He insisted that St. Albans’s mission was “not to get boys into the kingdom of Harvard, but to get them into the Kingdom of Heaven.” Dunnan says Martin was an outspoken civil rights advocate, frequently talking with students about these important issues.24

Another influence was the bishop, John Thomas Walker. Dunnan was confirmed by Walker into the Episcopal Church while in the First Form (or Seventh Grade) at St. Albans School. Walker was the first African American to serve as a bishop in the Diocese

23 George Dewey, Jr., Letter to James L. Holloway, III (March 4, 1992), James L. Holloway, III (President, Board of Trustees) Papers, Saint James School Archives; James L. Holloway, III, Letter to the Rev. Dr. D. Stuart Dunnan (March 22, 1992), James L. Holloway, III (President, Board of Trustees) Papers, Saint James School Archives.

of Washington. He served as Bishop Suffragan from 1971 until 1976, then as Bishop Coadjutor from 1976 until 1977, and as the Sixth Bishop of Washington from 1977 until his unexpected death in 1989. He served simultaneously as Dean of the Washington National Cathedral beginning in 1978. Before coming to Washington in the mid-1960s as the National Cathedral’s first Canon Missioner, Walker was an Episcopal boarding school teacher. He was the first African American member of the faculty at St. Paul’s School in Concord, New Hampshire (one of Saint James’s “daughter schools”), teaching history from 1957 until 1966.²⁵

As a black clergyman in a Christian denomination long regarded as the bastion of white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, Walker prevailed against the racism he encountered in the Episcopal Church. He used its liturgy and organizational mechanisms to become a driving force for racial reconciliation. As a former boarding school teacher, Walker showed a particular interest in the Cathedral’s affiliated schools, including St. Albans. He imparted to all he met the importance of the Church’s schools, parishes, and institutions being open to all people, most particularly to those to whom its doors had before been closed. For the young Stuart Dunnan, the moral witness of John Thomas Walker was an encouraging example to live a purposeful, Christ-filled life, “leaning on the Lord” as an old spiritual says.²⁶


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One more influence on Dunnan was William Henry Marmion (1907-2002), the Third Bishop of Southwestern Virginia from 1954 until 1979. For thirty years, from 1962 until 1992, Marmion served as the Minister-in-Charge of St. Peter’s-by-the-Sea Protestant Episcopal Church in Cape Neddick, Maine, a summer chapel Dunnan attended with his family as a young boy. Consecrated to the episcopate only four days before the Supreme Court’s landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Marmion held the view that the Court’s decision was right and necessary. He wrote, “There is no room [among Christians] for differences of opinion regarding the full acceptance of God’s command to love our neighbor and the obligation of each Christian diligently to seek God’s will in the expression of brotherly love.” Marmion urged every Southwestern Virginia Episcopalian to accept *Brown* as the law of the land, saying “it is the duty of the Church...to help our nation under God experience a rebirth of freedom and justice and goodwill by transforming the hearts and minds of men.” For Dunnan, Marmion was an admirable model of a courageous and prophetic Christian minister.27

Dunnan credits Charles Martin, John Walker, and William Marmion as the three major influences on him during his formative years on the issues of race and civil rights. From their collective influence, eight years singing in the National Cathedral Choir, and attending services at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church on K Street in Washington’s Foggy Bottom community while still home during the summer months, Dunnan became rooted in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. The Gospel became for him more and more the voice of the

living God to His Church being guided by the Holy Spirit through darkness and conflict. In Dunnan’s own words, “If we insist upon approaching the Faith as a commodity, we will never be real Christians; we will only be users, not followers of the Gospel.” From his formative years onward, Dunnan has firmly resisted “wink-and-grin” Christianity.28

From St. Albans School Dunnan went to Harvard University, graduating magna cum laude in 1981 with Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees in Modern European History. That September he began his first stint at the Harvard School for Boys in Los Angeles, California, teaching history and serving as College Counselor. In 1983, having discerned a call to ordained ministry, Dunnan went to England to study for ordination. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theology from Christ Church, Oxford in 1985, followed by a return trip to the United States for a one-year Certificate in Anglican Studies from The General Theological Seminary in New York City.29

Dunnan was ordained to the Diaconate by the Fifth Bishop of Los Angeles, Robert Claflin Rusack (1926-1986), on June 21, 1986.30 He spent the next year serving his second stint at the Harvard School for Boys, this time as the Assistant Chaplain. It was during this time that Dunnan was ordained to the Priesthood by the Suffragan Bishop of Los Angeles,

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30 Rusack died of a heart attack aged sixty years old at his Los Angeles home on July 16, 1986, just twenty-five days after ordaining Dunnan to the Diaconate. In his written final instructions, Rusack stipulated that Dunnan was to be the deacon at his funeral service (“Bishop Robert Rusack Dies; Los Angeles Episcopal Chief,” The New York Times, July 18, 1986; D. Stuart Dunnan, Conversation with the Author, January 31, 2021).

Dunnan’s objectives were to lead Saint James into the coming decade by expanding the student body, growing alumni relations, fundraising and development, and by attracting and maintaining an excellent corps of faculty and staff. One trustee expressed hope that Dunnan would remain at Saint James for a long time, while recognizing: “It is unrealistic to expect headmasters to remain at schools for more than ten years.”

Dunnan is now in his twenty-ninth year as Saint James’s Headmaster. He is a rarity in the Episcopal school world, not just for the length of his tenure but the fact that he is a *priest*-headmaster. This was once a common attribute of Episcopal Church schools; not so much in the current day. Yet, for Saint James, an Episcopal priest as Headmaster is in line with the founders’ vision for the School.

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31 Hugh Latimer (c. 1487-1555) was a sixteenth century English Reformer and, along with Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) and Nicholas Ridley (c. 1500-1555), one of the “Oxford Martyrs” burned at the stake under the Catholic Queen Mary I (1516-1558). Dunnan’s research led him to see how Latimer’s preaching was very Lollard, and, with that, humanist. The Lollards, a pre-Protestant Reformation movement that existed from the mid-fourteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries, emphasized Christ’s Real Presence in the Eucharist but rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Dunnan says that he himself is more of a “spiritual presence” person in matters of the Eucharist and not a transubstantiationist, hence how his study of Latimer’s preaching conformed with his own Anglo-Catholicism.


33 Dewey, Letter to James L. Holloway, III.
Dunnan, like William Augustus Muhlenberg, believes the School is a “scholastic brotherhood.” The Church’s liturgy is the vehicle for students’ moral education and the most effective means of keeping before them the right standards for living. And just as Muhlenberg encouraged his protégé John Barrett Kerfoot, so Dunnan has encouraged his students’ prayer lives.34

Throughout Dunnan’s tenure, he has faithfully maintained Muhlenberg’s original Church school vision, as his address at the 2001 Fall Parents Weekend shows:

The truth is that the world your children face has not changed as much as we had fooled ourselves into believing, not because God does not will it to change, but because we often lack the faith to respond with the courage which His will for change requires. The challenge then which your children will face is the same challenge which we now face ourselves, and indeed the same challenge which the saints have faced before us: the challenge to be faithful in order to be good.

And so the smaller challenges your children face at Saint James will be good for them, because these challenges will give them the tools they will need for life, not life as we want it to be, or indeed pretend it to be, but life as it is. Working hard for the test, playing hard for the team, learning to be a true friend and a real leader, all of these challenges with all the pain they bring with them will equip your children for the greater challenges ahead. For it is through these challenges that they will gain that true “spirit of power and of love and of self-discipline” which St. Paul writes about and that empowering faith which Our Lord commends to us: the faith they will need to move the mountains of selfishness, hate, and prejudice which block the way of God ahead.35

During Dunnan’s headmastership, enrollment of international students has grown by twenty-five percent with twenty countries represented. Female leadership on campus has also grown. The first decade of the Dunnan era saw the election of Emily Giselle


Baumann ‘99 (b. 1981) as the School’s first female Senior Prefect. Five additional female students have since served as Senior Prefect, including Kourtney R. Logan ‘02 (b. 1984), the first minority female, and Xiyue Zhang ‘21 (b. 2002), the first female international student.36 These milestones have added to Saint James’s development toward full diversity, equity, and inclusion and have helped students become prepared to lead in a global world.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion During the Dunnan Headmastership

There are many who would say that Dunnan has approached and handled matters of diversity, equity, and inclusion in an intelligent and faithful manner. Dunnan’s guiding question on such issues is how Saint James School can acknowledge, implement, and foster them “as a true Anglo-Catholic institution.” Dunnan says that “[our] Church identity has been a great reason for our diversity. Anglicans from Africa and Muslims from Washington…like our faith-based openness.” His method of encouraging diversity, equity, and inclusion at Saint James has been to intentionally keep the School’s student body small. By keeping the student body small, the larger world represented by the School’s American and international students becomes more intimate. According to this theory, all the international students are fully integrated into the fellowship so that communication among students is easy, greater understanding develops, and bona fide friendships across nations

36 Saint James School, “Celebrating 175 Years,” Review, pp. 34-36; Saint James School, Bai Yuka 1999 (Saint James School, 1999), p. 51; Saint James School, Bai Yuka 2002 (Saint James School, 2002), p. 80; Ellen B. Davis, Conversation with the Author (July 22, 2020); Ellen B. Davis, Email to the Author (February 2, 2021). “The Senior Prefect serves as President of the Prefect Council, President of the Honor Council, and Student Representative to the Alumni Council. In these roles, the Senior Prefect serves the School and reports directly to the Headmaster. The Senior Prefect is expected to uphold the rules of the School and to embody the highest standards of honor and ethical conduct” (Saint James School, 2020-2021 Saint James Handbook, Saint James School, 2020, pp. 28-29).
are created. Though some positive things in diversity, equity, and inclusion have happened during the Dunnan headmastership, there is also the view that all that has been done has not quite been enough.

The 2020 killings of three black Americans—Ahmaud Arbery (1994-2020), Breonna Taylor (1993-2020), and George Perry Floyd, Jr., (1973-2020)—by white private citizens or police officers, has prompted schools, religious institutions, social service organizations, and individuals to confront their historic complicity with systemic racism and discern how to best confront it and work toward positive social change. With demonstrations breaking out all over the United States, Dunnan wrote an open letter to the Saint James community on June 2, 2020. The Headmaster said

We are reminded of the ability of the criminal few to subvert our society and threaten the lives and prosperity of the law-abiding majority...destroying the very neighborhoods in which the people who legitimately feel aggrieved actually live and work.

We are also reminded of how much we need the rule of law to protect us, and how much we need it to be fairly and universally enforced and observed. More fundamentally, we are reminded of the value of human goodness and of basic civility and decency, which is what we learn by living in our own particularly close and diverse community at Saint James School.

Finally, we are reminded in these times especially of our great need for “leaders for good in the world,” not the world as we pretend it is or want it to be, or even our own more comfortable part of the world, but the whole world as it actually is, which makes for challenging work.

While some throughout the School community felt that Dunnan’s letter was a well-written recognition of the country’s heightened racial struggles, others, many of them young alumni of color, thought that it fell short. They responded with their own “Letter to

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37 Prehn, pp. 162-163. So often in larger schools “groups” develop, often around racial and ethnic comfort-levels and “nations” emerge. To Dunnan, this is not Christianity but a kind of “nationalism” that militates against the Incarnation and the Church as the mystical Body of Christ.

38 D. Stuart Dunnan, “To the Community of Saint James School (June 2, 2020).”
the Saint James Community,” calling on the School’s administration to “uphold equity and equality at Saint James.”39

The young alumni acknowledged Saint James’s positive role in many of their lives. They credited the School with providing them “the tools to be forward thinkers,” encouragement “to think ‘outside the box,’” and welcome “the reality of being different.” Such things, they said, “bound our community closer together.” However, the young alumni said that not every student of color experienced that same positive experience. They asserted that there was present at Saint James an underlying culture of microaggressions, prejudice, and blatant racism perpetrated by community members and complacent faculty. This underlying culture, they claimed, “marred the Saint James experience for so many.” In the view of the School’s young alumni, Dunnan’s letter failed to recognize Saint James’s own systemic racism and inequity.40

The young alumni said, “[A] distinction must be made between acknowledging these unsettling facts and taking concrete actions to ensure that the future of the Saint James community looks different from its past.” They recognized Dunnan’s letter as a “moving call for social justice,” yet challenged the School to implement it among its own people. The young alumni offered proposed changes to organizational policy and the academic curriculum as ways “to engage in concrete action.” They ended their letter by saying, “We must...be willing to take proactive steps to address discrimination both within the Saint James community and beyond.”41


41 Ibid, p. 3.
Dunnan describes himself as a "Tractarian Anglo-Catholic." Like many Anglo-Catholics, Dunnan is committed to orthodox Christianity; the liturgical heritage of Catholic Anglicanism, within the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer; and the received tradition of Western Catholic theology and devotion. But like the old High Churchmen, Dunnan believes that there must be a proper balance between how fast and in what ways religious knowledge and new academic and social initiatives are communicated and implemented. That is because Dunnan does not want the community to become divided by any issue that distracts it from the School’s main mission: to prepare young men and women to be "leaders for good in the world," as the Mission Statement puts it. In this sense, he upholds William Augustus Muhlenberg’s original Church school vision, displaying a cautious and gradual introduction of topics and policies that potentially affect the entire School community.

But just as the first Anglo-Catholics asked of the older High Churchmen, the young alumni are asking their Headmaster for something concrete in recognizing the issues of the current time and their effect on the Saint James School community. Most of the alumni who authored the open letter are members of "Generation Z." Statistics show that this generation, born in and after 1996, is the most racially and ethnically diverse of any prior generation in the United States. According to the Pew Research Center, forty-eight percent of current six through twenty-one-year-olds are racially non-white. This, in turn, makes them the most socially conscious generation, one of their top priorities being equality for

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all people. So, by and large, what the young alumni are saying to Dunnan, the School’s administration, and the Board of Trustees is that we can no longer be merely “measured” in establishing diversity, equity, and inclusion. They are telling Saint James School that the time to act is NOW!

Dunnan heard them loud and clear. In a second open letter to the School community on June 26, 2020, Dunnan said that the young alumni’s letter was “thoughtful, graceful, and appropriate, and we agree that our policies and curriculum are in need of review and updating.” Regarding concrete solutions, Dunnan mentioned two deficits needing immediate attention.

First, the Faculty and the student body need to be better educated as to what is hurtful and not helpful, and what is insulting and not “funny” to better understand how and why people from different backgrounds react and feel as they do. This is especially important because we are a small boarding school that functions in many ways as a family, with a great deal of casual conversation, bantering humor, and friendly informality, so we need to be that much more careful that everyone feels welcomed, appreciated, and supported.

Second, students who are hurt in this way need “safe places” and “trusted adults” of their choosing to speak to confidentially, so that misunderstandings can be resolved quickly, and more serious issues exposed and addressed forcefully. The Prefects in particular need more training in this regard, as they are often the first responders when students act or speak inappropriately on campus, online, and in the dormitories, or when a student feels attacked or disrespected by a teacher.44

Dunnan then announced his plan for addressing these two deficits. A Faculty and Administration Diversity Committee will review the School’s academic curriculum and current diversity policies. This committee will discern “how our curriculum, both academic and extracurricular, [can] better provide for diverse voices and perspectives, enhancing the


overall education of our students.” It will also think about how “our counseling and disciplinary policies better enforce our expectations for polite and mutually respectful behavior between students, between students and Faculty, and between our students and members of the outside community.” An Alumni Diversity Committee will have talks with the Faculty and Administration Diversity Committee and review their recommendations. Lastly, a Student Diversity Committee will advise the School’s Dean of Students as part of this overall process.\footnote{Ibid., pp 2-3.}

Thus, the current challenge for Saint James School is to discern just how to bring a renewed sense of vigor to its historic Church school mission and Anglo-Catholic identity as it pertains to diversity, equity, and inclusion. In what ways can the School step up its current work? How can its rhetoric be turned into meaningful action? How can Saint James foster diversity, equity, and inclusion as an Anglo-Catholic Church school in the twenty-first century? These are the questions it must now address.
Conclusion

The Future Development of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion at Saint James School of Maryland

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968) believed that for our glorious future of equality and inclusion to occur, we must actively seek it. It will come by us living as if it is already here. The passing of time is not enough. To call for diversity, equity, and inclusion but not live out its reality only delays the fullness of that glorious future in coming.1 In the case of Saint James School, if a diverse, equitable, and inclusive community is too long delayed, it might as well be denied.

Saint James School seeks to convey for its students in the most visible sense possible the reality of God’s Kingdom here on earth. Its Oxford Movement foundation, Anglo-Catholic identity, and continued commitment to the principles of William Augustus Muhlenberg’s Church School Movement embody such a reality and that of God’s love for all people. By challenging its students to lead for good within its community, Saint James hopes to prepare them to lead for good in the world.2 In this, it seeks to remain faithful to the Gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and, with God’s help, honor that Great Commandment: love God and our neighbors as ourselves.

Though the School identifies as Anglo-Catholic, it has not always lived up to the tradition’s social vision. Kenneth Leech describes the Anglo-Catholic tradition as “a community bonded together by a fundamental and unbreakable solidarity, a community of equals.” The Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the Church is a key element in its fight against

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world injustices. It is a vision that transforms institutions and societies, not just improves them.³

The Fault Lies in Reserve

From this journey through Saint James's history a question arises: From where does its failures in diversity, equity, and inclusion come? The fault lies in the reserve—the cautious and gradual approach to revelation—engrained in Saint James's culture from its inception. It has been the running theme throughout this narrative. Though reserve is a good thing in the communication of religious knowledge, in matters of diversity, equity, and inclusion, it has been a crippling deterrent.

There are some in the wider Saint James community who have expressed concern that the School will lose its traditional character by addressing issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. But part of the School's traditional character is a commitment to community and its mission to teach the truths and skills its students will need to be conscientious world citizens and moral leaders.⁴ This requires from the School an honest engagement with its history, celebrating its successes and acknowledging its failures. Engaging with this history helps with our understanding of the School's effectiveness in the present so that needed changes can be made for it to have just as much impact on the young men and women enrolling in the future.

³ Kenneth Leech, "The Radical Anglo-Catholic Social Vision" (Center for Theology and Public Issues, 1989), pp. 8-10.

⁴ D. Stuart Dunnan, "From the Headmaster: Concerning Diversity at Saint James (June 26, 2020)," p. 3.
Saint James’s history has been best understood from the standpoint of the Church school mission that has guided it for 178 years. In turn, its historical (and continuing) development towards full diversity, equity, and inclusion has been best told through the lens of the School’s pivotal founders and headmasters. Thus, we have made this journey through accounts of their leadership and the successes and failures resulting from it. Each of them has bequeathed to Saint James something from their involvement that has helped sustain it these many years.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Future Leadership Transition

D. Stuart Dunnan, the current Headmaster, has been open about the fact that his retirement, though not yet announced, is soon coming. In its cover letter to the School’s “2019 Accreditation Report,” the Association of Independent Maryland & DC Schools noted how it was “keenly aware of [Father Dunnan’s] long and successful tenure as [Headmaster].” They strongly urged “Saint James to begin strategizing for future leadership succession, whenever it may come.” AIMS reinforced this in the report’s Summary, stating how “schools that transition from a long-serving Headmaster sometimes experience difficulties.” It cited the transition from John Owens to Richard Baker, stating how “Saint James...had a rocky time when Father Owens, who served as Headmaster for [twenty-nine] years, retired in 1984.”

As loved as he is by three decades of current and former students, faculty and staff, parents, trustees, and other School friends, Dunnan’s Tractarian-style Anglo-Catholicism

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has been, with no ill-intent, a perpetuation of the Hobartian High Church reserve that, in matters of diversity, equity, and inclusion, is becoming more and more at odds with the social needs of the increasingly diversifying generation. Dunnan, like the High Churchmen, believes there must be a balance between how fast and in what ways new programs are communicated and implemented. This belief is rooted in the view that full diversity should not be reflective of just any one specific group but inclusive of every group that makes up the Saint James School community. For Dunnan, it is important that every constituency—students and their families, alumni, faculty, staff, and administration, and trustees—has “buy in” to and is represented in the School’s diversity work. He reflects in this way the counsel of Edward Bouverie Pusey to George Rundel Prynne in a different context: “We [are] bound to use wisdom...so as [to] not...risk losing what is of far more moment, the hearts of the people.”

Though his reserve is frustrating and vexing for many, Dunnan is not resistant to greater diversity, equity, and inclusion. His creation of the Faculty and Administration, Alumni, and Student Diversity Committees is a positive start and good work is coming forth from these groups. But, as we saw from the Pew Research Center’s data, it is simply a matter of time before reserve will no longer be acceptable in the implementation of diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. The young alumni’s “Letter to the Saint James Community” is a call for their *alma mater* to be completely Anglo-Catholic, maintaining Muhlenberg’s Church school vision with a radical (not gradual) vision of a cooperative

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6 Brandt Montgomery, Email to the Saint James School Faculty and Administration Diversity Committee (January 26, 2021); Brandt Montgomery, Email to the Saint James School Faculty and Administration Diversity Committee (February 10, 2021); Edward Bouverie Pusey, “E. B. P. to Rev. G. R. Prynne (Advent 1849),” in H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford (Volume III)* (Longmans, Green. & Co., 1894), p. 369.
society of diverse equals. What Kenneth Leech says summarizes well the young alumni’s call: “It is out of our old history that our new history must be made.” And until Saint James is willing to strive through both sacramental and social action for the radical vision of its religious tradition, it will remain held captive by reserve.

In their search for the Eleventh Headmaster, considering the increasing growth of racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse students and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development encouraging academic institutions to engage in more immediate and meaningful diversity work, the trustees must seriously discern and be realistic about the things that must change and those that remain the same.  

Those calling for the immediate implementation of diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives are not seeking to change the School’s traditional character. What they are asking for is the School to live out what its Christian tradition really means, that each of us is equal and connected with each other. To get to this place requires necessary change. This will require throwing reserve to the wind in helping Saint James get to where it needs to be. All who care about Saint James School want its mission and religious heritage to remain effective and transform the lives of those who come to Fountain Rock to work, study, and live in community.

As Saint James readies itself for the end of the Dunnan era, the trustees’ selection of the Eleventh Headmaster will determine the School’s future course in addressing issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. For Muhlenberg’s Church school vision to remain

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effective in the twenty-first century, there must be Gospel-directed change. The continued relevance of Saint James’s mission and Anglo-Catholic identity depend on it. For Saint James to move forward with diversity, equity, and inclusion in the way that it needs to, the next Headmaster and all School constituencies must commit themselves to new ways of carrying on old traditions.

To end where we began: “How can Muhlenberg’s Church school vision be useful in today’s understanding and development of diversity, equity, and inclusion?” Like Noble Powell’s response to Lucius Kellam years ago, Saint James School must listen to God’s Word. God is pushing Saint James to be better than what it has before been. God is beckoning Saint James to work toward and live out the plan for creation. “God gave us a spirit not of fear but of power and love” (2 Timothy 1:7). The younger generation has made it clear: the time for full diversity, equity, and inclusion at Saint James School of Maryland is NOW!
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