ABSTRACT

JAMES SOLOMON RUSSELL:
EDUCATOR, ARCHDEACON AND SAINT OF SOUTHERN VIRGINIA

WORTH EARLWOOD NORMAN, JR.

Thesis under the direction of Assistant Professor Benjamin John King

The subject of this paper is James Solomon Russell, an ex-slave and founder of St. Paul's College in Lawrenceville, Virginia. Russell also served as Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia from 1893 to 1929. This study covers the time from Russell's birth in 1857 to his death in 1935. It takes into account the non-stop efforts of Russell toward reconciliation within the Episcopal Church among whites and African-Americans.

It will be argued using established historical facts that James Solomon Russell was not only a leader, but possibly the pivotal player in the development of educational access for former slaves within the Episcopal Church in the period from post Reconstruction to the early 20th century. He was also, as alluded to above, the human linchpin holding in dialogue and debate rival positions concerning the full and equal participation of African-Americans in the governance of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia.

When the Diocese of Southern Virginia was created out of the undivided Diocese of Virginia in 1892-93 Russell was appointed Archdeacon for Colored Work, a charge that lasted until 1929. It is the work as Archdeacon, as well as that of principal of St.

Paul's, that gave Russell a platform in working for full acceptance of African-Americans not only within the Diocese of Southern Virginia but in the Episcopal Church as a whole.

Perhaps Russell's most aggressive opposition came from the American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN) and its first executive director, Samuel Bishop. The ACIN, formed in 1906, was the Episcopal Church's successor organization to previous church agencies attempting to fund colored schools after the end of Reconstruction. But the ACIN and Samuel Bishop had problems with Russell and the manner in which he operated the St. Paul school. Bishop actually underwrote the cost of a trip to Europe for Russell to get him out of the country while he and the ACIN tried to take over the operation of the school.

In 1999 the book *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930* was published by Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss, Jr. The book is about efforts of wealthy northern philanthropists attempting not only to fund but to control the funding mechanisms of all similar philanthropic agencies assisting southern black schools and colleges. The leader agency was the General Education Board (GEB) established by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1902. As a case study Anderson and Moss spend two of their seven chapters on the ACIN. In those chapters they track the beginnings of ACIN, modeled on the GEB, and its on-going operational and funding problems and their problems with James Solomon Russell.

The battles within the Church were of a longer-term nature. Russell's platform as archdeacon gave him multiple opportunities to speak and deliver his message or plea for a change of heart regarding African-American representation in the Church. Primarily

working within his own Diocese of Southern Virginia, Russell's oratorical skill was not overlooked by others within the larger Church.

Russell was also a participant in the national debate over liberal arts vs. industrial education. Though not of the national notoriety of Booker T. Washington, Russell had his own battles with educators, parents and the church over industrial education. Russell was able to satisfy most of his students' parents and his outside funding agencies.

In 1996 the Diocese of Southern Virginia honored the memory of James Solomon Russell by making him a "local saint." The diocese submitted a memorial to General Convention 2009 to make a Commemoration in the church calendar for Russell. Despite these two acts it is the writer's belief that Russell is under-represented in church, educational and historical literature for the significant contributions he made.

The writer of this thesis paper is making an effort to interpret Russell's thinking based on available documentation and the results of his efforts through history. Therefore, this paper might be considered an interpretive biography of James Solomon Russell.

Approved________________________ Date 3/24/2010
Advisor

________________________ Date 3/24/2010
Second Advisor

James Solomon Russell:
Educator, Archdeacon and Saint of Southern Virginia

by

Worth Earlwood Norman, Jr.

Submitted to the Faculty of the
School of Theology of the University of the South
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Sacred Theology

May 2010

Sewanee, Tennessee

Approved: Date:

3/24/2010

3/24/2010

Copyright © 2010 by Worth E. Norman, Jr.
All Rights Reserved

To Patricia Ann Padrick Norman
and our children
Michael, Curtis and Cynthia

To Curtis Lee Jones Norman
(April 30, 1916 – April 25, 2010)
My mother and a native of
Lawrenceville, Virginia

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS x
Chapter 1 - Introduction 1
  Plausibility Structure 2
  James Solomon Russell 6
Chapter 2 – Influences on Russell 11
  Background 12
  Mother 14
  Plantation/Estate Workers and Sunday School Leaders 16
  Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute 18
  Miss Patti Buford of Lawrenceville 23
  Giles Buckner Cooke and Branch Theological Seminary 25
  Booker T. Washington 26
  The Book of Common Prayer 28
  Peter G. Morgan 31
  Virginia Michigan Morgan Russell 33
  Not a Hyphenated American 34
Chapter 3 – Educational Leader 36
  Background 37
  St. Paul Normal and Industrial School 38
  Organized Philanthropy 47
  The Future Unfolds 58
Chapter 4 – Church Leader 59
  Ministry Begins 60
  The Sewanee Conference 60
  Prevailing Attitudes 63
  Disfranchisement – Church and State 65
  Laborers Are Few 69
  Divisions Become More Evident Over Separate Black Jurisdictions 73
Chapter 5 - Reconciliation 83
  Analysis 83
  Profound Confusion 89
  Anglican Church/Episcopal Church Failings 91
  A Man of His Times 92
  The Role of Archdeacon and Its Advantages 93
  Tactics of a Christian Ambassador 96
  Honors 101
Picture No. 1 103
  (The Younger) James Solomon Russell 103
Picture No. 2 104
  (The Elder) James Solomon Russell 104
Picture No. 3 105
  James Solomon Russell at Brunswick County Exhibit 105
Picture No. 4 106
  St. Paul Normal and Industrial School - Senior Class of 1917 106

Appendix A 107
Summary of the Official Acts of the Archdeacon for Colored Work 107
Appendix B 110
Churches and Missions in the Colored Convocation 110
Appendix C 111
Article from Southern Missioner (October, 1922) 111
Appendix D 112
An Index of Adventure in Faith 112
BIBLIOGRAPHY 120

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Several people provided me assistance in the development of this paper. Dr. Benjamin John King, Assistant Professor of Church History in the School of Theology at The University of the South was my faculty advisor on this project. He assisted me with his expert advice and guidance as the paper was in development. His attention to detail and his sense of structure and order allowed me to construct this paper in a logical manner. Associate Dean Walter Brownridge at the School of Theology provided me with excellent insight at the final review of this paper. He shared his personal life experiences and his knowledge of African American history with me which helped me strengthen my own understanding of the social context of the period in which James Solomon Russell lived. Dr. James Dunkly, School of Theology Librarian and Lecturer in New Testament, assisted me in locating many of the appropriate materials for this paper.

Deborah Price, Archivist and Librarian at St. Paul's College provided me with my initial research material when I visited there in the summer of 2009. I am grateful to her for providing me access to the college's archives.

Julia Randle and Christopher Pote, Archivist and Assistant Archivist for the African American Episcopal Historical Collection, respectively, provided me access to a broad spectrum of supporting documents at the Bishop Payne Library of the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia. The material discovered there allowed me to construct and define the context in which Dr. Russell ministered.

I want to thank my friend and former business associate Michael Edwards of Highland Village, Texas who encouraged me for the past two years to complete this

thesis and to the Revd. Dr. Victor Oliver of Alpharetta, Georgia who insisted that I complete this work I express my sincere gratitude for his steady and prayerful support.

Joi Dickerson was the first person who assisted me in finding information about James Solomon Russell. Ms. Dickerson and I exchanged emails in 2002 and to this day I have not met her. I want to thank her not only for the assistance she provided me but for her contributions to Dr. Russell's legacy.

And finally I want to thank my wife Patricia who for more than forty years has encouraged me to write.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The post-Civil War years from 1865 through the first third of the 20th century exposed many difficulties faced by the freed slaves as they embarked on a totally new life. In one sense uncertainty was an apt description of the future. In another sense hope filled the hearts and minds of those who wanted to make sure that their lives would become better not only economically but socially as well. The Union or federal government put in place programs such as the Freedmen's Bureau to assist primarily African Americans during the period of Reconstruction. The Bureau's responsibilities included not only economic assistance but it acted as a government throughout the defeated Confederate states and assumed all executive, legislative and judicial powers for a set period of time.

The Episcopal Church, as well as the other denominations, had to deal with the aftermath of the war not only with results of the war's physical and economic destruction of the South but with the change in the social status of its African American communicants. Regardless of any presumed warm, filial affinity between the white slave owner and his black slaves, the new reality was that Emancipation and the end of the war changed their relationship. American Southern culture had endured virtually unchallenged from 18th century colonial days right up to the Civil War of 1861-1865. Southern living was a given fact for all those years. Although the South was stuck within its structure there were always rebellions or uprisings trying to cause changes for what seemed to be just. Church theology taught what was right and just but the church in the

South persisted in all but ignoring the civil and personal rights of their enslaved black brothers and sisters.

Plausibility Structure

The eminent sociologist Peter Berger coined the phrase "plausibility structure." For a society to continue its existence from day to day, year to year, and so on, that society requires a base of its people to live as if their social structure constituted reality.[1] Such a social reality is the *reigning plausibility structure*. Everything, or almost everything, makes sense when the people accept their culture as reality. All is well in a society as long as it meets with no serious challenges to its legitimacy. Societies, over time, define their realities. But since all societies are composed of people, people affect society. Conversely but not in contradiction, the society affects its people. The relationship is one of growth: a dialectic between individuals and their greater society.[2] Change certainly takes place but change can be so gradual as not to be noticed. Change can be so insignificant that it represents little or no challenge to the structure. The Southern social structure was challenged in 1822 in Charleston, South Carolina.

In 1800 a slave by the name of Denmark Vesey won a local lottery and took half of the proceeds to his slave-trading owner, John Vesey, and purchased his freedom. For more than twenty years afterwards Denmark Vesey worked his own business and became a prominent if not wealthy citizen in Charleston. As a freeman Vesey could walk the streets of Charleston unencumbered and without restriction. Yet Vesey plotted one of the most ambitious insurrections ever in the United States by an African American. A multi-

---

[1] Peter Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1967), 45.
[2] Berger, *Sacred Canopy,* 3-4.

lingual person and with a personality that befriended anyone, Vesey was able to secretly plot his insurrection using a large number of slaves. Once successful, the plot called for the slaves to board ships in Charleston Harbor and set sail for Haiti. Some of Vesey's co-conspirators were servants of the city's elite establishment, including the Governor and the Mayor. Word leaked out about Vesey's plot, and the city fathers set about to stop the planned rebellion. How did this plot lose its secrecy?

Some of the servants of the town's elite got cold feet and the word of the rebellion spread rapidly. The servants, who were black Africans and mulattoes, caved in. Vesey had at one time held their confidence and he theirs. What happened? Life was, in one sense, good in Charleston. Slaves were given virtual freedom on weekends to shop the markets. Slaves on assignment from their masters could bandy about town to fulfill chores directed by their masters. Life was fairly calm, so it seemed, in Charleston. The few slaves who disobeyed or tried to run away were placed in a torture house near City Hall. Those slaves would be beaten with straps until their skin peeled. Everyone knew about the beatings.[3] But there were always small rebellions or rumors of rebellion which kept whites on guard at all times. Whites did not want any change to their existing structure and put in place the mechanisms to thwart opposition.

A case could be made that the Charleston slaves, in the end, were co-opted by Charleston's reigning plausibility structure. They knew that slavery was wrong because most of them went to church every Sunday. Vesey, too, was regular in his church attendance and preached occasionally. Not much is documented about the white churches and their reactions to the Vesey plot except that they usually sided with the government.

---

[3] David Robertson, *Denmark Vesey: The Buried Story of America's Largest Slave Rebellion and the Man Who Led It* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1999), 3-10, 27-40.

But the slaves knew the consequences of challenging the way of life in that era. They were trapped. Vesey and some of his co-conspirators eventually went to trial and were hanged in the public square. And life in Charleston went on.

Another rebellion occurred in the Southside of Virginia in the 1830s. Nat Turner's rebellion advanced further than did Vesey's – people were killed.[4] But Turner's challenge made no immediate or significant change to the reigning plausibility structure. Every rebellion and every challenge, however, had a gnawing effect on society whether immediately recognizable or not. There is always a reaction. It is the reaction of the church to the challenges presented to it by those who were enslaved that envelops the concern of this paper.

Because of the dialectical relationship between an individual and the society one could say that "conversation" is fundamental to the relationship. A slave rebellion is a form of conversation necessitated by the failure of a previous non-violent conversation. A slave always understood his reality regardless of what the dominant and reigning plausibility structures enforced. Whether the dominant race liked it or not the suppressed race always conversed with the powers that be in order to inch closer to a just order: a new plausibility structure. Those who define the reigning structure would have great difficulty visualizing a reality totally alien to the status quo. The Church is a society within a greater civil society such as the Episcopal Church within the United States. One could examine the operation of the Church up to the time of the Civil War and come quickly to a conclusion that says the Church's plausibility structure was hardly challenged and thus remained static in its beliefs.

---

[4] Janet Gay Neale, *Brunswick County, Virginia 1720-1975: The History of a Southside Virginia County* (Brunswick County: The Brunswick County Bicentennial Committee, 1975), 202.

In the aftermath of the Civil War many Southern religious institutions found themselves unable to justify their centuries-long status quo. Peter Berger points out that "the fundamental problem of the religious institutions is how to keep going in a milieu that no longer takes for granted their definitions of reality."[5] The options available to religious institutions (and civil society at large) are accommodation and resistance to the high impact of the milieu. To the Episcopal Church in the Southern states the larger society was the re-uniting United States of America operating under a new set of beliefs and unfolding structures. Slavery is dead. Blacks are freed. The social status among citizens had changed and the details were to be worked out and in some cases were imposed.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine a small part of the church, in particular the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia and its predecessor, the un-divided Diocese of Virginia. No other Southern diocese struggled as much as did Southern Virginia in granting equal rights to its African American members, especially in voting rights within the council of the church. It struggled with how to deal with the new-found freedom of their former slaves and how to include or exclude them from the activities of the church. It was the last and final diocese in the United States to grant full membership to African American brothers and sisters – and that came about in the late 1940s and early 1950s. With much struggle and resistance Southern Virginia finally saw the new reality and created a new plausibility structure. These changes came about because of people playing significant and long-term roles in the social dialectic of the diocese.

---

[5] Berger, *Sacred Canopy,* 156.

James Solomon Russell

James Solomon Russell, a former slave and native of Mecklenburg County, Virginia was significant in revamping the beliefs and structures of Southern Virginia and it is the purpose of this paper to document Russell as the pivotal player in moving Southern Virginia forward. Russell's method was a low-key, persistent and long-suffering engagement with the powers that be. As a young boy on the plantation he had no problem engaging in conversations with his master and overseers. He seemed fearless and always eager to learn. It can be said that he was a fast-track learner and knew at an early age within what reality he and his family lived. But he was also a dreamer and wanted an education and after the end of the War sought out that education at Hampton Institute[6] and then at the newly formed Bishop Payne Divinity School[7] in Petersburg. Russell became an Episcopal priest.

After his ordination to the diaconate he wasted no time in establishing a parish school in Lawrenceville, Virginia. He also made sure that he was going to be an active member of the church council of his diocese. As will be documented in this paper Russell always knew and understood the circumstances of his surroundings but was never intimidated by discriminations of his day. He had no problems making friends and business acquaintances and he had no problem with taking risks. In the 1880s and 1890s taking risks seemed to be the only way to make progress. He signed notes with no

[6] Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia was one of the first schools established to educate former slaves and Native Americans. Its founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, was a former Union general who led African American troops during the Civil War. Armstrong also served in the Freedmen's Bureau.

[7] Bishop Payne Divinity School was founded originally under the name of Branch Theological Seminary. Established as a branch of Virginia Theological Seminary the school's purpose was to train African American men for the priesthood. The mere fact that this school was established under the circumstances at the time indicates that the old order or the reigning plausibility structure of the Diocese of Virginia faced a challenge they were not able to deal with effectively.

collateral to back him up. But his lenders trusted him and his word to make good. He was innovative and found ways to expand his parish school into what would become known today as St. Paul's College.

In the 1880s *Jim Crow* was in its ascendancy. Politically, former Southern leaders began to take over governments formerly held by blacks elected to office in the Reconstruction era. The white civil society wanted to regain its old plausibility structure. The church was not unaffected by this movement. The Sewanee Bishops' Conference called in 1883 was an indicator that the Southern Episcopal Bishops were concerned about their status and the status of their former slaves – they thought that they needed to do something before something was done to them. Russell's entry into the church during these times actually presented him with opportunities to explore and work through. Russell never shied away from a challenge and he knew what had to be accomplished for his race. He also understood fully well that white resistance would be not only openly fierce but subtle as well. As Russell continued his conversation with civil society and the church his method of interaction became clear.

There was no shortage of African American leadership in the last third of the 19th and first third of the 20th centuries. Each in his or her own way conversed with church and society affecting its understanding of justice. W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington are probably the best-known leaders of that era, but they were not in lock-step on the issue of education, for example. Both leaders were continually in the public eye and both commanded respect not only from African Americans but from whites. Washington's argument for "industrial education" was always challenged by DuBois who favored what is now called "liberal arts." DuBois accused Washington of giving in to

white leadership, that he was a pawn in the hands of white power. DuBois wanted the education of his race to move forward more in the intellectual arena rather than the manual industrial arts. Both men were highly political.

James Solomon Russell worked his school more along the lines of Booker T. Washington than of DuBois. Russell was a political person also but not in the same manner as Washington. As Russell developed St. Paul School and worked within the diocese to win parity for African American members, he worked as a local and not a national figure. Most of Russell's obstacles or challenges came from opposition within the Church. St. Paul School was church-affiliated; therefore one of his challenges came from a national church funding agency. The challenge within the councils of the church came from opposition to any change in the structure of the church. In both cases the underlying mind-set was one of white power and white superiority no matter how subtle or unconscious it may have been to the opponent. It should be noted that both Washington and Russell were born and reared in rural Virginia and their upbringing, as compared with the slave experiences in Charleston – the most cosmopolitan city outside New York – may account for their approaches toward equality. For example, in Brunswick County, Virginia there were only three plantations which had more than 100 slave workers. Most of Virginia's slave masters owned 10 or fewer slaves.[8] As in South Carolina, Virginia's slaves vastly outnumbered the white community. But the difference between Virginia and the other Southern states was the lack of huge plantation estates containing thousands of slaves. South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi controlled large numbers of slaves on their economically successful cotton plantations. Virginia grew tobacco as did North Carolina, requiring less labor.

[8] Neale, *Brunswick County,* 149.

There was no shortage of African American leadership within the Episcopal Church either. Leaders such as Alexander Crummell, N. Peterson Boyd, Edward T. Demby, George Freeman Bragg, Jr., and James Solomon Russell came to the fore and quickly established themselves as challengers to the status quo of the Episcopal Church. Their methods or approaches to resolving the dilemma differed. Crummell and Bragg were separatists, separatists in the sense that they wanted the church to establish a separate African American missionary district but still within the whole church. Under such a plan African Americans would have their own jurisdiction with their own racial diocesan bishop. Russell, on the other hand, pursued a more moderate and less immediate tactic for change. For many years Russell fought against the Missionary Bishop plan and pursued a slower change by working within the existing structures of the diocese. This approach of Russell's was remarkable considering that his bishop, A.M. Randolph, was a *Jim Crow* bishop. How could Russell work with a man who held such beliefs? Yet Randolph had confidence in Russell and appointed him Archdeacon for Colored Work in the newly formed Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia. Russell was in charge of overseeing and growing the "colored community" with the diocese. Russell accepted the appointment and became highly successful in his evangelism efforts over the years. While working as Archdeacon Russell had a ready-made platform for influencing his peers within the councils of the church and for influencing the elected leadership of his Colored Convocation. As Archdeacon Russell oversaw a significant portion of the diocese that was not too different from the position of a suffragan or assistant bishop. A tireless worker, Russell not only continued to grow his school for former slaves; he also created or assisted in the formation of more than thirty African American churches within

the diocese. Russell established an annual Farmers' Conference at St. Paul School to assist in the economic development of African Americans in the "black belt" of Virginia. In Council he challenged year after year that decision-making body regarding continuing ecclesiastical disfranchisement of its African American members. Some other African American leaders challenged Russell, labeling him an "accommodationist." W.E.B. DuBois made the same charge about Booker T. Washington by referring to Washington's Atlanta Exposition Speech of 1895 as the "Atlanta Compromise."

The struggles within the Episcopal Church between the 1880s and 1930s are the context of this paper. The particular struggles of James Solomon Russell in education and in the church are the examples provided here in order to demonstrate the profound confusion of all church leaders both in the North as well as in the South in dealing with the post-Civil War social paradigm shift, the challenge to the reigning plausibility structure. It is the hope of the writer of this thesis that the attention paid here to James Solomon Russell will ignite a renewal in the study of this remarkable man and his positive contributions to the Episcopal Church.

Chapter 2 – Influences on Russell

The starting point of this study begins with reference to Russell's *Autobiography*[9] for it is from his descriptions, mostly summary accounts but with selected detail of significant or pivotal events, that the reader gets a sense of the span and meaning of his life. He wrote the book less than a year before his death, having the benefit of reviewing his life through the filters of seventy-six years and a matured, perhaps memorializing, perspective. But much of what Russell claims is corroborated in disinterested journals and periodicals and is noted throughout the balance of this paper.

Russell wasted no time characterizing slavery: "On December 20, 1857, I unceremoniously became one more slave on the plantation of Mr. Hendrick. … This matter of producing slaves was as important as breeding animals."[10] The life of a slave was a structured life, not a good life, but a structured life. A slave-master determined what his chattels would do or not do, how they would live, and how and when they would procreate. Even though a personal or civil relationship might have developed between a master and his slave, the structure of the Southern social environment did not allow for its public display. But Russell betrays a concern for (if not a personal relationship with) his master and his master's family when he said "All through the Civil War, my mother and the other slaves remained on the plantation, but the news of the strife was always around

[9] Using the word *Autobiography* the writer abbreviates Russell's book entitled *Adventure in Faith: An Autobiographic Story of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia*, Morehouse: New York, 1936.
[10] James S. Russell, *Adventure in Faith: An Autobiographic Story of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia* (New York: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1936), 1.

us; three of our master's sons were away with the Confederate forces, *and concern for them also gripped the slaves* [italics mine]."[11]

Background

Most African-Americans[12] prior to the Civil War and Emancipation lived in highly structured and controlled environments. So when Emancipation finally arrived it is no wonder that James Solomon Russell would write that they were thrown out to fend for themselves. No longer did he and his mother know where their next meal would come from or where they would shelter themselves. Russell recounts that "This poverty stood out all the more because, following the Emancipation, we were left to fight our own battles and to manage our own lives; we were cast upon the billowy deep to paddle our own canoe, to what destination we scarcely knew. One thing we soon found out; no more could we look to our master for shelter, sustenance, care, and direction; we had gained Freedom and with it the responsibilities – dire responsibilities, at first – of being our own masters."[13]

Russell's brief account of his former owner does not read like a harsh description of how he and his family were treated while in bondage. The absence of malice in the printed word by Russell toward his former slave master suggests that Russell nurtured a mindset of forgiveness and a temperament to move forward. After all, his was a transitional generation, a former slave eager to make his own way in truly unchartered

[11] Russell, *Adventure*, 2.
[12] The terms "African-American" and "black" are used by the writer of this thesis. However, historical documents used in this paper, from the 18th to the early 20th centuries are replete with various terminologies for African-Americans and are quoted as originally written. For example, Negro, Africans, Afro-American, colored people
[13] Russell, *Adventure*, 2.

waters. He and other slaves lived within a structured society and after Emancipation Russell intended to pursue a new and orderly life. There was to be no return to Egypt.

According to some accounts many former slaves sought no structure at all and became like wild animals. It was the norm of the day among whites, including the white church, that the chief problem of the Negro was a moral one,[14] not a lack of skills. Many years after Emancipation, the attitude of whites, both Northerners and Southerners, toward the freedmen changed little. For example, at the Pan-Anglican Congress at London in 1908 the Rev. W.A.R. Goodwin, the twice rector of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, Virginia, known also as "the Father of [the restored town of] Colonial Williamsburg," and a future diocesan peer of Russell, said that "The negro sadly needs what the Church has to give – moral education, spiritual enlightenment, ordered worship, and the loving discipline of the order and authority of the Church.[15]

It should also be noted that many if not most freedmen did not flee to the North but stayed fairly close to the homes of their old slave-masters. After all it was the slaves who worked the land, cooked the meals, washed the clothes and tended to the real day-to-day activities of the plantation. Slaves escaped their masters during the Civil War and fled behind Union troops' lines. Some fled to the North via the Underground Railroad. Those who fled had little to no means of subsistence and therefore fled to Union military camps. Attempts by the federal government to come to the assistance of former slaves

---

[14] A.M. Randolph, "Address of Bishop Randolph," *Journal of the Ninety-Fourth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Lynchburg* (May 15-17, 1889): 43-44. This presentation by Randolph addressed the issue of African American representation and participation in the governance of the Church. Randolph said "This system of government is based upon the assumption of the possession by this voter of certain elements of moral character, of knowledge, of personal self-control and dignity, which, in some degree, belong to the white race in all communities." He went on to say that "The question, with reference to the negro as legislator, is not a question of race … It is a question of capacity of character."

[15] W.A.R. Goodwin, "The Church's Missions in Christendom: A Speech Given on Race Problems in America," in "Volume VI. Section E," special issue, *Pan-Anglican Congress 1908* (1908): 123-25.

were fraught with mistakes, errors and fraud. The Freedmen's Bureau[16] was created specifically to provide aid and governance. The periods of Presidential and Radical (congressional) Reconstruction were governmental attempts at improving the lot of the newly emancipated. Reconstruction began[17] when Russell was a boy of six and continued through 1877 when Russell was twenty. Russell's early years of freedom were marked by government programs aimed at making major improvements for former slaves.

Young James Solomon Russell like many other freed slaves sought out an education. It was a common belief that education would solve any present or future problems. Several events and persons had an effect on Russell's development. His drive for structure, education, religion and racial uplift were initially supported by certain influences in his young life.

Mother

Russell always believed he had a future despite his early experiences as a slave. His mother, Araminta, had a plan or at least a vision for her son and she made sure that he understood her plan. Although Russell did not spend many pages in his *Autobiography* singling out those who influenced him, evidence exists not only in his book but in his speeches, sermons and annual reports to the church showing that his young-life

---

[16] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1989), 142. The official name for this agency was "The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands." To understand the scope of the Bureau's charge it was an experiment in American social policy and among many items were assigned the tasks of creating a free labor society; establishing schools for freedmen; providing aid to the destitute, aged, and insane; adjudicating disputes among blacks and between the races; securing equal justice for blacks and Southern white Unionists.

[17] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 35. The Civil War historian claims that Reconstruction began in 1863 and ended in 1877. There were two attempts at Reconstruction. The first was Presidential Reconstruction in which President Abraham Lincoln "Issued on December 8, 1863, his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction" offering full pardon and the restoration of all rights to former southern Confederates who resumed their allegiance to the Union by taking an oath. The full rights of former slaves were understood to already be in effect since January, 1863. The second Reconstruction was known as Radical Reconstruction led by the Radical Republicans.

experiences prepared him for his life's work. His mother's purpose for him might have been the dominant influence – her purpose was a structure.

For example, his mother named him Solomon not only because it was his father's name, but for King Solomon of the Old Testament. She hoped and prayed that James would be as wise as she heard the "white minister preach and the Negro lay-reader exhort."[18] This also is the first reference in his book to any notion of church or religion – a spiritual influence that began early in his life and played a significant role in his development. It also provides evidence that the Russell family, even as slaves, was an active Christian household. For Russell to make an item of his mother naming him Solomon might betray a trace of self-grandiosity. As we will see in this study Russell was a purposeful man and given the times he lived in he had to work diligently against many sorts of man-made or social obstacles, and therefore he worked with aplomb and with a certain level of self-promoting hyperbole.

It is risky to make too close a comparison between these two Solomons, but there are some points in common to highlight as well as some points of departure. First, Russell was reared in a faithful and religious family – this was foundational to his formation. King Solomon, on being faithful to God and keeping Israel faithful to God, would be honored by God and Israel would prosper. Secondly, Solomon was a great builder not only of a new Temple but of alliances. Russell, as we will see later in this study, was a developer of groups or networks of supporters, adept at acquiring land and properties for his school, a builder of church congregations and the founder of an educational institution. St. Paul Normal and Industrial School and Russell are almost

[18] Russell, *Adventure*, 3.

tautological.[19] Russell understood at an early age the potential effectiveness of power, prestige and perseverance.

Returning to his mother, Russell acknowledged the heavy burden or problems which fell to his mother before, during and after the Civil War. Once freed, they were on their own and did not have the protection of their master. He observed her work and dedication toward a family life. During slavery James's father Solomon did not live with his family on the Hendrick Estate plantation in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, but on the Russell plantation in nearby Warren County, North Carolina. Solomon Russell joined the family after the Civil War ended and together the family worked the land as tenant-farmers and took jobs in order to survive.

Plantation/Estate Workers and Sunday School Leaders

From time to time the overseer of the Hendrick Estate, Thomas Wade, took Russell riding horse back with him as he went about the work of the farm. Russell, a young slave boy, would ask Wade "countless questions" which Wade attempted to answer. Nothing more is written about Wade but one presumes that Russell mentions this relationship to show not only that he, Russell, was inquisitive in his youth, but that a significant employee of the estate gave time and support to Russell. We also assume that Wade was a white man and that the young black slave boy was learning how to interact with whites in an effective and productive way. Perhaps young Russell understood that his future life involved interacting with all people – Emancipation did not mean that Southern white people would disappear and it did not mean that white people were going to easily relinquish remaining control they might have in politics, religion and social

[19] Russell, *Adventure*, 60. Russell writes that others have said that St. Paul's is his monument.

order. That interaction with Wade had to be important to Russell or he would not have included the episode in his book.[20]

The superintendent of the white Sunday school, John E. P. Wright, was another person encouraging young Russell. Wright decided to help the small "colored" Sunday school program get on its feet in the spring of 1870 when Russell was thirteen years old. We are never told the name of the church of Russell's youth. All we know is that it was located in Mecklenburg County, Virginia near Palmer Springs. Another white man, "Mack" Dugger was the superintendent and Russell and two of his cousins were the first pupils. Another well-wisher, according to Russell, was a man named Mr. Cheeley, a distinguished educator. We are told that Mr. Cheeley tutored the children of the slave master, Hendrick. The only remark Russell attributes to him is that Cheeley often told Russell's mother, "'That boy will someday be a good preacher' and my mother always kept the prophecy with her and worked for its fulfillment."[21]

Armistead Miller, an aged white man, owned a private school in Palmer Springs. Since Russell's family moved from place to place looking for work after the Civil War, Russell had to drop out of whatever school he was attending. His schooling was mostly in a Sunday school. When his family returned to Palmer Springs Russell attended Mr. Miller's school but the tuition became expensive. Therefore Russell offered to work at the school to cover the cost. This is meaningful because this "work study" concept repeats itself in Russell's future education and life's work. Once free public education became law in Virginia Mr. Miller's school closed. Russell attended public school when

---

[20]Russell, *Adventure*, 3.
[21]Russell, *Adventure*, 4.

he could but much of his time was spent helping his parents as tenant-farmers. Regardless of his situation Russell makes the point that he was always studying.

It was the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Mecklenburg County who suggested to Russell that he consider attending a boarding school in Hampton, Virginia. This happened on a day when the Superintendent was visiting Russell's public school in Palmer Springs. Russell was caught by surprise when the Superintendent called him aside and told him that he had completed all that he could at the public school and needed to move on. This was a pivotal event in the young Russell's life. Not only had he now decided to attend Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, for the first time in his life he was to leave home. Hampton represented a portion of the fulfillment of his dreams for a better education. A realist, Russell knew that the widespread reputation of Hampton was out of proportion to its brief existence.[22] But Hampton was one of those early schools after the Civil War that was meant to be a haven of education for former slaves. So he packed up, left home and made his way via train and boat to the Virginia peninsula.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute

Surprisingly, Russell writes little about the principal of his first college – Samuel Chapman Armstrong. As this study presents in a later chapter, Russell's format for St. Paul School is similar if not identical to the format, structure and order that he experienced as a student at Hampton. For many years St. Paul Normal and Industrial School along with Hampton were the leaders in the education of former slaves in Virginia.

[22] Russell, *Adventure*, 5.

Armstrong, a former Union Brevet Brigadier General and a Northerner, came to Hampton, Virginia as an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. His purpose in the Bureau was to assist emancipated slaves. A child of missionary parents and growing up in Hawaii, Armstrong had a strong religious sense and worked always in an altruistic – some say a paternalistic – manner. As an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau he worked directly under General O. O. Howard. Howard, a white man like Armstrong, founded what is now Howard University in Washington, D.C. – for many years the major African-American college in America.

It was Armstrong who founded Hampton Institute after requesting the American Missionary Society to fund a school for ex-slaves in Hampton. Armstrong did not expect to be the school's principal, but after the missionary society's first choice declined the position, it was offered to Armstrong. During the early years after the end of the Civil War the American Missionary Society was, in Armstrong's opinion, the greatest financial power interested in Negro education. Armstrong suggested Hampton as a site for a school not only because there was a 159 acre site available for sale but the concentration of former slaves, known as contraband, had gathered in the Hampton, Virginia area. [23] Hampton was also historically rich: Jamestown was not far away and Yorktown where General George Washington defeated Cornwallis during the Revolutionary War was nearby. An understanding of the use of the term "contraband" is appropriate at this point.

One definition of "contraband" is that of a run-away slave during the American Civil War who either escaped to or was brought within Union lines. A Freedmen's Bureau officer told Armstrong that we have "a great lot of contraband down on the

---

[23] Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904), 159.

Virginia Peninsula and can't manage them; no one has had success in keeping them straight. General [O.O] Howard [Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau] thinks you might try it."[24] General Howard himself connected the term "contraband" with "colored" refugees in Washington, D.C. in his dealings with Congress. He said that in Washington "there was a great population of colored refugees – contrabands, as they are called."[25] Union General Benjamin Butler is credited with using the term "contraband of war" as applied to escaped slaves in 1861. This became known as the "Fort Monroe Doctrine." The Union forces controlled the Virginia Peninsula at Fortress Monroe and the Confederate Army and Navy controlled Norfolk which is south of the Peninsula across the body of water known as Hampton Roads. Three slaves under the control of Confederate Colonel Mallory escaped and crossed over to Hampton where they were seized by Union troops. Mallory sent an agent to General Butler demanding the return of the three slaves. Butler denied the request citing that Virginia, as a belligerent to the United States, cannot claim the return of the "contraband" because Virginia was now a foreign nation. Butler declared the escapees as "contraband of war" and retained them for his own services. The irony of the situation is that the North, prior to hostilities, honored a law[26] requiring the return of escapees to the Southern masters.[27] That Armstrong and others continued to use the term after the end of the war most likely was a convenient

---

[24] Talbot, *Armstrong*, 137.
[25] Talbot, *Armstrong*, 166.
[26] Craig D. Townsend, *Faith in Their Own Color* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1, 5, 153, 168.There were two Fugitive Slave Laws or Acts; the first in 1793 and the second in 1850. It was not until 1864 that the 1850 law was repealed.
[27] Benjamin Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major General Benjamin Butler* (Boston: A.M. Thayer & Co, 1892), 256-65.; Talbot, *Armstrong,* 154-5.

way to describe former slaves encamped in his area: an area of responsibility where more than 7,000 former slaves (contrabands) lived without provisions and work.[28]

It was Samuel Chapman Armstrong who created the concept and method of industrial education for former slaves. Though not a new idea it had been experimented with and failed at other institutions in years past. The notable failures were at Northern schools such as Wellesley College and Oberlin College. These institutions gave up on the experiment because their young women students were not used to manual work in the first place and the work interfered with their studies. Oberlin was a manual-labor school at its beginning but failed in its goals. Armstrong knew public opinion concerning these schools' experimental failures, but he believed that "the Negro, inured to toil, tough in physical fiber, and without the highly developed American nervous system, could undertake a daily routine that would kill a New England girl; he thought, too, that by a certain skillful arrangement of work and study he could avoid the failure of either farm or book work."[29]

Armstrong's methods and educational philosophy not only impressed former Hampton Institute student and graduate Booker T. Washington it also affected other Armstrong students like R.R. Moton[30] and James Solomon Russell. Historians differ on the soundness of Armstrong's educational methods and some charge him with an attitude of paternalism. According to historian Robert J. Norrell, Armstrong was an unapologetic paternalist. Blacks should look to whites for help. He meant to teach the former slaves industrial skills in order to secure economic independence. Armstrong had virtually

---

[28] Talbot, *Armstrong,* 138.
[29] Talbot, *Armstrong*, 158-9.
[30] R.R. Moton, A Virginia native and Hampton graduate, eventually became principal at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and later at his alma mater. Moton attended the First Universal Races Congress in 1911 in London as did Russell.

nothing to do with the classical curriculum. The education at Hampton was basically equivalent to a current-day middle school curriculum.[31]

Whether Armstrong was actually paternalistic or not did not matter at this time. Altruistic whites whether Northerners or Southerners wanted to do something that was considered good for the former slaves. Slavery ended once and for all in 1863 and not only Southerners but Northerners too carried traces of held-over racial attitudes. Everyone had to live within their plausibility structures and breaking away from those structures was difficult because it required personal transformations. Altruistic whites acted on what they thought they must do at the time. Refinement and clarity of purpose would evolve over time.

Neither Russell who attended Hampton, nor Booker T. Washington who graduated, ever expressed any understanding or evaluation of Armstrong as put forward by Norrell. Both Washington and Russell modeled their schools after Hampton and were quite successful at it and not just as educators but as community leaders and organizers of white and African-American citizens. Although Norrell's caricature of Armstrong may have some credibility, Russell and Washington nonetheless absorbed Hampton Institute's methods and philosophy of industrial education in the founding and ongoing operations of their own schools and moved on.

Armstrong's story is worthy of elaboration for he was responsible for developing an educational method that worked in the early years after Emancipation. But it is sufficient for this study simply to direct the reader's attention to the positive impact Armstrong made on Russell. One will see in the chapters that follow that Russell's

[31] Robert J. Norrell, *Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 31.

methods in education mirrored those of Armstrong. Russell had already made his two-pronged decision to get not only an education but to enter the Episcopal priesthood. He recounted in his *Autobiography* that when he wrote to Armstrong that he had decided not to return to Hampton in order to attend a new seminary for black Episcopalians, Armstrong responded that "It was savage of the Bishop of Virginia to take you away from Hampton."[32] We know that Russell wanted to enter the priesthood and now we need to know how the pieces fell into place making it possible.

Miss Patti Buford of Lawrenceville

During his short tenure at Hampton Institute Russell's home was in Mecklenburg County, Virginia. It was as a child and again in his teen years that he discovered the *Book of Common Prayer* (BCP), the Apostle's Creed and determined that one day he would enter the ministry as a priest in the Episcopal Church. Although Hampton Institute was a secular institution, Armstrong infused the daily school routine with the practice of religion and regular chapel attendance by all students. Armstrong used the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Creed was heard at every service, therefore Russell's calling to become a priest was actually strengthened by his Hampton experience.

Just months before his return to Hampton in the autumn of 1877 Russell's aunt, Jennie Fain, urged him to consider the African Methodist Episcopal Church and she arranged a meeting with her pastor. But Russell had already made up his mind about the Episcopal Church. Russell writes that "Having no one nearby to guide me toward the

[32] Russell, *Adventure*, 16.

priesthood, I called upon Mrs. P. E. Buford of Lawrenceville, who was much concerned about missionary work among the colored people." [33]

Russell writes that "Ms. Buford became interested and referred my case to the Rt. Rev. F.M. Whittle, then Bishop of the undivided Diocese of Virginia. Bishop Whittle directed the Rev. Robert White, evangelist, to go to Hampton and ascertain what he could concerning my qualifications and character, but when Mr. White reached the Institute I had already left to open my school in North Carolina. Hence, I did not see Mr. White. Bishop Whittle later appointed a commission composed of the Rev. Alexander Weddell and the Rev. T. Grason Daschiell, who met me at St. Andrew's Church, Lawrenceville, in the summer of 1878 – within a stone's throw from the property now owned by the St. Paul School. This body ultimately agreed to give me my opportunity by starting a branch of the Theological Seminary of Virginia at St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg. This "branch" became the Bishop Payne Divinity School for the training of colored men for the Episcopal priesthood."[34]

George Freeman Bragg, Jr. recognized the valuable work of Patti Buford in helping former slaves in and around Brunswick County. Even though he coined her as a cultivated Southern lady his most laudatory accolade was that of an angel of mercy. Mrs. Buford, Bragg implies, was not only an angel of mercy but was a powerful person within the Diocese of Virginia. It did not hurt Russell to seek her for assistance in securing him a meeting the Bishop.[35]

---

[33] Russell, *Adventure*, 15; Neale, *Brunswick County,* 210. "Most poor people got by as well as they could with the help of their friends, the people in their churches, and such individual kindness on the part of white people as those of Mrs. Pattie Buford (who was lauded by her Northern friends and practically ostracized by the upper class whites of Brunswick County)."

[34] Russell, *Adventure,* 15-16.

[35] George Freeman Bragg, Jr., *History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church* (Baltimore: Church Advocate Press, 1922), 133-34.

It is important to recognize the connection Russell made with Pattie Buford. She like many other Russell connections served as a group of concerned local citizens working for the welfare of the freed slaves. Despite obstacles faced by Russell in his beginnings and his future, it is noteworthy that he made friends not only with other former slaves and their children but with whites, all of whom managed to deal with their own sets of economic and social problems.

Giles Buckner Cooke and Branch Theological Seminary

Cooke became the first principal or leader of the new Episcopal seminary for African American men located at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Petersburg, Virginia. A white man and a war-time member of the staff of General Robert E. Lee, Cooke became an Episcopal priest and not only led this church but opened a normal school for ex-slaves on the church's premises. According to Gardiner Shattuck, the majority of bishops and priests of the Southern Episcopal dioceses wanted to keep their hands in the religious affairs of black people after the Civil War. Believing that blacks should have a theological education these bishops authorized the collection of funds to begin a black-only seminary. Apparently these bishops did not want blacks attending the Virginia Seminary in Alexandria; therefore, the new Branch Seminary of the Virginia Theological Seminary was placed in Giles Cooke's St. Stephen's School.[36] The Branch Seminary opened in 1878 with James S. Russell as its first and only student.

Shattuck labeled Cooke as a racial paternalist not unlike Norrell's characterization of Samuel Chapman Armstrong cited above. Providing evidence such as Cooke's critical view of black pastors and their encouragement of enmity and strife between the races,

[36] Gardiner Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), 11-12.

Shattuck[37] charges Cooke with a vision of proper religion for blacks for the purpose of education, evangelism and social control. Nonetheless, Russell jumped at the opportunity to study and Russell's own comments about Cooke never revealed any sort of conflict or tension with the Reverend Mr. Cooke.

Russell and Cooke became close friends quickly and that friendship lasted a lifetime. It turned out the Cooke provided Russell with many lessons of life which provided the structure Russell was always seeking. And there should be no doubt that Russell's early aims were met when Cooke's theological school was opened: Russell wanted to become a priest in the Episcopal Church. There was no time to ponder further this new opportunity: it was a matter of action to Russell and he took it. Whether or not Cooke and Armstrong were racial paternalists mattered little to Russell.

With the short-term but foundational training at Hampton Institute and Cooke's structured education at Branch Seminary, Russell was happy to be pursuing his call to the priesthood and to his future.

Booker T. Washington

Russell and Washington knew each other later in life. Though Washington was born less than 150 miles from the place of Russell's birth and he was 18 months older their paths never crossed until Washington graduated from Hampton in 1875. Both were reared in the care of their mothers on Virginia plantations, their early upbringings similar. Though Washington and his family moved to the newly created state of West Virginia

[37] Shattuck's research supports, generally, the presence of a paternalistic attitude among white Southerners in that period of American history. Whites who wanted to be helpful perhaps knew of no other ways to help. They may have been caught up in their own social plausibility structure rather than seeking a way out. Shattuck's use of the term "paternalism" (as well as Harold T. Lewis's use) provides background for the general attitude prevalent among well-meaning white people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

after Emancipation both young men, with similar motivating causes, gravitated toward Hampton Institute for their initial educational training.

Unlike Russell, Washington graduated from Hampton Institute. Both were influenced by the educational methods and the person of Samuel Chapman Armstrong. It was later in their careers that Washington had an influence on Russell. On a train tour of black schools in the South, Washington spent one night in Lawrenceville to observe the daily operation of the St. Paul School. His tour report commended the work not only of the college but of Russell himself.[38] This was also a time when Washington was engaged in a national public debate with W.E.B. DuBois about the kind of education for former slaves – whether their studies should be liberal arts or industrial arts. Washington received the full force of DuBois's invective against industrial education. Russell had similar struggles on the local level as did Washington at the national level. The problem, nonetheless, was real and challenging.

Washington, after graduation, eventually went to Alabama to found Tuskegee Institute and Russell founded St. Paul Normal and Industrial School. Both schools were similar in direction, curriculum and leadership. The big difference is that Tuskegee was a secular school and St. Paul was affiliated with the Episcopal Church. Given the daily routines of students in both schools of daily prayers, chapel attendance and the like, few would have discerned any differences in management and governance.

In the early 20th century St. Paul Normal and Industrial School was second only to Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in number of students in the Commonwealth of

[38] Booker T. Washington, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, ed. Louis R. Harlan and Raymond Smock (Champagne-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 146.

Virginia. [39] Russell himself was well known not only as an innovative educator of former slaves but as "the Archdeacon."

The Book of Common Prayer

This book represented structure to Russell. After reading through the entire BCP Russell said that he became a spiritual member of the Episcopal Church. The prayers were impressive and he said that he made use of them whenever called upon in public.[40] Mostly likely it was the fixed format or structure of the prayer book that provided young Russell with an orderly way to structure his future. To Russell the BCP may have been the rationale or plausibility structure of the Church. It is not known whether Russell was aware of the practices of the Episcopal Church in the American South, or that he was aware that many Episcopalians owned slaves, including bishops and priests. But thinking of the BCP as the document of church structure Russell knew how the church was called into being and how it should operate.

It was the Methodist Church in the South that practiced a more open attitude toward slaves. Many of those who were Methodists, even during the American Revolution, were opposed to slavery. Many Methodist slave owners who could not free their slaves due to economic reasons freed them in their wills and Methodists were suspected of harboring fugitive slaves over the years.[41] The practices of the Episcopal Church did not enjoy a similar reputation. The attraction of the Episcopal Church to Russell seems to be high intelligence, wealth and social status. Russell, although influenced by the BCP, the Creed and the Episcopal Church itself, later in life was to be

---

[39] Ibid.
[40] Russell, *Adventure*, 14.
[41] Neale, *Brunswick County*, 200.

critical of the Episcopal Church's neglect of ex-slaves. Although he understood why many former slaves bolted Anglicanism for other churches – mostly for the African Methodist, Baptist and African Methodist Zion – he called that a mistake.[42] What was it that Russell understood about Anglicanism that made him label the black exodus as a mistake?

In his book *Yet With a Steady Beat*, Harold T. Lewis documents the mass exodus of blacks from the Episcopal Church in the years following Emancipation and the end of the American Civil War. "In the Diocese of South Carolina, where before the war nearly half of the communicants had been black [South Carolina had 3,000 black communicants in 1860 – not even half that number could be found in all the dioceses in the North or South], there were only 395 black members in 1868. … In Alabama … only two congregations remained after the Civil War. … In Virginia, only 64 black Episcopalians remained, a mere 1 percent of the membership of the diocese. Even the great St. James', Baltimore, having been founded by free blacks, could not boast fifty members in 1867."[43] Why this exodus? Whites also blamed Northerners, carpetbaggers and the like. Whites blamed blacks for being too emotional in their worship or their adverse reaction to white instruction. Low morals were a common reason used by whites. Blacks had another explanation – they wanted to be free of the white man's domination and the black churches made it possible for black leadership to develop.

The gap between white and black Episcopalians was to be found in their respective understandings of "catholicity." Whites believed that God's house had many rooms and some of those rooms were better than others. The rooms differed according to

---

[42] Russell, *Adventure*, 63.
[43] Harold T. Lewis, *Yet With a Steady Beat* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), 40.

social status. This view of "catholicity" had no absolute, objective standards. Lewis said that this understanding meant that the Church's life was to remain stratified as was in society in general. Blacks' beliefs about catholicity were based on the epistles of St. Paul in Romans 12:2[44] and Galatians 3:28[45]: that mankind should not conform to the patterns of the present world (where there are no absolute, objective standards), and that there is neither Greek nor Jew, nor bond nor free, but that all should be one in Christ Jesus, respectively.[46]

To young James Solomon Russell the Episcopal Church and its BCP must have seemed catholic and true. There were standards, as he observed in the prayers and the Eucharist of the Book of Common Prayer. Although not yet intellectually or scholastically aware of the stated theology in the BCP nor aware of the pre- and post-Civil War history of the Episcopal Church, Russell nonetheless sensed a standard of Christian belief and Christian living that provided him a vision of how his new emancipated life should be worked out with his former owners.

To the older, experienced Russell the mistake that the church-exiting former slaves made after the Civil War was a mistake of political naïveté. Bishop Meade said that the African-American slave population in the Episcopal Church was large enough to become a problem. Russell, in his *Autobiography* wrote:

> Notwithstanding the strong position taken by Bishop Meade, soon after the War colored Churchmen began to mistrust their white brethren who were laboring among them and the list of colored communicants rapidly decreased. This, of course, was a great mistake made by the colored people, and yet the Church should not have held this illiterate and lately

[44] Romans 12:2 (ESV) "*Do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that by testing you may discern what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect.*
[45] Galatians 3:28 (ESV) "*There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is no male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.*
[46] Lewis, *Steady Beat*, 45.

> enslaved race accountable for its error in this particular. For it was about this time that Northern Churchmen did not have too much confidence in the efforts that were being put forth by the white missionaries of the South laboring among their colored brethren, and that there was severe prejudice from Southern whites against those who undertook the task of educating and uplifting the former slaves. Hence, in these exciting times the Negro found himself between the upper and nether millstones religiously, with the result that he was crushed out of the Church for the time being. On the other hand, he was clay in the hands of designing politicians who used him as a tool often against his best interests, and thereby widened the breach between him and his former owner: yet, in this hour of his weakness the Church withheld her sympathy and support to an alarming degree, although her missionaries had the endorsement and moral support of their Bishops.[47]

Had the former slaves remained in the Church they would have had at least a larger numerical percentage of communicants than they eventually did, Russell believed. Politically that would have meant that blacks would have had a large measure clout within the ranks of the church. Russell, knowing the spiritual, social and political natures of the church militant so vividly, believed that the freedman would not only uplift himself through the social and economic strength of the Episcopal Church but he would be strong enough to positively influence the church's necessary transformation.

Peter G. Morgan

It should be mentioned here that the life and actions of Russell's father-in-law represented a goal for Russell if not a direct influence. Peter G. Morgan was an "outstanding figure of Reconstruction"[48] and a delegate to the Virginia State Constitutional Convention and part of his responsibility was to craft a new post-Civil War constitution that would be the means whereby the former Confederate State of Virginia would be re-admitted to the Union. It is not an unimportant item that Russell

[47] Russell, *Adventure*, 62-3.
[48] Russell, *Adventure*, 28.

cited the new Virginia constitution as the longest lasting of the "reconstructed" constitutions before yielding to changes and amendments.[49] Russell, quite naturally, held his father-in-law in high regard and points out in his *Autobiography* that Peter Morgan is a member of the African-American elite in Petersburg, Virginia.[50] Morgan, then, as Russell would later, fought existing laws, habits and prejudices to eliminate official references to "black or white."[51] In an interest exchange of correspondence in October 18-23, 1920 between Russell and Monroe N. Work of Tuskegee Institute Russell provided information that Work requested about Morgan's life. From documents Russell gathered from Morgan's sons he learned that Morgan was a carpenter by trade but later acquired the skills of a shoemaker, a trade he followed before the Civil War. Morgan was twice sold as a slave, purchased in installments his freedom for $1,500.00. The final payment was made on the Fourth of July 1854. In 1858 he purchased his wife and children thereby, according to Russell's description, became a slave-owner himself. Morgan moved his family to Petersburg became a self-educated man and after the Civil War educated his children and neighbors. Not only did he serve as a delegate to the constitutional convention he later served two terms as a delegate to Virginia General Assembly 1869-1871 and 1871-1872.[52]

Russell, like his father-in-law wanted no references to color lines or any other kinds of racial barriers within the Church. He like all Emancipated people wanted their dignity and wanted to be personally respected.

---

[49] Russell, *Adventure*, 30.
[50] Russell, *Adventure*, 28.
[51] Russell, *Adventure*, 29.
[52] James S. Russell, "Communications," *The Journal of Negro History* 8, no. 3 (July, 1923): 341-44.

He documents the material wealth of his father-in-law and many other prominent blacks in Petersburg. He provides statistics of land holdings of freed slaves and mentions prominent black families in the Episcopal Church. It is no wonder that Russell considered membership in the Episcopal Church – to be within its socially powerful and economically elevated atmosphere – something to aspire to regardless of misguided and un-biblical interpretations from its leadership.[53]

At points throughout his *Autobiography* Russell expresses a sense of community of all people: the Apostles' Creed, the catholicity of the Church, one source of all races, and even his slave-master/slave relationship. On page 2 he described a community of descendents of both slaves and master still living in the same geography after the Civil War as during the period of slavery. He writes "'Round about the country many of the descendents of the slaves, and grandchildren and great grandchildren of my former master still make their homes: one of the descendents of Mr. Hendrick also occupies my old master's house."[54] These descriptions display Russell's drive for structure and order, and unveil his vision or hope of how a community should live. Peter G. Morgan was the role model for Russell in this mix of his development.

Virginia Michigan Morgan Russell

James Solomon Russell married the fourth daughter of the Honorable Peter G. Morgan of Petersburg, Virginia in December 1882. Russell's friend the Rev. Giles B. Cooke and the Rev. Thomas Spenser performed the ceremony. Russell described his new bride as a graduate of the St. Stephen's Normal School in Petersburg; as an organist at St. Stephen's Church; and as having opportunity to broaden her contacts within a home life

---

[53] Russell, *Adventure*, 63.
[54] Russell, *Adventure*, 2.

that emphasized intellectual endeavors and service for the welfare of the race. [55] Together they opened their first parish school in January 1883.

They started the parish school in the vestry room of the chapel, with both assuming roles as teachers. They started the normal school in September 1888 with fewer than a dozen boarding students. Mrs. Russell co-signed notes with James to secure funds for land and building.[56] Their collateral was their word.

Russell married into a distinguished African American Virginia family. Russell had truly found the perfect partner for his life's work. Virginia Michigan Morgan's life was imbued with the character consistent with Russell's view of uplift and achievement. She obviously was a person who worked hard and believed in her husband. No doubt he sought her advice throughout their marriage. In 1920 Mrs. Russell died leaving Russell alone for his remaining fifteen years.

Not a Hyphenated American

"I have moved about as much as I could without making myself a hyphenated American and contented to be just a citizen and human being."[57] Russell experienced situations where he was mistaken for a white person. He cites four specific incidences in his book and not all were within the United States. On a frequent if not regular basis he was unable to take a seat in the colored section of the trolley or train. Russell provides an example where a train conductor asked him to move to the appropriate white seat section. Pictures of Russell show him as a very light-skinned man. He said he never tried to

[55] Russell, *Adventure*, 28-9.
[56] Russell, *Adventure*, 32.
[57] Russell, *Adventure*, 97.

"pass" as a white person and as a practical matter he never advertised himself as a "colored person" when there was no need nor made sense to do so.

Yet it is this issue of racial identity that compels exploration in part because it is plausible in the first instance that Russell might indeed have enjoyed some social advantage and in the second that he also used it as an opportunity to uplift his people and to be an instrument himself of reconciliation. There is no doubt that Russell chose to be and live as a black man. He grew up as a slave and experienced the immediate freedom brought by Emancipation. In church councils later in life there was no doubt that he was a member of the black convocation. He graduated from the black seminary and his bishop eventually made him Archdeacon for Colored Work within his diocese.[58] Either way Russell's life was filled with obstacles and opportunities.

It was Russell's work as an educational leader among his race that brought him notoriety, respect and many complicated situations.

[58] Not all Archdeacons for Colored Work in the Southern Episcopal dioceses were African American men. The Diocese of Arkansas's first archdeacon for colored work was a white man. It is the concept of and the existence of a Colored Convocation that betrays the church's frame of mind of un-reconciled separation of the races after Reconstruction and through the first quarter of the 20th century.

Chapter 3 – Educational Leader

In the summer of 1911 Russell was in London on an unplanned vacation. He had traveled to London and Paris in 1907 thinking that he would never again return so he took in all that he could. In 1907 Russell traveled with the Rev. N. Peterson Boyd[59], this time with his young son, Alvin.

What could Russell and his son see and do that he did not cover in 1907? Certainly Russell wanted to introduce Alvin to many sites of historic interest. It so happened that at the University of London during the week of July 26-29, 1911 there was a major international conference – the First Universal Races Congress. Many if not most nations of the world sent representatives to this inaugural congress, the purpose of which was to begin seeking universal racial reconciliation.[60] After all, slavery and the slave trade had been legally abolished in most countries. Many American freedmen and their children had then been living in freedom since 1863. Russell himself was of the age that made him part of the transitional generation: a brief time in slavery but now much longer as a freedman.

---

[59] William S. Pelletreau, *Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogy and Family History of New York, Volume IV* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), 65-67; Lewis, *Steady Beat*, 209; Bragg, *Afro-American Group* 286; N. Peterson Boyd, like Russell, was a native of Mecklenburg County, Virginia. Born in 1876 Boyd attended St. Mark's Parish School in Bracey, VA, St. Paul's School in Lawrenceville, and St. Andrew's Divinity School in Syracuse, New York. Russell mentions Boyd several times in his book; in one chapter as an outstanding alumnus of St. Paul's and in another as a valuable contact in the Northern states which helped in fund-raising efforts.

[60] Gustav Spiller, *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress Held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1911), v. The document's preface states in part: "The object of the Congress is 'to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the West and those of the East, between so-called white and so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings, and a heartier co-operation'". The significance of the Congress to Russell is addressed in Chapter 4.

Background

There is no evidence that this conference was the primary reason for Russell and his son to take a vacation. It is difficult to discern from reading Russell's *Autobiography*, except for a pithy clue which read "My 1911 journey to the Old World was more or less forced upon me."[61] By 1911 Russell had made a name for himself as the founder of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, church planter of African American missions, and community leader among blacks and whites. Indeed, Russell and the school were identified as one. Samuel H. Bishop, the first executive director of the American Church Institute for Negroes[62] (ACIN) is the person who suggested to Russell that he take an extended vacation. Perhaps this offer of an all-expense paid trip to Europe was a reward for Russell's work at St. Paul's. Russell as well as the school did not have the funds to underwrite the trip, but the Rev. Mr. Bishop suggested that Russell take "a much needed rest and spend the summer in England."[63] In his 1912 annual report to his bishop and diocesan Council, Russell reported "Just after my last annual report [referring to his report to Council in 1911] I was sent abroad by friends for a rest of two months. The trip was not so restful, however, as I had anticipated, and I returned home after two months feeling no better than when I left home, for the cares of my church and school work had followed me across the ocean."[64] Was Russell advising his bishop and the Council in some subtle language that there were nefarious circumstances or conditions which led to his travel to London? Was Russell covering himself by confessing that he constantly

---

[61] Russell, *Adventure*, 94

[62] The American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN) was a fund-raising agency of the Episcopal Church formed in 1906. One of its purposes was to fund Episcopal schools educating former slaves in the South.

[63] Russell, *Adventure*, 94-95.

[64] James S. Russell, "Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work", *Journal of the Twentieth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Petersburg, Virginia May 28th to 30th 1912* (1912): 316.

worried about his churches and the school? The one thing that is clear is that Russell did not plan to visit the European continent at that time or ever again. Perhaps the vacation gift was not even a reward for excellent service on behalf of St. Paul's School.

St. Paul Normal and Industrial School

Beginnings

As a newly ordained deacon in March of 1882, Russell traveled to his first (and more-or-less final) assignment in Lawrenceville, Virginia. The only Episcopal Church in town was St. Andrew's, a white congregation with a sizeable number of African American congregants. Although Bishop Whittle considered assigning Russell to areas in Mecklenburg County, it was the rector of St. Andrew's who asked and convinced Bishop F.M. Whittle to assign Russell to St. Andrew's because of the black parishioners there. Lawrenceville was and still is today the seat of Brunswick County and at the time of Russell's relocation to the county was home to more than 12,000 African Americans.[65] This large black population eventually turned out to be a blessing for Russell's ministry.

In December of 1882 Russell married Virginia Michigan Morgan in Petersburg, presided over by the Reverends Giles B. Cooke and Thomas Spencer, both teachers when Russell was in seminary. Between the time of his arrival in Lawrenceville and his marriage in Petersburg Russell attended his first diocesan council meeting in Norfolk as a

[65] Russell, *Adventure*, 84. Russell writes that in 1902 when he started the Farmers' Conference there were 12,000 Negroes out of a total of 20,000 people in Brunswick County; Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Volume II, Bulletin 1916, No. 39* (Washington: United States Bureau of Education, 1916), 614. According to this study Brunswick County, Virginia had 11,366 Negroes and 7,878 whites in 1910. If these two sets of number are correct, one assumption has to be that blacks migrated to urban areas over the 8-year period. Brunswick County is but one county making up Virginia's "black belt."

voting member. At this Council of the Diocese of Virginia[66] Russell was given an opportunity to speak, and without hesitation he took advantage of it. Russell asked for assistance in starting a new mission and made a plea for a horse. One of the lay[67] members of the council offered a resolution that Council provide Russell with a horse, bridle and saddle, and another asked for subscriptions to support this new deacon's planned church. By the close of Council Russell had enough funds for a horse and accessories and an additional three hundred dollars to start his new church plant.[68] In that same year Russell organized the St. Paul Benevolent Society of St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg. At its first meeting, in Lawrenceville, twenty-two people attended and "endorsed a program of mutual helpfulness."[69] In January 1883, Russell and his wife Virginia, the only two teachers, opened their parish school.[70]

A room in the new chapel was used as the classroom. After a few years more space was required and Russell built a 3-room structure with a gift from the Rev. James Saul[71] of Philadelphia. Once the Saul Building was constructed the expansion of

---

[66] Russell refers to the "undivided" Diocese of Virginia several times in his book. The Diocese of Southern Virginia was created in 1892.

[67] In Russell's account of this offer, the first layman referred to Russell as "Brother." The presumption here is that the layman was a white man and had sufficient leadership or clout to ask Council for money and that the "Brother" reference meant either that Russell's personal and oratorical demeanor was "acceptable" to the white delegates or that this layman truly befriended Russell. Likewise Russell, a "colored" deacon ordained for less than 100 days, fearlessly showed his sense of equality and leadership by asking for the horse and "building funds."

[68] Russell, *Adventure*, 27-8.

[69] Russell, *Adventure*, 83.

[70] This is the real beginning of St. Paul School even though it was not chartered or incorporated at that time.

[71] Russell, *Adventure*, 31; Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of the Seventy-Ninth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in Christ Church, Charlottesville on the 20th, 21st 22nd & 23rd of May 1874*, (Richmond: Clemmitt and Jones Job Printers, 1874), 104; Diocese of Louisiana, *Thirty-Third Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana*, 1874, (New Orleans: James A. Gresham Booksellers and Stationer, 1874), 81; "James Holly vs. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society [DFMS], No. 138 of October Term, 1900 in The Supreme Court of the United States, Record No. 17,523", *Brief for Appellant*, p.1 and *Brief for Appellees*, p 41; Russell gives the reader no idea how he received money from Saul or who Saul was; the Diocese of Virginia shows a gift of $100.00 from Saul; the Diocese of Louisiana shows a gift of $100.00; but briefs from U.S. Supreme Court records show that Saul was a wealthy man having bequeathed his estate to the DFMS (1/3rd to Domestic Missions, 1/3rd

Russell's education program took off. In 1888 the migration of the parish school into a "normal"[72] school moved forward and Russell began acquiring land from several local Lawrenceville land-owners. The school had less than a dozen boarding students by the time of the start of normal school in September 1888. It was 1893 when St. Paul Normal and Industrial School was incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia. The first meeting of St. Paul Board of Trustees was held in Richmond at the Episcopal residence of Bishop Whittle.[73] No time was wasted in contracting for the construction of other buildings, and financial contributions were coming from people who had heard about the new school but who had never visited it: contributions from Minnesota, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Though criticized for going on a "land-buying" spree Russell continued to make land deals from 1890 to 1899.[74] By 1899 Russell had acquired 1,600 acres on "The Hill" by signing notes with no collateral – only his word and signature – and loans from out-of-town people (mostly from the North) he had met previously.

Enrollments grew steadily at St. Paul School. The school was modeled after Hampton Institute. One of the disciplinary practices put in place was a military corps format for male students. And for all students alternative methods of tuition payment were made available. For example, very few students could pay tuition for the full term so Russell implemented a work-study program making education possible for many former slaves and their children. This, too, was similar to Hampton Institute.

---

to Foreign Missions and 1/3rd to the benefit of colored people in the former slaves states for the support of schools and missions).

[72] A "normal" school refers to a high school for former slaves in the South. Most of the now-famous African American colleges and universities in the South began as "Normal and Industrial" or Normal and Agricultural" schools.

[73] Russell, *Adventure*, 33.

[74] Russell, *Adventure*, 38.

Churches in the Virginia diocese provided parochial education for both blacks and whites after the war. In 1871 public (meaning free) education began in Brunswick County, Virginia. There was not much excitement at first about public education evidenced not only by vocal opposition but by statistics showing that the average daily school attendance was 32% and 23% for white and black children, respectively. By the early 20th century when Russell's school was about twelve years in operation the sentiment for public education had changed dramatically. Public grade schools had become well established but high school education was considered a luxury. For black students wanting to continue their education through high school their families had to either pay tuition or the students worked their way through St. Paul Normal and Industrial School: this alternative gave black students an advantage virtually unique in the state.[75]

St. Paul's Farmers' Conference

Russell's community orientation and his desire to include training beyond just the classroom drove him to develop extension programs. Farmers' Conferences began at St. Paul School in 1902 at a time when "Brunswick County was the least prosperous and the most backward of Virginia counties."[76] Russell claimed that "The Conference enjoys the distinction of being the first organized effort on a countrywide basis among Negroes of the State to carry out a definite plan of constructive racial uplift."[77] That the St. Paul Farmers' Conference was the first of its kind can easily be challenged since schools such as Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and Hampton Institute in Virginia had similar programs in place. Hampton's conferences were started by white school administrators and perhaps that is the distinction that Russell subtly made in his comment. An article in *The Southern*

---

[75] Neale, *Brunswick County*, 233-4.
[76] Russell, *Adventure*, 84.
[77] Russell, *Adventure*, 83.

Workman reported that the series of conferences "established by the Negro schools" have been one of the most effective means of helping "Negroes of the South" improve their condition.[78] In an address at Western Theological Seminary Robert Strange, the bishop of East Carolina cited the fact that he attended a Farmers' Conference at St. Paul School in 1906 and was "much impressed and greatly encouraged for the true progress of the negro." He made that observation as one of two special ways in which he saw the Church influencing the "negro race." His address, though high in praise of work done by "negro" schools and conferences, conveyed a not-uncommon attitude of superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race.[79]

According to Russell the purposes of the conferences were to "to encourage our people to buy land, build better homes, churches, and schools; to promote better race relations; to make useful and intelligent members of society, and to publish statistics of Negro progress" in a non-political and non-sectarian program of mutual assistance.[80] Russell would promote not only the school but its Farmers' Conferences in speeches, sermons, diocesan reports and written articles over the entire life of his ministry. These offerings provided statistics in support of the success of his programs. In short, Russell produced an impressive record. Many of his speeches were laden with statistics.

---

[78] "St. Paul's Farmers' Conference," *Southern Workman* 35, no. 9 (September, 1906): 468-69.The article went on to report that Negroes in Brunswick County, Virginia paid real property taxes of $250,000 that year. It also reported that "Archdeacon Russell and the Lawrenceville school have accomplished much toward the improvement of the black belt of Virginia …" The article also cited the Tuskegee Institute's farmers' and workers' conference in the black belt of Alabama; the Atlanta Conference – controlled by W.E.B. DuBois of Atlanta University according to the article – which published studies in a series of reports regarding the condition of blacks; and the conferences at Hampton Institute which brought together "leading colored men" who presented reports on insurance, agriculture and criminal conditions.
[79] Robert Strange, *Church Work Among the Negroes in the South* (Chicago: Western Theological Seminary, 1907), 17. This address was part of the seminary's Hale Memorial Sermon series.
[80] Russell, *Adventure*, 83.

At his fourth Farmers' Conference in 1908 Russell provided hard data supporting progress made in Brunswick County for "Negroes" for the two preceding years. He stated that blacks owned 49,171 acres of land an increase of 5,962 acres; assessed land value was $332,000; personal property valued at $119,000; and $15,000 in cash was on deposit in the banks of Lawrenceville. Houses were better, crop yield was larger and black families were determined to educate their children.[81] In 1906 it was reported that St. Paul's School paid taxes on real property assessed at a value of $250,000.00; that Negroes owned from 100 to 500 acres of land and one in particular who owned 1,000 acres; all bought and paid for since the end of the Civil War. Also reported was the Negroes in Virginia had 25,000 farms, and started banks and other financial institutions.[82] Most of Russell's speeches and addresses were like this – his speeches were not unlike a political candidate's stump speech. Using St. Paul School as his platform, Russell not only traveled around the country promoting his Farmer's Conference and the progress made in his Southside Virginia region, he came into contact with influential and wealthy people. This was helpful to his fund raising efforts.

Fund Raising and Its Curse

The curse of fund raising is that it never ends. Like Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, Russell traveled heavily to promote St. Paul School simply to keep it operating. This virtual non-stop effort extracts over time a heavy personal toll, usually in the form of ill health. In an article in *The Southern Missioner* it was reported that Russell was "Exhausted and in ill health" and went away for a brief rest.[83] In his *Autobiography*

[81] Fred D. Banks, "The St. Paul's Farmers' Conference," *Southern Workman* 37, no. 10 (October, 1908): 571.
[82] "The St. Paul's Farmers' Conference," *Southern Workman* 35, no. 9 (September, 1906): 468-9.
[83] *The Southern Missioner* (April, 1913): 45.

Russell described an incident in 1898 when on a fund raising trip in New York City. He said it was his first outing in behalf of the school after the 1897 typhoid outbreak. On his way from his hotel in Newark to St. Bartholomew's Church in New York City he became ill, weak from exertion. Though late he made his presentation to the women of the St. Augustine's League and received financial gifts toward his St. Paul Memorial Chapel.[84]

Russell's school was a parochial school attached to his church. When it was incorporated the Board of Trustees included the bishop of the Diocese of Virginia, making it, at least on first blush, a school owned by the diocese. But such was not the case for Episcopal schools for African American children. Just as the federal government created the Freedmen's Bureau to assist in the transition from slavery to freedom, the Episcopal Church, the national body and not the diocese, created the Freedman's Commission.[85] The Commission's name was confusing so the Church changed the name to the Colored Commission. The purpose of the Church agency was to financially support education in Church-affiliated schools for freed slaves and their children in the South.[86]

Financial support for St. Paul School therefore came from the Freedman's Commission and its successor agencies, but the funding was never sufficient and fund-raising became a time-consuming enterprise. Russell was not the sort of person to give up – he was a resourceful leader. In order to implement all of the educational programs that he thought were needed for his region of the nation Russell required significant funding. Between the end of the Civil War and 1902 there was no major organized effort outside

---

[84] Russell, *Adventure*, 44-5.
[85] The correct spellings should be noted: the U.S. government's "Freedmen's Bureau" and the Episcopal Church's "Freedman's Commission."
[86] Lewis, *Steady Beat*, 125. Immediately after the Civil War the agency created was named "The Protestant Episcopal Freedman's Commission to the Colored People" and later was changed to the "Commission on Work among Colored People", then simply the "Commission on Negro Work." This work was dissolved in 1904 and the "American Church Institute for Negroes" was formed in 1906.

the states and federal governments providing funding of any magnitude. Although Russell gave us little information about the Rev. James Saul and his funding of the construction of the school's first building, he did mention other small donors who had heard about the school. The school needed funds not only for building construction but for operating expenses which tuition payments hardly covered. Russell knew what he had to do and in his *Autobiography* he wrote that "… I have addressed the General Convention and church organizations of all kinds, traveled in many states, and written thousands of letters, all in the effort to secure the wherewithal to build and maintain the Institution. It has been my good fortune to attend eleven General Conventions of the Church – from 1898-1928 – and on all these occasions, special mass meetings[87] have been held in the interest of the colored schools."[88]

He tells of speaking at the Special Mass Meeting at the General Convention of 1901 in San Francisco which yielded him an invitation the next month to speak at the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. In 1907 the General Convention was in Richmond, Virginia a city less than 90 miles north of Lawrenceville. At that Convention he was successful in attracting almost 100 delegates to visit the St. Paul campus. What was Russell's message to them?

His typical fund-raising speech was like the one given before the Special Mass Meeting at the 1913 General Convention in New York City. Russell was given an additional ten minutes [fifteen in total] to complete his presentation and those additional minutes were given at the request of the delegates. In that speech Russell said that in

---

[87] The "special mass meetings" of General Conventions were provided to update delegates on missionary endeavors within the Church. Speakers were allowed five to ten minutes to make their pitches. The Women's Auxiliaries of the many dioceses usually made up the majority of the listeners. Mass meetings were excellent platforms for making contacts and for appealing for funds.

[88] Russell, *Adventure*, 43.

Southern Virginia "we have 34 [African American] churches and 2,000 communicants[89], and a prosperous, growing work. The standard of morality has been wonderfully raised, and the jails, once full of prisoners, are now empty. St. Paul's School is the largest Church institution in this country; it has 3,500 graduates, and the official recognition of the State of Virginia. It touches the life of every family in Brunswick County and has solved the race problem there, as black and white live on the most cordial terms."[90]

Some elements of this portion of the speech may seem out of place especially the phrase about morality and empty jails. From before the Civil War up until the time of this speech the principal concern of white leaders, both secular and religious, was the morality of African Americans. This issue is discussed elsewhere in this paper. But Russell, knowing his audiences, was acutely aware of such thinking and therefore he wanted to assure them that all was well at St. Paul's and in Lawrenceville. This may have been one of Russell's sure-fire phrases that brought in the money, which is important given that Russell ran up fairly large debts for St. Paul.

Harold T. Lewis's examination of school funding by the Church's agencies is insightful. Simply put, the Church's missionary work in Japan, China, the Philippines and Alaska were monumental success stories compared with its shameful support of the African American. Citing documents by Samuel H. Bishop and studies by Carleton J. Hayden, Lewis notes that the conflicting goals of various factions within all of these successive agencies, due to regional differences and other distractions, the Church

---

[89] Strange, *Church Work Among Negroes*, 10. According to Bishop Robert Strange of East Carolina there were 9,000 African American communicants in the entire Episcopal Church in 1907. There were in the same year nine million African Americans in the South. Of the 9,000 African American communicants there were one in 7,961 in Mississippi and one in 381 in Virginia.

[90] John W. Wood, "The Missionary Story of the General Convention," *The Spirit of Missions: An Illustrated Monthly Review of Christian Missions* 78, no. 11 (November, 1913): 769. Though Wood edited this article he was actually paraphrasing Russell's presentation. Russell, not Wood, claimed that St. Paul was the largest school of its type in the country.

thought it better to dissolve them in 1904. The Church needed to re-think its strategies in support of African Americans in the Episcopal Church. At the same time that the Episcopal Church struggled with the infighting of its educational funding agencies many prominent and wealthy Episcopalians contributed large sums of money directly to non-church schools like Hampton and Tuskegee.[91] Certainly that had to be an embarrassment to the Church that its own people contributed significantly to secular schools yet ignored its own. Though the Episcopal Church dissolved its fund raising efforts in 1904 it is important to understand what happened when a new movement emerged in 1902 that set the standard for funding Southern black schools, and how the Episcopal Church reacted to it later in 1906.

Organized Philanthropy

Northern Money

According to a study made by Professors Eric Anderson of Pacific Union College and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. of the University of Maryland, Northern philanthropy had been funding, since the end of the Civil War, Protestant religious societies seeking to elevate the freedmen. The money was always there even after the end of Reconstruction and reached new highs in the early 20th century. The dominant denominations receiving these funds were the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptists churches. These churches were in the North and were collecting and spending the money on black education in the South. By 1906 their expenditures on black education was four times

[91] Lewis, *Steady Beat,* 125-6. The document cited by Lewis is Samuel H. Bishop's report in 1907 entitled "The Church among the Negroes." Bishop, a white man, was the first executive director of the American Church Institute for Negroes, the successor in 1906 to the Church's previous funding agencies.

greater than in 1876.[92] The Episcopal Church's record in Southern black education during this same time period, as we have documented above, was worse. In 1902 a major shift occurred in the funding structure of Southern black education: the Rockefeller Foundation created the General Education Board (GEB).

For the purposes of this paper it is only necessary to point out the effect of the GEB on the Episcopal Church and the Church's eventual reaction to this new type of funding, the intellectual and secular philosophy undergirding it, and its "monopoly-like" structure. In 1901 a movement led by a group of reform-minded men in the North began to address the problems of Southern black education. That movement was known both as the Southern Education Board (SEB) and more famously as the Ogden Movement.[93] There were other funds that existed prior to the creation of the GEB. By 1902 the members of the boards of most of these Northern and common-purposed philanthropies were the same people. In other words there were "interlocking boards" and a virtual monopoly of school funding came into play. They could now control how funding would be distributed based on their own view of black education. No member of any boards was African American and little input was sought from African American educators. Token gestures were made to blacks such as Booker T. Washington. The boards never invited him to their meetings held outside the South and they provided him stipends for speech making in their behalf.[94]

"Episcopal" Money

---

[92] Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 3-4.
[93] Norrell, *Up From History,*194-6. Robert Ogden was a New York department store executive who had been working with Hampton Institute since its founding at the end of the Civil War.
[94] Norrell, *Up From History*, 196.

What provoked the ire of Episcopal leaders about the GEB and other boards was the fact that the primary donors to those funds were wealthy Episcopalians.[95] This embarrassment led to the formation in 1906 of the American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN). The brainchild of New York Bishop David Hummell Greer and with the support of layman and financier George Foster Peabody, the ACIN was born on the assumption that millions of "Episcopal" dollars could be diverted from the GEB and other agencies to the new church-affiliated ACIN. Since the predecessor Church agencies to the ACIN were fundamentally failures, Greer, after observing the practices of the GEB, envisioned the ACIN.[96] The first important task at hand was to select the agency's executive director, the person who would run its day-to-day operation.

Samuel H. Bishop, an Episcopal priest, a University of Vermont and Union Theological Seminary graduate, at age 43 became the first director of ACIN. Bishop was highly educated and conducted post-graduate work at Columbia University, Oxford University and the University of Berlin. He devoted much of his time as a student, and later in life, to the study of philanthropy within modern charities in the South.[97] George Foster Peabody was the one person instrumental in getting Mr. Bishop this assignment. Bishop immediately went to work and began making contacts in the black community.[98]

Soon after his appointments Mr. Bishop visited the Southern Episcopal schools for blacks. The report produced by Bishop of his multi-campus visits, according to

---

[95] GEB funds were given to secular schools like Hampton and Tuskegee and not to Episcopal Church-related schools like St. Paul, St. Augustine and Bishop Payne Divinity School. Though Rockefeller was a Baptist most of the other seed money for GEB came from Episcopalians like Andrew Carnegie.
[96] *Dangerous Donations*, 113.
[97] *Dangerous Donations*,117. S.H. Bishop was also an assistant editor of a journal called *Charities: A Weekly Review of Local and General Philanthropy*.
[98] Bishop wrote to W.E.B. DuBois. Out of that contact Bishop became an original member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and was prominent in the founding of the National Urban League.

Anderson and Moss, were, not surprisingly, in accord with the educational views of Bishop Greer and George Foster Peabody. Three of the schools were selected as the first institutions to be affiliated with ACIN: St. Augustine's[99] in Raleigh, North Carolina, Bishop Payne Divinity School in Petersburg, Virginia and St. Paul Normal and Industrial Institute in Lawrenceville, Virginia.[100] Schools that were not selected by the ACIN began harboring ill feelings toward the new church funding agency. Theodore Bratton, the bishop of Mississippi, expressed the hope of many Southern white Episcopalians that the ACIN would come to the aid of the other schools by creating at least one Industrial High School in each of the Southern dioceses. Even though ACIN affiliated a few more schools,[101] the scale of ACIN's expansion never measured up to Bratton's assumptions. With the original three schools now selected, Samuel Bishop began his work.

St. Augustine's was financially healthier than the two other affiliated schools because it had no debt at the time Bishop conducted his audit. But St. Paul's School, according to Bishop's visits and surveys, had many unpaid debts, needed a larger revenue stream in order to carry on the industrial education program, and required major sums for a building program and the purchase of equipment for shop classes. Bishop also did not approve of the procedure in place for contracting with teachers. The principal of the school, James Solomon Russell, made rehiring decisions for teachers only at the beginning of a school term. Researchers Anderson and Moss insist that Russell, in the eyes of Bishop, was the big obstacle to progress at the Lawrenceville institution.[102]

---

[99] St. Augustine's Normal and Collegiate School was founded immediately after the Civil War by the Episcopal Church's Freedman's Commission.
[100] *Dangerous Donations*, 121.
[101] *Dangerous Donations*, 122. Between 1906 and 1914 four more schools were affiliated: St. Mary's Industrial School in Vicksburg, Mississippi, St. Mark's Industrial School in Birmingham, Alabama, St. Athanasius Industrial School in Brunswick, Georgia, and St. Paul's Industrial School in Atlanta, Georgia.
[102] *Dangerous Donations*, 124.

Although the Lawrenceville school could have been overlooked and another similar school selected, by 1906 St. Paul School was the leader in industrial education of all the schools belonging to or affiliated with the Episcopal Church. It was located in Virginia's "black belt" where the highest concentration of African Americans resided. James Solomon Russell was also very well known by this time not only in the Church but around the country. He began his fund raising campaigns from the school's beginnings and never stopped. ACIN's initial three-school initiative dealt with three schools with three distinctively different curricula and operational characteristics. ACIN, in other words, picked the cream of crop for varying purposes. In the case of St. Paul, Russell clearly was widely known as an effective educational entrepreneur and leader. Russell could not be ignored. But Samuel Bishop had other problems to face in the meantime.

As chief fund raiser for the ACIN, Bishop was unable to build a sizeable endowment and became increasingly frustrated not only in his inability to secure ongoing funds in large amounts from wealthy Episcopalians but in the apparent inaction of ACIN's board to use their influence in gathering funds. The lack of significant funds also meant that the Institute might not be able to pay Bishop's salary. At his wits end he wrote his board that "If I stay, the Board has got to 'brace up' and help me get money." Bishop's leverage was a job offer from his alma mater in Vermont.[103] That dilemma and the job offer occurred in 1908, hardly two years into his work. Eventually Bishop Greer found funds for Mr. Bishop's salary but Greer and the other Board members continued to keep their involvement in fund raising a low priority. The point here is that the ACIN, in many ways, was no more successful than its predecessor agencies. Bishop did not think he was hired to be a fund raiser but to be an innovative educator. Bishop, though well-

[103] *Dangerous Donations*, 136.

connected within the Church, was not one of the wealthy elite that both Bishop Greer and George Foster Peabody were. Bishop thought Greer and Peabody should be the fund raisers: Greer and Peabody assumed Bishop should. These misunderstandings or assumptions worked against Bishop's efforts to move the organization forward. In a word Bishop was frustrated. He needed some successes because success was not coming through ACIN's Board.

Conflicting Authorities Create Problems

In 1893, after the Diocese of Southern Virginia was formed out of the "undivided" Diocese of Virginia, Bishop A.M. Randolph appointed James Solomon Russell to the office of Archdeacon for Colored Work. Normally such an appointment remained within the authority of a bishop but in this case Russell's salary was partly paid by the national church's Colored Commission, a predecessor to the ACIN. Two things here are important: first, Russell's parochial school although within the jurisdiction of his bishop and diocese was subordinate to the Colored Commission; and secondly, Russell could not become archdeacon without receiving approval from the Colored Commission. An agreement was worked out and Russell became archdeacon while remaining principal of St. Paul School.[104] With these two situations in place in 1893 the stage was set for potential problems in the future revolving around authority and jurisdiction over the school. As Russell tells his story, he, the school's Board of Trustees, and his local bishop, and not the Colored Commission, were running St. Paul's School. The Colored Commission was dissolved in 1904. Then, in comes the ACIN in 1906 with new insights, new plans, and progress-oriented management.

---

[104] Russell, *Adventure*, 64.

ACIN had no African American members of its board. By 1912 a black priest was appointed field agent. Frustrated by ACIN's inability to raise funds from Episcopalians, Mr. Bishop solicited funds directly from the GEB in 1910. But GEB policy provided for distribution of funds to individual schools and not to religious denominations. Therefore Bishop declared that ACIN would pledge itself to the secular, progressive education agenda adhered to by GEB. Although Bishop never mentioned the progressive education ideology of GEB it was a well-known fact the sponsors of all of the board members of the "interlocking" philanthropic agencies were "progressives" and intended to impart that agenda when funding schools.

In 1911 Bishop convinced ACIN's board to create an advisory council for the purpose of including not black but white Southerners – mostly Southern Bishops – in the decision-making process and for mediation purposes with potential difficulties between ACIN board members (all Northerners) and officials of the Southern leaders in the Episcopal Church.[105] Bishop had to make some changes because Southern Episcopal leaders did not like the ACIN interfering in its Southern schools while at the same time there were no Southerners on the ACIN board. He did not like it that St. Paul's board was dominated by local whites from Brunswick County and that it approved of Russell's style of management. Bishop, like many Northerners such as those in the GEB, did not believe Southerners (white or black) qualified for the tasks at hand. This attitude held by Bishop was one among other factors contributing to the conflict between him and Russell. The model for the ACIN was the GEB. It is informative to review some actions of the GEB.

In a private conference in 1915 on Negro Education held in the New York City offices of the Rockefeller Foundation (GEB), Abraham Flexner described his idea of a

[105] *Dangerous Donations*, 139.

modern school, a vision of progressive education. This was one of the few conferences attended by black educators like John Hope of Atlanta University, W.T.B. Williams of the Slater Fund, and R.R. Moton the successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. Flexner, the assistant secretary to the GEB stated that the GEB was not interested in almsgiving but in framing and developing a long-headed policy which will take years to implement. Though the GEB was interested in Negro education it actually contributed little funding to black schools from 1902 to 1914. Many friends of black education thought GEB indifferent to blacks. Significantly, however, the GEB made its funding decisions based on controlling the black population, especially within the African American leadership group.[106] In other words, Northern white philanthropists wanted to control how Negro education progressed. Even though some foundations appointed Southerners to their boards, those Southerners bought into its purposes and method. Samuel Bishop was a Northerner and a progressive educator. James Solomon Russell was pragmatic and an African American Southerner. Russell should have welcomed a church-related fund raising arm to assist him in keeping St. Paul afloat. But independent-minded and self-assured Russell looked upon ACIN in general and perhaps Bishop in particular suspiciously and perhaps with contempt. Russell knew people. He could size them up quickly, and he sensed the motivations they acted from. This trait is also a reason why Russell was successful at independently raising funds from Northerners.

In 1905 the Diocese of Southern Virginia elected Beverly Dandridge Tucker as its Coadjutor Bishop. Russell was instrumental in Tucker's election.[107] Tucker became a member of the Board of Trustees of St. Paul's School and worked closely with Russell to

[106] *Dangerous Donations*, 86-91.
[107] Russell, *Adventure*, 65.

move the school forward. By this time Russell was a well-known figure in the diocese as well as in the national church. His work at building the school along with his missionary efforts in planting new African American parishes in the Southside and the Tidewater areas of Virginia was widely known and respected.

As Samuel Bishop began to do his work with the three original ACIN-affiliated schools, his interactions with James Solomon Russell became tense. Observing how Russell ran St. Paul's, Bishop increasingly became hostile to the way Russell managed the school's business and began a series of attacks on Russell personally, rather than employing a diplomatic correction of Russell's style. Bishop said that the school was making profits on contract work (work where students were the laborers) for local businesses and farmers.[108] Profits were large enough that the board of trustees of St. Paul's paid taxes on those earnings. Bishop and the ACIN charged Russell with exploiting his students to the discredit of industrial education. Bishop accused Russell of improper if not illegal financial gain. Between 1908 and 1910 Bishop more and more publically criticized Russell as an administrator. Bishop Tucker, on hearing these charges by Bishop, actually asked the school's major contributors to withhold contributions until changes were made. The enmity between Bishop and Russell escalated into a battle for control of St. Paul's School.[109]

The Battle Begins

There is no speculation about why Samuel H. Bishop offered James Solomon Russell and his son an all expense paid vacation to London in 1911. Russell's smart and

[108] "St. Paul School," *Southern Workman* 41, no. 9 (September, 1912): 502. Article reads in part "Many of the best buildings in the town of Lawrenceville have been constructed by his [James Solomon Russell's] students; its streets are lighted by electricity generated by his school plant."
[109] *Dangerous Donations*, 143.

strong opposition must not have been anticipated by Samuel Bishop, at least not at first. Bishop may have had his way with school principals at St. Augustine's and Bishop Payne, but Russell was another matter. Bishop was an ideologue and not a school operator: a declared progressive,[110] uncompromising on educational issues that he believed in; knowing better than anyone else (he thought) how charitable institutions ought to be run; and believing – as the Northern philanthropists believed – that he knew best how to educate the freedmen of the South. Bishop needed a quick victory of some magnitude in order to deflect potential criticism of (1) his own inability to raise significant endowments for the ACIN, (2) overseeing the operations of the ACIN's school, and (3) his inability to change the attitudes of ACIN's passive board. He needed to get control of St. Paul's School. His solution was to send Russell on a vacation to Europe and get him out of the country. Moreover, Russell was not only an obstacle to Bishop's authority over an ACIN-affiliated school, Russell's continuing presence at St. Paul's stymied Bishop from implementing his approach to black education in the South.

Russell, sometime after returning from his 1911 "vacation," had no choice but to commence a counter attack on Bishop. Russell persuaded the Board of Trustees of St. Paul's School to issue a memorial[111] stating that Mr. Bishop "attempted to render the government of the principal and the board unnecessary." That memorial was sent to the ACIN trustees and Bishop Arthur Selden Lloyd, a former bishop coadjutor and chairman

[110] *Dangerous Donations*, 10. The authors explain that "progressive education" dealt in educational experiments alien to traditional education. For example, progressive education was new, innovative and proposed eliminating "dead languages", was socially oriented, encouraged diversity instead of uniformity, and promoted a curriculum of "life adjustment." It was never popular. But this "Educational innovation was easier to carry out in weak and underfunded black schools than in more secure white schools."

[111] A "memorial" could be a letter, or statement of fact preceding a motion or proposal. For example, in the annual councils of an Episcopal Diocese a group or person may offer a motion to be voted on but preceded by a "memorial" of explanation; or simply a statement by a constituent group, i.e. a Convocation of Colored People, supporting a position of a bishop on a certain item prior to vote counting.

of the Episcopal Church's Board of Missions.[112] Bishop Tucker and Bishop Greer had conversations leading up to the consideration of Mr. Bishop's dismissal and a reduction in the scope and purpose of the ACIN. Like Russell, Bishop was not to be intimidated and a compromise came into play. Bishop had St. Paul's School and Archdeacon Russell audited by the Phelps-Stokes Fund[113] educational foundation. The audit was seemingly damaging to Russell and the longed-for victory for Bishop appeared close at hand. The audit criticized Russell's business arrangements between the school and town and county governments where St. Paul's School was paying taxes of $1,000.00 per year. The report recommended appointment of a white man as treasurer of the school, appointment of an assistant principal for educational administration reporting directly to the school's trustees and not to the principal; implementation of a revised bookkeeping system; and elimination of contract work involving the exploitation of the school's students.[114] What happened to Russell as a result of this audit?

History records James Solomon Russell as an exemplary leader not only in the Church but within the field of education. The settlement between ACIN and the school was that Russell would be principal in name only, an honor in a sense, because even then St. Paul's School and James Solomon Russell were recognized as one. Who was the winner? What good did the ACIN bring to St. Paul's School? Anderson and Moss wrote that "In 1912-1913, as Bishop was challenging what he perceived as the backward, inefficient, and corrupt elements in James Solomon Russell's administration, the school

[112] *Dangerous Donations*, 143.
[113] The GEB and many other funds, such as the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Jeanes Fund, shared common board members. These "interlocking" board memberships hardly rendered the Northern philanthropists as independent and un-biased in the decision-making. Though the audit by Phelps-Stokes may have contained some truthful elements, because of the interlocking board memberships the audit should have been considered with qualification.
[114] *Dangerous Donations*, 145-6.

received $18,173 from the [Episcopal Church's] Board of Missions, while the ACIN contributed only $5,011."[115] ACIN officers and executives never raised sufficient seed funding for the foundation and therefore never fully implemented its vision for assistance to black education within the Episcopal Church.

The Future Unfolds

There is not much positive to be said about the resourcefulness of the ACIN during the latter era of the work of James Solomon Russell. Russell, mostly likely, considered Samuel Bishop an obstacle just as much as Bishop did Russell. Samuel H. Bishop died prematurely in 1914 and was succeeded by Robert W. Patton, a priest and a Southerner from Virginia. The ACIN did not operate in the same manner once Patton took over the reigns. Patton was preoccupied with leading the Episcopal Church's moderately successful general fund-raising effort known as the Nation-Wide Campaign.[116] It is what happened to Russell that is interesting. He never became the nominal principal of St. Paul's School that Samuel Bishop wanted. St. Paul's School grew in the coming years and Russell would eventually establish thirty-four African American congregations on the Southside of Virginia. It was in 1917 that James Solomon Russell received one of the highest honors and solemn responsibilities a church could bestow on a man.

---

[115] *Dangerous Donations*, 153.The contributions were extracted from a report authored by U.S. Bureau of Education agent Thomas Jesse Jones entitled *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, vol. 2, (1916): 444, 615.
[116] *Dangerous Donations*, 159-60.

Chapter 4 – Church Leader

In May, 1882, the year of Russell's ordination to the diaconate, the Annual Council of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia met in Norfolk. This was Russell's first general church meeting in which was given an opportunity to speak to a large audience. That opportunity was the beginning of Russell's adventure in talking with and persuading individuals and groups to achieve certain results. Historically the diocese had made serious efforts to work for the uplift of its "colored people" since the end of the Civil War. In 1879 it was reported to the Annual Council that a group of colored clergy and laity in Brunswick County, known as the Zion Union Church, had requested that they place themselves in the care of the Protestant Episcopal Church. They numbered several congregations and more than one thousand congregants.[117] In a "Report on Diocesan Colored Work" presented to the 1882 Council, its committee stated that "The evangelization of these seven hundred thousand colored people, which a mysterious Providence has planted within our Diocesan borders, is a matter of supreme importance. That this importance is being realized by our clergy and people can no longer be questioned."[118] The report went on to mention that there were only three "colored" church buildings with three "colored" clergy; four [presumably white] clergymen spending a full-time effort in "colored" work and a large number of [white] clergymen in charge of white congregations providing regular services to "colored" people. The report concluded that even though the [un-divided] Diocese of Virginia had not measured up to

---

[117] "Bishop's Report," *Journal of the Eighty-Fourth Annual Council in Virginia Held in St. George's Church, Fredericksburg on the 21st, 22d,23d, and 24th May, 1879.* (1879): 36-37.
[118] "Report on Diocesan Colored Work," *Journal of the Eighty-Seventh Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in Christ Church, Norfolk, Virginia May 17, 1882* (1882): 70.

its duty in this department of the Church it felt assured that this work will not be ignored nor neglected.[119]

Ministry Begins

No doubt that Russell understood the meaning of and the fertile ground for evangelization of these 700,000 African-Americans within his geography. This was the opening framework for Russell's ministry. Bishop F.M. Whittle, according to Russell, who had opened schools for colored people in many counties within his diocese, became known as the "Apostle to the Negro Work."[120] The match between Russell and Whittle seemed providential to Russell. Both men had similar goals in mind. But there were to be obstacles to overcome. For example, there were social and political circumstances which developed from the end of Reconstruction. Hold-over attitudes of whites toward blacks still lingered in the sub-structure of daily living. Blacks distrusted whites and whites resented losing their political power during Reconstruction and sought to regain it. Soon the notion of the "Negro Problem" was debated and acted on within civil/secular society; the parallel of that debate overflowed into the church, especially within the Episcopal Church. Russell would have his work cut out for him.

The Sewanee Conference

A little more than one year after Russell's ordination to the diaconate the Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi, W.M. Green, wrote on April 2, 1883 to his fellow "Bishops of the late Slave States" asking them to meet in a special Conference (prior to General Convention of that same year) "for the purpose of conferring … on a matter of

---

[119] Ibid, 71.
[120] Russell, *Adventure*, 23.

such vital importance to the welfare of our country and the salvation of a race perishing in the midst of us for the want of right instruction."[121] Bishop Green was sure that one of the many subjects claiming attention at General Convention was to be the Church's relation to the former slaves. The wording of his letter was revealing. He first stated that the bishops needed to find the best means to be adopted for the "colored" people's religious benefit and he then added that this required the serious attention of both the "patriot and the Christian." He intimated that not only Southern but perhaps a few Northern bishops thought it a good idea to have the Conference. But his use of "welfare of the country" and the "patriot and the Christian" perhaps best describes in summary the double-sided nature of the problem: what to do about the freedmen was both a secular and religious concern. Perhaps the underlying concern of the Southern bishops was that of maintaining control of their dioceses in the face of other losses. Southern whites had lost much of their political leadership during Reconstruction. A post-Reconstruction backlash mindset developed after 1877 causing whites to take control. The other side of this situation is the ecclesiastical side. Perhaps the Southern bishops feared that as the national or Union government subdued the South so too could the church's General Convention impose order on the Southern church. Whatever the true reasoning, Bishop Green issued invitation to Southern bishops, other clergy and lay persons asking them to attend the conference at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee during the last week in July 1883 in preparation of General Convention later that year.

Thirteen bishops attended the Conference as well as eighteen presbyters and 11 lay persons. Bishops of most of the dioceses of the South attended: Bishop F.M. Whittle

---

[121] *Relation of the Church to the Colored People: An Account of a Conference Held at Sewanee, Tennessee, July 25 to 28, 1883* (Sewanee: Wm. M. Harlow, University Printer, 1883), 3-4.; Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 13.

of Virginia did not attend. The reason for Whittle's absence is unknown but two of his lieutenants, the Rev. T.G. [Grason] Dashiell and the Rev. Pike Powers were dispatched. The only Northerner on record attending the Sewanee Conference was the Rev. James Saul of Philadelphia, the wealthy rector and philanthropist who was a financial supporter of Southern black schools. No African American Episcopalians were invited nor attended the Conference. What resulted from the Conference was a proposal to General Convention of that year, known forever as the "Sewanee Canon."

With the exception of the dissent of the Bishop of Alabama, the "Sewanee bishops" proposed, in effect, the separation or "segregation in any diocese of the colored people under the direction and authority of the diocesan bishop, with such missionary organization as might be necessary for its purposes."[122] Although General Convention rejected the proposal,[123] most Southern bishops implemented the scheme of "colored convocations"[124] anyway. There was no mechanism available to General Convention to stop any bishop from implementing such an arrangement. The Sewanee Conference resulted in an ecclesiastical reflection of Southern white sentiment prevalent in secular life.

The Sewanee Canon met its opposition at the Philadelphia General Convention. One month before a group of African Americans led by the Rev. Alexander Crummell met in New York. Their purpose was to present a united front against the canon and "exert every means in their power to encompass the defeat of the proposed canon."[125]

---

[122] Bragg, *Afro-American Group*, 151.
[123] The "Sewanee Canon" was adopted in the House of Bishops but failed in the House of Deputies
[124] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race,* 15.
[125] Bragg, *Afro-American Group*, 152.

George Freeman Bragg, Jr., the historian of the "Afro-American Group"[126] within the Episcopal Church, subtly mentioned in his analysis of the situation that at the same time there was a movement in the Southern state legislatures to disfranchise African American citizens. Bragg said that he did not mean to imply that the "two things had any connection," but certainly many prominent white state legislators, according to Bragg, were also laymen in the Episcopal Church.

Prevailing Attitudes

Prior to the Civil War at a confirmation service in May 1856 in Lawrenceville, Virginia in which he confirmed several "negroes" Bishop William Meade apparently said things that met with strong opposition. An article in the Petersburg *Democrat* charged Meade with anti-negro sentiments. Without reading the article but from hearsay, Meade responded that he said "that the larger portion of the human race had always been in some form of bondage to the other, being poor and dependent; that God, in His providence, had permitted a large number to come to this country from Africa, intending to make it a blessing to them, their posterity, and Africa itself, by bringing them to the light of the gospel and sending the gospel back to that country…" He went on to add that he "exhorted the servants [the Confirmands] to rejoice that they had been born in this Christian land, and not in a heathen land – to seek that liberty of soul from sin, which Christ alone could give, and which was infinitely better than any other liberty."[127] According to church historian Bishop John Johns, Bishop Meade had no problem with the civil lawfulness of slavery and did not challenge it. Early in Meade's life he freed or

[126] Bragg coined the term "Afro-American Group" in his book on the history of Black Episcopalians
[127] John Johns, *A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia* (Baltimore: Innes & Company, 1867), 474, 476, 477.

manumitted his servants to non-slaveholding states but over time saw that manumission was a failure, particularly if the freed person stayed within the United States. [128] Meade thought that a freed slave should return to Africa because his opportunities in America would be limited to non-existent. Another biographer and historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia, Philip Slaughter, portrays Meade as a man dedicated to freedom. But Slaughter said little to nothing about Meade's views on race. Meade's view of the conditions preceding the Civil War is as close as Slaughter gets to anything to do with slavery. Meade is said to oppose the separation of the North and the South into two separate nations and therefore he delayed as long as possible separation within the Church as the State of Virginia delayed in separating itself from the Union until the last moment.[129]

Russell, in his *Autobiography*, inserted a quote from Meade's biography. It focused on one seemingly innocuous statement. Russell wrote that Bishop Meade in trying to justify the affiliation of slave members in the Episcopal Church "showed that they were in numbers large enough to become a problem."[130] Bishop Johns in his biography of Meade said that Meade often preached without a prepared text and therefore may have said things that did not necessarily reflect what he meant. Meade obviously did recognize that the large number of slaves and later former slaves in that geography would present perhaps not a threat but a challenge to the controlling white people. This attitude was not unique in Southern thinking. It was this kind of thinking that most likely prompted Bishop Green of Mississippi to call for a conference of Southern bishops in

[128] Russell, *Adventure*, 62.
[129] Philip Slaughter, *A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D.*, (Boston: New England Genealogical Society, 1885), 27-30. Slaughter was historiographer for the Diocese of Virginia.
[130] Russell, *Adventure*, 62.

Sewanee 1883. Whatever the legislative outputs of diocesan councils and general conventions or the edicts of diocesan bishops, none of these seemed to frustrate the thinking and actions of the newly ordained James Solomon Russell. Russell had a vision and no matter what obstacles lay before him he was not about to give in to the status quo. Indeed Russell proved adept at achieving his goals.

Disfranchisement[131] – Church and State

In 1889, one year after Russell had started his school and after seven years as a voting member of the Diocese of Virginia, Bishop Coadjutor A.M. Randolph gave his address to the annual council regarding the "relations between ourselves and the colored race, in the affairs of the government of this Church." Russell was present. Randolph went on to say that it was this government of Christendom that makes it a government of the people. Later in his address Randolph said that "The question, with reference to the negro as legislator in the Episcopal Church, is not a question of race, a question of color, but a question of faculty, of ability. It is a question of capacity of character."[132] Randolph was providing the groundwork at best to delay and at worst to prevent African American Episcopalians from participating in the government of the Church. The legislative result of Randolph's address was Canon XIII, referred to by Russell and others as the "Black Canon."[133] In that same year on a national level the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People (CCWACP), in a protest memorial to General Convention, argued in part that since "Christian theology taught that race had no bearing on the

[131] The two words "disfranchise" and "disenfranchise" are identical in meaning. Some of the scholars quoted in the thesis, such as Eric Foner and Robert Norrell, use "disfranchise" and "franchise" instead of their alternatives.
[132] *Journal of the Council of the Diocese of Virginia, 1889* (1889): 43-4.
[133] Russell, *Adventure*, 66.

powers of a priest," black clergy should be granted seats in the legislative assemblies of the dioceses. And although luminaries like Philips Brooks[134] condemned segregation and disfranchisement of black communicants, General Convention's House of Deputies believed that the national church had no say in the representations in diocesan conventions.[135]

When the Diocese of Southern Virginia was created in 1892-3 out of the Diocese of Virginia, the "Black Canon" was included as is. This canon stipulated that "grandfathered" colored clergy[136] could still have a vote in Annual Council but the Colored Convocation and not individual colored self-sustaining churches could have two lay and two clergy voting representatives. Russell himself was not affected due to a grandfathering provision. In 1893 Russell was made Archdeacon for Colored Work by the new diocese's bishop, none other than A.M. Randolph. But efforts by Russell and others to gain full legislative participation of Negroes in the governance of the church continued.

The secular or civil activities of this period should be looked at in order to balance to the picture. Peter G. Morgan was Russell's father-in-law and a delegate to the constitutional convention that created the post-Civil War Virginia Constitution. Morgan was one of 25 Negro delegates in 1867. From that point forward it is interesting how the number of African-American delegates to the state's General Assembly grew and then disappeared. The first election under the new Virginia constitution was in 1869. In

---

[134] Philips Brooks, the famous preacher, it should be noted, also composed the hymn 'O Little Town of Bethlehem'.
[135] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 17.
[136] Grandfathered colored clergy included not only Russell but George Freeman Bragg, Jr. of Baltimore (Bragg and Russell were members of both the undivided Diocese of Virginia and the Diocese of Southern Virginia), Bravid W. Harris of Norfolk, and E.E. Miller of Petersburg.

correspondence with Monroe N. Work, Virginia State Librarian H.R. McIlwain said that the journals of Virginia's General Assembly for years did not identify their members as black or white. But from other documents McIlwain reported that in the 1869-70 session of the General Assembly there were no Negro Senators but 18 members of the House. In 1870, according to Russell, there were six Negro Senators and 21 Negro House Delegates.[137] By 1877 when Reconstruction had ended there were only three black Senators and four black Delegates. In 1885 there was only one Negro Senator out of 39, and 7 Negro Delegates out of 100 in the House. In 1892 there were no Negro Senators or Delegates in the Virginia legislature.[138] Any progress that African Americans may made immediately after the Civil War gradually began to disappear after Radical Reconstruction. The prevention of black participation in civil government during this period also reflected the attitudes and actions of Episcopal leaders in preventing black participation in the Church.

For a former slave who had just begun his ministry in early 1882, James Solomon arrived in a town where "race prejudice seemed rampant and public opinion indifferent, if not actually hostile."[139] The following year a conference of Southern Episcopal bishops (but not the Virginia bishop) proposed to keep separate its white and black congregants. Russell then founded a church school for blacks five years later. In 1889 his own bishop[140] did indeed form a separate convocation for his black congregants; was this the right time to enter the ministry? If all of these obstacles were not enough, the United

[137] Russell, *Adventure*, 29.
[138] Monroe N. Work, "Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress," *The Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 1 (January, 1920): 63, 118, 119.
[139] Russell, *Adventure*, 26.
[140] Although Bishop Whittle created the Colored Convocation for his diocese the impetus for the convocation came from assistant Bishop A.M. Randolph in his address to the 1889 Annual Council of the Diocese of Virginia.

States Supreme Court in an 1896 decision known as *Plessy v. Ferguson* effectively and legally separated blacks by validating segregation in public accommodations with a doctrine of “separate but equal.”[141] The principle of “separate but equal” would not be overturned until the 1950s. History provides a record showing that young James Solomon Russell, aware of his environments, both secular and ecclesiastical, intended to pursue his ministries in spite of prevailing circumstances. How did Russell go about his work?

A few years after being made Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia, Russell’s reports and addresses regarding that work were published in the journals of the diocese’s annual councils. It is in these reports, as well as in other addresses given by Russell, that the year-to-year details of colored work are presented and examined. Also in these reports are Russell’s ongoing pleas, requests and expressions of gratitude. In 1905 Russell told the Council that the colored church was handicapped by both men and means and that the Church needed to recognize and grapple with the opportunity so presented. He asked the white clergy to undertake some “colored work” in their parishes. Colored people, he said, yearn for an intelligent liturgy as found in the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) and that he knew that the bishop was interested in colored work and urged him to influence others.[142] He continued his reports in 1906 by expanding his appeal to “those people of means” by encouraging them to help the colored congregations. Russell alluded to other churches in the area that are numerically larger and financial stronger than the colored churches in the Episcopal diocese. He was citing the growth and progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Churches, the Baptists and

---

[141] Norrell, *Up From History*, 143.

[142] James S. Russell, “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese,” *Journal of the Thirteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. John's Church, Wytheville, Virginia May 30th, 31st, June 1st, 1905* (1905): 269-70.

the spin-off Colored Methodist Episcopal Churches. Russell noted that many of his colored churches are without clergy and those with clergy have difficulty in supporting them and their families. With all of this he requested that the diocese provide funding of $10,000 to meet the demand.[143]

Laborers Are Few

The source of the underlying demand was a large black population within the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Southern Virginia. To Russell this statistic meant that there was a large field to harvest for the Kingdom and that the Church must move judiciously. Even if the diocese did not move quickly enough Russell still went about his business. For Russell his work with St. Paul School and the Diocese of Southern Virginia were one and the same. It was indeed difficult to separate the two strands of his ministry as if they were simply parallel ministries. In 1907 the diocese created a committee to research and then report on the State of the Church.[144] Russell read the report of the work into the "state of the Negro." Even though the report of the committee stated that "The extent of the colored work in our bounds constituted another, if not the greatest, of our Diocesan responsibilities" it did not take it to be "within its province to discuss, or even to enumerate the plans which have been proposed" but recommended that the Council give due consideration to its importance. Therefore, the committee extracted a portion of the annual Archdeacon's report into its own document and Archdeacon Russell read it in Council.

---

[143] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese," *Journal of the Fourteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Trinity Church, Portsmouth, Virginia May 29th-31st, 1906* (1906): 309-10.

[144] "Report of the Committee of the State of the Church," *Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia 1907*, (1907):46-47. What Russell read was his "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work."

Although Russell reported that he was hopeful of the future of the colored work in Southern Virginia, the past ten years had seen large numbers of colored people leave their rural country homes for the city. Since most of the "black belt" of Virginia was within the Diocese of Southern Virginia in the rural Southside region (Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Greensville, Dinwiddie and other counties) this migration had a potential negative growth impact on the diocese. Added to that, some of the colored clergy left the diocese for other dioceses paying higher salaries. The Archdeacon reported that in his opinion if the diocese provided a living salary[145] there would be little to no trouble in securing colored clergy. Russell described his and the Diocese's work as a "feeder" of clergy to other dioceses. Of particular note, and a continuing expression of Archdeacon Russell, is his gratitude to white clergy. He said in this report that there were nine colored and five white clergymen engaged in colored work. His litany of "men and means" was often repeated. The report also went on record for Russell's Colored Convocation by saying that it opposed the idea of a missionary jurisdiction for colored people. The Colored Convocation felt strongly about this issue and considered itself a powerful block since it had the largest number of colored members and schools of any other Southern diocese. Apparently the colored communicants of the Diocese of Southern Virginia meaning not only the official voice of the Colored Convocation but individuals including Russell, were pleased with their present Bishop and his practices and therefore wanted no change at that time.[146]

---

[145] Self-sustaining parishes pay the salaries of their clergy. Missions, which are not self-sustaining, are funded through the diocese. At the time of this report there were only two self-sustaining "colored" parishes. All of the others were missions which were funded through the diocese from the General Board of Missions. Therefore Russell argued that the Bishop should increase the pay from his appropriations from the General Board of Missions.

[146] "Report of the Committee of the State of the Church", *Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia 1907* (1907): 47-50.

In the 1908 Council report Archdeacon Russell continued his request for "men and means." He also reported that he visited every Negro mission and parish in the previous year and that without the help from fellow white and black clergy he would not have been able to do so.[147] Two new colored church buildings were erected with the help and the "considerable sacrifice by the white people of Houston and Hampton." He also reported signs of growth. Financially, Russell was asking the General Board of Missions (he was really asking his bishop) and prosperous individuals to appropriate $2,000 per year for the following five years to support black churches and clergy.[148]

Russell's themes continued into future reports of the Colored Convocation to Annual Council. He gave evidence of growth where there was growth, and he asked for appropriations to pay clergy a living salary. He always gave expression of thanks to both black and white clergy in the support of colored work. In 1909 he reported that "when you take into consideration the very small number of white and colored clergy engaged in colored work in Southern Virginia, I think you will be willing to give due credit to those who are holding things together. Our great and most pressing need for men to do the work cannot be disputed."[149] Russell might have been showing his frustration because he was asked to begin work in a number of towns and counties where colored people were waiting for the coming of the Episcopal Church. He said that unless the diocese had a sufficient number of men to minister to those awaiting the arrival of the church it would

[147] As Archdeacon for Colored Work Russell not only chaired its annual Convocation meeting but he traveled each year to the missions or churches in his charge. This visitation work was not unlike that of a bishop or a suffragan bishop assigned to a specific ministry. On these visitations that Russell made the only two ecclesiastical functions that he could not perform were Confirmation and Ordination.

[148] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese," *Journal of the Sixteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Church of the Epiphany, Danville, Virginia June 11th and 12th, 1908* (1908): 299-301.

[149] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocease [sic]," *Journal of the Seventeen Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Newport News, Virginia May 25th to 27th, 1909* (1909): 275.

be of no use to attempt the task. Again he said "Men and means are necessary to successfully operate on such a scale."[150]

The Colored Convocation, certainly at the behest of Russell, submitted a memorial to the Annual Council of Virginia in 1909. In part it read "Part of the burning questions of the Church to-day [sic] in all parts of the country is that of better salaries for the [colored] clergy. … From no quarter, however, does the cry for relief come so strongly as from the colored clergy of the Diocese of Southern Virginia, who are the poorest paid ministers in the American Church. The Diocese of Southern Virginia, by reason of its location in the black belt of Virginia, has an immense population of colored people who are dependent upon the Episcopal Church for their Christian and moral training. Of this number more than 1,600 have been gathered into the fold, and have become loyal and earnest adherents of the faith. The great body of the people, however, have not as yet been touched, because while the harvest is indeed ripe the laborers are too few." The memorial provided statistics showing deacons in the Diocese of Florida salaried at $450.00, priests at $720.00. Southern Virginia deacons' salaries ranged from $200.00 to $300.00 and priests from $300.00 to $400.00. The dioceses of Georgia, South Carolina, East Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee fell into the middle of the Florida and Southern Virginia extremes.[151]

One year later, no change. Salaries remained the same. White clergy, reported Russell, still were in charge of some colored congregations and Bishop Payne Divinity School students, others. By 1910 there were 31 missions and parishes in the Colored

---

[150] *Journal of Southern Virginia, 1909* (1909): 276.
[151] "Memorial from Colored Convocation to the Council of Southern Virginia", *Journal of Southern Virginia, 1909* (1909): 42-43. Salaries are presumed to be annual – no frequency was annotated in the document.

Convocation.[152] Coadjutor Bishop Tucker asked Russell to provide this information to the Annual Council. On a piece of paper in the official records of the diocese the bishop and everyone else could see the names of the missions and parishes in the Colored Convocation along with their numerical strength in numbers. It is well to keep in mind that the journals of the annual councils of the dioceses in the Episcopal Church were delivered to all the dioceses. Other areas of the Church could read what was going on in each diocese.

As the years passed the two controversial canons, Canon XIII limiting colored clergy and laypersons' participation in the councils of the church, and Canon XV which would create separate colored missionary jurisdictions, continued to be debated. As noted earlier in this paper the Colored Convocation of Southern Virginia had not supported the creation of a separate colored jurisdiction. Russell and his Convocation supported the status quo. The Colored Convocation of the Diocese of North Carolina supported the idea of a missionary jurisdiction for colored people.

Divisions Become More Evident Over Separate Black Jurisdictions

In a memorial dated May 13-15, 1913 at the annual diocesan convention, and addressed to North Carolina Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, the Colored Convocation requested that their "beloved Bishop, and fellow members of this Convention, both clergy and laity … to favor this [missionary jurisdiction] movement and to use your kindly influences in the General Convention next October, to accomplish this purpose, which we

[152] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia," *Journal of the Eighteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Lynchburg, Virginia May 31st to June 2nd, 1910* (1920): 268-70; Ulysses W. Russell, "James Solomon Russell: Priest, Educator, Humanitarian" (master's thesis, Virginia State College, 1962), 53-4. See Appendix B for the list of churches and missions.

do most sincerely believe will work great good for the growth of the church among our people."[153] Reasons in memorial favoring the movement were (a) the salvation of 10 million negroes in the country; (b) the betterment of the race in moral, religious and educational standards; (c) and for the church itself to set forth her true position while maintaining her Catholic spirit with respect to the apparently perplexed situation in dealing with colored people. But the memorial went on to assert that even though there have been cordial relations between blacks and whites at conventions and other gatherings, and that their bishop always defended blacks when they could not defend themselves, the Colored Convocation realizes that even though they do not want to separate from the diocese they know that white churchmen prefer separation. The finger was pointing not just to the white churchmen of North Carolina diocese but all white churchmen in the "Southland." The Convocation was positioning for a missionary jurisdiction for the Southland and provided statistics to justify it.

Using the term "department"[154] the Convocation provided regional statistics. According to their statistics the Third Department had a total of 6,034 colored communicants and the Fourth Department 6,432. The largest concentration of communicants from both departments was in the Diocese of Southern Virginia at 1,748. Of the total of 20 dioceses listed only five had more than 1,000 communicants, all in the Third Department except for Georgia at 1,020. North Carolina's Colored Convocation concluded and thus promoted the creating of a missionary jurisdiction for the Fourth

---

[153] *A Memorial to the Bishop and Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina: By the Colored Convocation Asking for a Missionary Jurisdiction for the Colored People - May 13-15, 1913* (Tarboro: Diocese of North Carolina, 1913), 1-6.
[154] "Department" appears to be equivalent to current "Provinces" with The Episcopal Church. For example, the "Fourth Department" is equivalent to "Province Four" which includes dioceses from North Carolina to Mississippi.

Department (Province Four). The "colored" communities within the Episcopal Church were split on this issue. James Solomon Russell and the Southern Virginia Colored Convocation opposed, at least at first, creation of missionary jurisdictions.[155] (Russell was not supporting any notion of separation – he was a person of reconciliation). North Carolina's Colored Convocation and the CCWACP called for "separation". Battles ensued over this issue in the local dioceses and through the triennial General Conventions from 1904 to 1917.

Russell, repetitious and consistent in his annual reports to his diocese, wrote on July 20, 1917 in the "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia" that "Ours is the largest rural work of any diocese in this Country and it is destined to become much larger provided we can secure the men and means to carry it on." In the following paragraph he continued saying that "At the present time we have but twelve colored clergymen in the Diocese, including the Archdeacon, and of these ten are devoting their whole time to the Church work among colored people, in addition to the valuable help rendered us by five white presbyters."[156] These concerns were typical of Russell, always telling his bishops and the diocese of the real needs of African American communicants, exhorting people to support the ministry and recognizing publicly those who have been of great help. His mission was always clear. It was his brief and low-key statement two paragraphs earlier that not only documented an

---

[155] "The Coming Episcopal Convention," *The Independent* 63, no. 3068 (1907): 703. Written one month prior to General Convention in Richmond the editorial read "In the diocese of Southern Virginia, where the organized work of the Church among the negroes is oldest, where two of her strongest and best known institutions [Bishop Payne Divinity School and St. Paul Normal and Industrial School] of learning for them are located, and where there are over 1,520 negro communicants, they have earnestly protested against the proposed separation, and have, in convocation assembled, petitioned the council of the Church to oppose it."

[156] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia," *Journal of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Epiphany Church, Danville, Va. May 29th-30th, 1917* (1917): 238.

extraordinary event within the Episcopal Church, but within the context of the entire report which actually underscored his life-long mission and purpose in education and evangelism revealing his character.

Russell wrote that "On the tenth day of May last, I was elected Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas, but after long and careful and prayerful consideration of every phase of the subject, I notified Bishop Winchester [of Arkansas] that I could not see my way clear to leave the Church and educational work in this Diocese."[157] Word of Russell's election moved swiftly about the country. His refusal to accept election also hit the presses. The *Southern Workman* reported that Russell, "this son of Hampton," decided not to "accept the office of Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Arkansas." And that Arkansas's loss was Virginia's gain.[158] *The Crisis* reported Russell's election much as an after-thought in the last paragraph of an article in the "Men of the Month" section celebrating Russell's long career archdeacon and educator."[159]

What Russell did not mention in his report was the fact that he was elected on the first ballot. Michael J. Beary in his book *Black Bishop* provides some interesting machinations among bishops of the Church leading up to the election of Russell.[160] Behind the scenes the bishops of the Southwest including the bishop of Arkansas James R. Winchester had decided on Edward Demby as a "safe" candidate for the position of suffragan bishop for colored work of Arkansas and the Southwest dioceses (today known as Province 7, earlier as Department Seven). Beary accurately stated that black clergy during this era were forced by circumstances to walk a fine line in trying to maintain the

---

[157] Ibid.
[158] "Archdeacon Russell Remains in Virginia," *The Southern Workman* 46, no. 8 (1917): 424.
[159] "Man of the Month: An Archdeacon and Educator," *The Crisis* 14, no. 4 (August, 1917): 189.
[160] Michael J. Beary, *Black Bishop: Edward T. Demby and the Struggle for Racial Equality in the Episcopal Church* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 106-9.

respect of both races. Black clergy could not be too accommodating to whites thereby losing respect of the black community. A too-assertive black priest would alienate the white community. Demby, apparently, was good at this middle road while at the same time developing self-reliant black churches. Like Russell he had been an archdeacon for colored work (in the Diocese of Tennessee) and had built schools. Probable negatives for Demby were that he was not a member of the CCWACP (neither was Russell) and he was an Anglo-Catholic. Most African-American congregations in the Southern Episcopal Churches were low-church or evangelical liturgically.

But Demby declined the invitation and submitted three other names for consideration: George Freeman Bragg, Jr., the outspoken editor and secretary of the Conference of Church Workers Among Colored People, Hutchins C. Bishop, rector of St. Philip's in Harlem, New York and James Solomon Russell. Eventually the ballot had three nominees: Demby, Bragg and Russell. Russell and Demby were the front runners primarily because of their similar work in church and in educational initiatives and partly because the outspoken and controversial Bragg had been a vocal opponent of Jim Crow or anti-black social norms. White communicants would be voting. Russell, on the other hand, was considered the "voice of the Negro Clergy and congregations in the South."[161] Michael Beary attributes to Bragg the comment that Russell "has few peers in the art of accommodation and progress" but it does not appear that Bragg ever made that comment about Russell.[162] Bragg certainly turned against Demby later, but never against Russell.

[161] Beary, *Black Bishop,* 107. Beary cites a letter between Harry Rahming and Thomas S. Logan, Sr. on 10 May 1978, private correspondence of the Reverend Canon Thomas S. Logan.
[162] Beary, *Black Bishop*, 107. Beary footnotes his comment using Bragg, *History of Afro-American Group*, 174 and Roberta Arnold's essay written in 1938 in tribute to Russell. Neither document uses the phrase "the art of accommodation" as it might apply to Russell. Indeed one can surmise from examining Russell's adventures that he may have perfected the art.

Bragg and Russell were friends. Russell lived for a period of time with Bragg and his family in Petersburg when Russell was a student in seminary. Beary reports that Russell was a man "revered by one and all as an especially pious man, an educator, and a builder of churches."[163] So, with the front runners of Bragg, Demby and Russell the election was held.

Russell, and not the hand-picked "safe" choice of back-room bishops, was elected Suffragan Bishop for Arkansas and the Southwest. The results of the balloting[164] were the following:

	Russell	Demby	Bragg
Clergy	9	5	2
Laity	17	3	0

Two elections were held in Arkansas that day and E.W. Saphore, a white priest, was elected a suffragan on the third ballot. Because Archdeacon Russell declined his election a special election was held in Arkansas later that year and Edward T. Demby won election. Why did Russell decline?

Had Russell accepted election as a bishop he would have undergone a liturgical examination during his consecration in which he would have been asked whether or not he was persuaded to become a bishop. Apparently James Solomon Russell was not persuaded to accept this call.[165] In an exchange of letters and telegrams between the Archdeacon of Southern Virginia and Bishop Winchester of Arkansas Russell provided

---

[163] Beary, *Black Bishop*, 107.
[164] *The Living Church Annual and Churchman's Almanac, 1918* (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company, 1918), 69.
[165] Several church documents and correspondence of this era use the word "bishopric" instead of "episcopate." Chapter IX of Russell's book is titled "I Decline Calls to the Bishopric."

his explanation for declining election. What priest would turn down a significant place in history by saying no to election as bishop?

"CONGRATULATIONS OF THE DIOCESE OF ARKANSAS. YOU ARE ELECTED FIRST SUFFRAGAN OF COLORED WORK IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH."[166]

Russell, the priest and educator who founded a school for former slaves and their descendents, a missionary who formed at least thirty-four African American Episcopal congregations, the archdeacon who oversaw the development of Christian work among African Americans in his diocese, a speaker and fund-raiser who eloquently presented his case for supporting his school at General Conventions and other functions around the nation: how could such a tireless and faithful servant of the Church refuse to accept such high honor and recognition? After all, this election was not simply a local event in one region of the country, this election had national importance.

At the time of his election Russell was sixty years old and an accomplished and well-known person. Most men would covet the office of bishop since the position carries with it not only personal recognition of high honor but a certain level of power and authority. Bishop Winchester wrote to Russell on May 12, 1917 outlining all of the details surrounding the election and the responsibilities of the new appointment. Russell kindly responded that he would appreciate time to consider the impact of the election on him and his work. Russell did not say no immediately but did so later in a letter to Winchester dated June 20, 1917.

---

[166] Russell, *Adventure*, 73. Russell includes in his book the telegram from Arkansas Archdeacon D.E. Johnson, Sr. announcing the results of the election.

In 1904 when the movement began for a black missionary jurisdiction, Russell was a member of the national church's commission considering the plan but he fought to defeat it and eventually the "suffragan plan" emerged as the acceptable alternative. Suffragans like diocesans have seats in the House of Bishops and would be considered equal but they had no right of succession. Suffragans work under the authority and direction of the diocesan. Russell believed that the suffragan arrangement would be protective of the first black bishops in the church, knowing certainly that pitfalls lay in wait for them. A "missionary" bishop, Russell figured, would be under constant attack from detractors, and for the bishop himself, the sudden thrust into the episcopate was personally risky. But, as Russell writes in his book, he later came to change his mind about the "missionary plan." In his attempt to justify his change of heart Russell cites an "increase in black communicants and a greater number of trained priests. A "missionary" bishop would bring the scope and magnitude to existing efforts and representation of the Negro in the highest senate of the Church – the House of Bishops."[167] In other words, Russell was saying that he now favored "separation" of the races within the Church because he likened a "missionary" bishop with a "diocesan" bishop – one with power and authority. But this goes counter to Russell's career-long struggle for African Americans in that he was a reconciler moving in a slow-paced, orderly direction to improve the lives of the people of his race. This change of heart was not included in Russell's letter to Winchester, nor should it have been. His change of heart at this point in time was moot. Moot because the "suffragan plan" had been accepted and there would be no change in the church in the foreseeable future now that a black suffragan was elected. Why did

---

[167] Russell, *Adventure*, 77-8.

Russell need to write about his change of heart when the timing of this subject was by then irrelevant?

It should be recalled that Russell wrote his *Autobiography* in 1935 after eighteen years of reflection on his election. He may have desired to interpret his past in a perspective more acceptable to those who opposed him on the "missionary plan," or he was simply voicing his frustration that his own Diocese of Southern Virginia had not advanced much legislatively. As far as black bishops were concerned Russell had favored the status quo in his diocese, but the "Black Canon" or equal representation was never settled. The Diocese of Virginia kept the "Black Canon" until 1936, the year following Russell's death. Southern Virginia tried to change the canon in 1933 but failed by just one vote.[168] Perhaps this disappointment was on Russell's mind as he penned his *Autobiography*.

In his letter to Bishop Winchester declining election, Russell wrote about his work at St. Paul School and his work as a missionary in the Southside of Virginia. In effect he provided Winchester with an historical sweep of his work in Lawrenceville over the years. One can interpret from this letter that Russell truly did not want to take up any new work at age 60.

The bishops of the Southwest province and some bishops from the North decided early on that Edward T. Demby would become the first bishop suffragan for colored work in the American church, but it was Demby who proposed a slate of others that included James Solomon Russell but excluded him. Demby however was put on the ballot and lost to the popular Russell.

---

[168] Russell, *Adventure*, 66-7; Derris L. Raper and Constance M. Jones, *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia 1892-1992* (Norfolk: Pictorial Heritage Publishing Company, 1992), 42-3.

Simply put, it appears that Russell did not want the office. He even played down his election in his "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work" by hiding the paragraph about the event exactly in the middle of his report.[169]

[169] "Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work", *Journal of Southern Virginia* (1917): 238.

Chapter 5 - Reconciliation

Analysis

Despite attempts by leaders in the American Church Institute for Negroes to replace him with a white man as principal of St. Paul's School, James Solomon Russell persevered as principal and enjoyed an incredibly successful career as an educator. Despite attempts by the legislative Councils of his own church to deprive African American Episcopalians of voting privileges and passing on requests for more black clergy and more money to support black clergy and new churches, Russell consistently evangelized his area of responsibility and created or assisted in the creation of more than thirty-four African American congregations. He encouraged and received the support of white clergy in helping the African American community in the Diocese of Southern Virginia in its worship and evangelical work. Russell consistently expressed his gratitude for assistance from white clergy, his [white] bishops and his local political leaders for any assistance they may have provided. In speeches and other addresses to various organizations he maintained that relations between whites and blacks in Brunswick County, Virginia were good if not the best in Virginia. Russell carried with him the latest statistics showing year-to-year progress of African Americans not only in his Southside Virginia region but in all of Virginia. Yet Russell knew that white people harbored certain attitudes isolating themselves from more intimate contact with blacks. He knew the whites very well yet he managed to be a person of influence on them, a person of strength when dealing with them. Nothing in Russell's writings or speeches suggests any personal or racial animosity toward white people. He appears to be a man who dealt with

other men on a straight-forward, eye-to-eye basis. In other words, race was not a category of human separation in Russell's mind. Given the real-life stories presented in his *Autobiography*, speeches, and the journals of annual church councils, why do twentieth- and 21st century church historians pejoratively address Southern white Episcopal churchmen in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as "paternalists?"

Gardiner Shattuck and Harold T. Lewis, as footnoted earlier, make frequent use of the word "paternalist" when describing churchmen in the post-Civil War era who were trying to help the newly emancipated African Americans.[170] Both scholars correctly write about the prevailing attitude of that era irrespective of the internal motivations of the altruistic actor. There were, of course, plenty of occurrences of outright and bigoted opposition to free and freed blacks everywhere. The Episcopal Church then, as we look back at it now, could have been more accepting and more positively radical in its reaction or response to the new environment in the aftermath of America's worst internal conflict. Did Shattuck and Lewis succumb to scholarly "presentism"; did they impose their enlightened views of today onto the past? Did they take into consideration not just the real life struggles of African American Episcopalians – at least the remnant of black Episcopalians – and did they consider the normal reactions of any one person or groups of persons struggling with social interactions induced by a radical change of life: a change resulting from a bitterly fought war followed by a totally new, and imposed, reconstruction of life? Are these analyses as well as the labels of attribution forwarded by

[170] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 1,2: Shattuck's "Introduction" makes it clear that his book is organized around the theme of social and racial unity as outlined by historians Ulrich B. Phillips, born in 1887 in Georgia and considered the preeminent Southern historian of his age, and Grace Elizabeth Hale, a more recent historian who reexamined Philips's theories. In short, Hale (and thus Shattuck) holds that the post-Civil War view of a Southern plantation paternalistic mentality was a romantic and self-consciously constructed myth supporting Southerners' emotional need for integration with blacks. Underlying paternalism was 'white supremacy' forever.

Shattuck and Lewis based solely on a 21st century understanding? More than likely both Shattuck and Lewis use the terms "paternalist" or "paternalism" as background highlighting the general attitude of people who simply wanted to assist in helping former slaves while not yet able to discard any lingering notion of white superiority.

Shattuck actually states that he is not sure about the term *race* because it is a contested term. He uses the term, however, as a construct to denote the relationship between white and black Americans.[171] Additionally, he limits himself to a discussion of the Episcopal Church in the South virtually ignoring the Northern church and its inter-racial peculiarities. Since the Episcopal Church conducts much of its activities on a national level as well as within the local dioceses, it is problematic to discuss the South without fully including the actions and "prejudices" of the North. Nonetheless, it is difficult to argue with many of the facts that Gardiner and Lewis provide about the last 45 years of the 19th century. Life was not good for blacks. But life was not good for Southern white people either. Regardless of the moral wrongs and the imposed indignity of slavery, the sudden change in life-style radically affected everyone. Those who were once in charge found themselves without livelihoods, no income and perhaps worst of all to some of them, no political power. Those who formerly had no political power – African American slaves – and no rights as human beings, found themselves receiving not only relief and assistance from agencies of the federal government and Northern aid societies – both secular and religious – but they were suddenly constituted eligible to lead politically. Using "paternalism" in their description of white "do-gooders" Shattuck and Lewis, though probably correct in some interpretations, may have unintentionally

[171] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race,* 2.

obscured any positive black-white interactions of that period producing improvements and changes in people's thinking and doing.

Normal human reactions to such sudden and radical life-changing conditions build up to such a point that explosive and unintended consequential actions emerge. To whites immediately after the Civil War their social fabric was torn apart, their old order died. To blacks an emerging new order became the launch pad to their future, or so they believed. As far as the Church is concerned Shattuck's label either hides or ignores any attempt to see into the truly heartfelt and positive motivations in the actions among "white paternalists." Several examples should provide evidence.

Shattuck may have understated any good coming from Giles Buckner Cooke, the white rector of St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg. Cooke founded a normal school for ex-slaves at his church, which eventually became the location of the all-black Bishop Payne Divinity School. Shattuck writes that "Cooke was a *racial paternalist* [emphasis mine] who envisioned a relationship between education, evangelism, and social control. He emphasized the importance of saving African Americans from the 'heathenish manifestation of wild religious feeling' into which preachers of their own race were carrying them ..."[172] Shattuck labels what he thinks is Cooke's unchangeable attitude toward blacks suggesting a mitigation of any earnest effort on Cooke's behalf to assist former slaves. The picture of Cooke presented by James Solomon Russell, however, nowhere approaches the perspective presented by Shattuck. If anything Russell's and Cooke's relationship was filial, not suzerain. Certainly Russell took issue with some of Cooke's advice. As a student in seminary Russell was scheduled to read lessons from the pulpit. This assignment was not unusual except for the fact that Russell had never been in

[172] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race,* 12.

an Episcopal Church until then and did not know what to do. Cooke advised Russell to think of the people in the pews as "heads of cabbage" but Russell said that neither then nor later could he ever consider people as heads of cabbage. This short excerpt from Russell's book shows nothing significantly domineering about Cooke, just some advice. It also shows Russell's point of view about people. Russell wrote that

> Major Cooke was a very exact man and a stickler for punctuality, but he was very human and wholeheartedly devoted to the right and the worthy. The acquaintance which we gained as a teacher and student has followed us down the years and has ripened into a rich and deep friendship. He has seen me grow and apply myself to the task at hand, and he has shown no little interest in all that I tried to do. So strong are the bonds of friendship between us that Major Cooke on more than one occasion declared publicly that I am to officiate at his funeral if I survive him, and that he will perform the last rites over me "With Virginia's [Russell's wife's] permission," if I should die first.[173]

It should be recalled that Russell, in his *Autobiography*, reminisced that his slaveholder's family fretted over those plantation sons' safety as Confederate soldiers: "and concern for them also gripped the slaves."[174] This example is not cited to suggest that some or most of the Southern slaves were emotionally attached to their owners to such a degree that they appreciated their slave status. But the example provides insight into Russell perspective about his slave-owner's humanity regardless of the circumstances of life.

Shattuck writes that a "fateful evolution" took place in race relations in the period between the 1883 Sewanee bishops' conference and the loss of black civil rights by the

---

[173] Russell, *Adventure*, 18.
[174] Russell, *Adventure*, 2.

end of the 19th century. Blacks had gained much during the Reconstruction periods (Presidential and Radical) but much was also lost after Reconstruction ended through the backlash of Southern white governments retaking the legislatures. This fact is undeniable. Shattuck described this period as occurring "while outspoken racists vied with paternalists for political control of the South. Within this context, most Episcopal leaders occupied a middle ground between the few white Southerners who genuinely wished to assist African Americans and those who sought only to degrade them."[175] Shattuck never identified those "few white southerners who genuinely wished to assist" but he did label the Sewanee bishops and unnamed others as paternalists. Shattuck places the paternalists as protectors of the old, antebellum order: experts at keeping "lower class whites" and blacks in their place. Though one can agree with the probable truth of the intentions Shattuck places on the Sewanee bishops, the label "paternalism" might overstate or preempt what the bishops personally understood. There were a couple of items that the Sewanee bishops had to work through.

First, the Sewanee bishops probably understood all too well that the old order was dead. Why then call a meeting to discuss alternatives? Black communicants, if still around, no longer sat in the rafters of the church. Even though Emancipation freed the slaves in 1863 by 1883 an underlying white political backlash was on the upswing but nowhere near its full potential. The bishops understood, even if unconsciously, that their old rule and their old ways living had already been subjected to the imposition of change and that the best they could do from that point forward was to attempt to influence further change, change that might, if unchallenged, weaken their traditional authority and

[175] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 14.

superiority or wrest control from them. Any influence they might have had to be birthed into action.

Secondly, the Sewanee bishops launched a trial balloon which eventually came into being as "colored convocations" in the Southern dioceses. It may not have been consciously thought of as a trial balloon but in the end they believed that they had to act and that action had to be founded on the principle of the old order. These bishops were conditioned by the long-running old order. For them they could not accept and implement an imposed order modeled on the secular precedent implemented during Reconstruction: they were bishops of the Church and well-trained in the Gospel although co-opted to a large degree by centuries of colonial and Southern life-styles. The Sewanee Conference's call for separation of the races within the Church – though rejected by General Convention of 1883[176] – was historically natural for them, but it was a knee-jerk reaction also.

Profound Confusion

Gardiner Shattuck[177] described the overall racial situation best in the first sentence of the final paragraph of his first chapter. "The contours of this debate[178] reveal Episcopalians' profound confusion about the role that race and racial differences ought to

[176] Recall that the House of Bishops passed the proposal but the House of Deputies rejected it.
[177] The writer of this thesis understands fully that Shattuck's and Lewis's books referenced herein are primarily about the struggles of African American Episcopalians in the twentieth century. The attention paid to the late nineteenth century is minor in their books. The emphasis of this thesis is on the personal interactions or personal transactions between James Solomon Russell and other people. Extended, the emphasis is on transactions between any number of persons: black and white; black and black; and white and white. The term "paternalism" used as a broad brush potentially ignores personal transactions in which blacks and whites cooperated for the common good.
[178] The "debate" refers not only to black participation in the church and their separation; it refers to the germinating ideas of separate black missionary districts and black bishops.

play with the church fellowship."[179] Confusion was wide-spread in the Episcopal Church and the existence of paternalism was simply one element in the mix. Everyone from the Sewanee bishops to the lay and clerical faithful assumed that the old structure of church management or governance was at risk. Active Church participants whether black or white, franchised or not, were now necessarily set up to engage in debate; debate using the existing structure and processes while creating a new. There were black communicants involved in both the laity and the clergy.

The facts seem to reveal that the Sewanee bishops (and most Southern Episcopalians) were co-opted by the reigning "plausibility structure"[180] or culture of the American South. What was considered plausible in the South, particularly to those not enslaved, was a way of life lived from the early colonial days and continuing up to the mid-19th century. The fundamental question in colonial days was one of education. Should the church educate the Negro? The French provinces in America were under the "Code Noir" which required slave masters to teach their slaves how to read if only to read the Bible. The Spanish practice of miscegenation clearly prevented objections to educating the slave. But to the English colonists there was an unwritten law that a Christian could not be held as a slave. This belief restrained colonists from educating or enlightening their slaves. Education might have led to Christian conversion of the Negro and conversion would have led to manumission. Indeed there were manumissions by some slave owners during the colonial era and the early years of independence, but the Church, through its clergy, sought out exemptions equating the manumission with Christian conversion of slaves. In 1727 the Bishop of London issued a formal declaration

[179] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 28.
[180] The concept of a socially-dominant or reigning *plausibility structure* was introduced in Chapter 1.

to colonial Anglican pastors that "conversion did not work manumission."[181] This structure persisted from early 17th century colonial days to the mid 1800s.

Anglican Church/Episcopal Church Failings

Blacks knew that such a plausibility structure was not only unreasonable it was un-Godly. Black slaves attended Anglican Churches and knew the gospel very well. Apparently unchallenged, the colonial Church and the emergent Episcopal Church continued for years under the illusion that God sanctioned slavery. But the reigning plausibility structure of the Empire and its agent, the Church, trumped such reasoning. There is no particular charge made here about the British Empire other than the Empire and its Church operated in a certain way regarding converted slaves. Whether the ecclesiastical unit of society was the colonial Church of England or the Episcopal Church in the United States the die had been cast in colonial times and continued unquestioned after the American Revolution. Was the Church confused or was it failing to live up to the Gospel? The Church chose the status quo. All of that changed on January 1, 1863 when the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect.

---

[181] Loretta Funke, "The Negro in Education," *The Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 1 (1920): 2.; Craig D. Townsend, *Faith in Their Own Color* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 15-16; Funke cites Carter G. Woodson's book *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* as one of her sources. In his index Woodson clearly states that "Bishop of London, declared that the conversion of slaves did not work manumission" but no year was listed. The website known as Dinsmore Documentation (see http://www.dinsdoc.com/jernegan-1.htm viewed on March 6, 2010) an article by Marcus W. Jernegan titled "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies" in *American Historical Review* 21 (April 1916) where he writes on page 511 "Indeed the Bishop of London had declared, in 1727, that Christianity did not make 'the least Alteration in Civil Property; that the Freedom which Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of those Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward condition they remained as before even after baptism'".

A Man of His Times

There were several prominent African Americans prior to the outbreak of the Civil War – Absalom Jones to name the most famous African American Episcopalian. In the decades immediately following the war many African American leaders emerged within the Episcopal Church challenging its status quo: the status quo was the old order; the status quo was the Church of Southern Culture; James Solomon Russell was the leader of a counter culture as odd as it might first appear. Russell worked within the reigning plausibility structure and because of his high sense of mission through his understanding of the catholicity[182] of the Church he marched through history making subtle but effective waves of change. In the wake of those changes emerged the hardly-noticeable but ever-increasing counter cultural movement led by former slaves and their children.

Russell and his clerical peers constituted a remarkable group of African American leaders from the 1880s through the mid-1930s. Men like Alexander Crummell, George Freeman Bragg, Jr., Edward Demby, and Henry Beard Delany were all instrumental in redirecting and changing not only the canons of church but the mindset of many of its communicants. But that change took a long time. Russell was prepared to work on two fronts: education and the church. He knew the educational shortcomings of the church when it came to teaching its young Negro slaves. Most slaves young and old believed that education was the key to their emancipated futures. By creating the St. Paul school within months of his arriving in Lawrenceville, Virginia, Russell and his wife Virginia began educating as many former slaves as they could. As their school grew larger they always

[182] Russell, *Adventure*, 60; Lewis, *Steady Beat*, 45-46, 176; Bragg, *Afro-American Group*, 43.

found funds and continued expanding the school. It was clear that fund-raising was a major obstacle but that did not stop him. Russell enlisted the help of his bishop and his diocese; he was able to persuade well-to-do local white men to assist in the expansion of the school. He became well-acquainted with the local legal systems and political office holders. Not a shy person James Solomon Russell knew his calling and would not relent. He understood human nature. Even during his short history as a child slave at Palmer Springs in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, young Russell learned how to deal with adult overseers and local merchants. In his adult life he sensed that despite the radical change in Southern living resulting from the Civil War it would not be easy to change the hearts and minds, and eventually the laws, supporting white supremacy.

The Role of Archdeacon and Its Advantages

Russell's appointment as Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia paralleled his obligations as principal of his St. Paul school. The appointment was actually a blessing not only to him but to the entire diocese. The Archidiaconate provided Russell with a platform to expand Christian ministry into his geographical section of Virginia. The Black Belt of Virginia was within the Diocese of Southern Virginia and provided him with a huge opportunity not only for Christian evangelism to un-churched African Americans but opportunities to expand and promote educational, agricultural and economic opportunities. Together with his school his ecclesiastical appointment provided his *de facto* leadership in the community with *de jure* credentials. Russell created the St. Paul's Farmers' Conference thereby leveraging not only his notoriety and influence but also providing an avenue of hope to many African American farmers and their families in creating a successful lifetime of achievement. In

speeches Russell provided year to year statistics citing black progress not only across the Black Belt but of Virginia in general. He became adept at providing factual numbers to willing and unwilling listeners supporting the positive results of African Americans' work and spirit. His annual reports[183] to the diocese provided statistics enumerating positive results in the growing community of colored churches in his convocation. Those reports also documented Russell's personal achievements within the environment of the Church. St. Paul's College had at one time the largest student population of any other school in the State of Virginia; it was center of activity for the annual Farmers' Conferences; and it was the leading institution for industrial education within the Episcopal Church. And who was stopping Russell from doing all of this? No one! At least not until a few national church leaders wanted to intervene.

As discussed in an earlier chapter the American Church Institute for Negroes through its first executive director attempted to at first remove, then reduce Russell's influence at the school. It did not work. It can be presumed that the personal conflict between Samuel Bishop and James S. Russell grew out of control. Bishop could hardly stand the fact that Russell could match if not outsmart him. Perhaps within Gardiner Shattuck's definition Samuel H. Bishop could have been described as a paternalist. He, like many Northerners, thought they knew best how to educate the Southern Negro. Samuel H. Bishop wanted control. Instead of using "paternalism" as the dominating descriptor here, "control" may be considered more appropriate. Not only can the facts of history place the Episcopal Church in the South as the old order and status quo, it can easily be seen that the Episcopal Church of the North possessed its own point of view.

---

[183] See the Appendix for a year-to-year summary of the "Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work"

The Church of the North had it own problems. St. Philip's Church in New York City is a good example.

Before the beginning of the Civil War and after the Northern states legally abolished slavery the Episcopal Diocese of New York held its annual council in September of 1853. Three black men, delegates from St. Philip's Church, walked into the gathering on the second day of the council meeting. Most of the delegates, 500 plus in all from the eastern half of New York State were powerful and wealthy white men. According to research by Craig Townsend New Yorkers at that time basked in a sense of self-righteousness that they had rid themselves of that "peculiar institution" of slavery even though they maintained a Fugitive Slave Law whereby runaway Southern slaves caught in the North had to be returned to their Southern slave owners. The white New York Episcopal Diocese delegates were proud of the fact that they had a black congregation in their fold where they could bring the good news of the Gospel to the "unfortunates." St. Philip's was that congregation and the three black men were duly admitted as delegates to council. What was disturbing to the white delegates was the fact that they had to treat these black delegates as equals.[184] From this one example it can be assumed that the racial attitudes of Northern Episcopalians were not much different from their Southern counterparts. This common white attitude indicts the entire Church, not just the Southern contingent. Northern money or Northern philanthropy as discussed earlier held these same attitudes.

Most of the general fund raising organizations like the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, and eventually the ACIN, were managed by persons propagating "progressive education." Additionally, a couple of the fund managers were

[184] Townsend, *Faith in Their Own Color*, 1-2.

theological graduates of the "social gospel movement." Thomas Jesse Jones, the author/editor of the 1913-1916 Black Education Report of the U.S. Education Bureau, and Samuel H. Bishop both were graduates of New York City's Union Theological Seminary, the center of the social gospel movement. Paternalism, if it existed in the Southern church, most certainly existed in the church of the North and perhaps even stronger. All that can be said in this short paper is that the influence of the North cannot be ignored as a major factor in the complicity of the entire Episcopal Church in its poor and shameful response to the "Negro Problem" after the Civil War. Yet despite the differences between the North and South as to how education for the former slave should be controlled, and despite his problems with the ACIN, James Solomon Russell conducted the vast majority of his fund-raising campaigns in the North. It was the North and not the South that provided funding for the post-Civil War schools.[185]

How did care about what was going on in the Church? Given the historical record Russell cared a great deal. Whether in his dealings with the ACIN or the legislative wrangling of his annual diocesan councils, Russell persisted. Year-by-year he proclaimed the same message: more men and means. Year-by-year he argued for more help from well-to-do communicants. Year-by-year he also thanked his white clergy brethren for supporting colored convocation churches when in need. Russell worked within the structure in order to change that structure. Venue did not matter.

Tactics of a Christian Ambassador

James Solomon Russell lived as a person engaged in an ongoing process of reconciliation. He did not confront others seeking clarity because he knew clearly how

[185] Booker T. Washington raised his funds from the North also. But unlike Russell, Washington eventually became a decision-maker and distributor of funds (foundations) to black colleges including St. Paul's.

the church worked in the days before and after Emancipation. He confronted others seeking reconciliation. Reconciliation can be slow. Each and every time Russell presented his annual reports to his diocese he confronted his bishops and fellow delegates with the facts of the Church's shortcomings in relation to its African American members, and he sought reconciliation by providing them with courses of action. Russell was a practical man knowing that confrontation (even though his style was mild or civil) did not always persuade. Scripture advises the Christian to instruct, warn and train, not just to rebuke.[186] Russell used as many tactics as he could to engage in conversation those who could not see properly because of the speck in their own eyes. Through his reports as cited above, his sermons, his fund raising travels and through his speeches Russell continually employed his skills in seeking change. As bad as the situation came to be in the South Russell had to "engage" in dialogue with his adversaries, not "preach" to them.

Russell's reconciliation tactics had to include in the first instance personal and face-to-face confrontation. Take the example of his dealings with land-owners in Lawrenceville. He acknowledged that when he initially arrived there that an air of suspicion or outright racial hostility existed. That did not bother Russell. In dealing with those who wished to sell their land Russell's face-to-face engagement with these white men may have been their first time dealing with a black man.[187] Certainly it was a learning experience for both. Such interactions were fundamentally private or personal transactions. Russell's *Autobiography* contains numerous one-on-one interactions like this. But for larger issues encompassing many persons or groups Russell had to modify his tactics. His annual archdeacon reports on the colored convocation's work and the

[186] See Rom. 15:14; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 6:4; 1 Thess. 5:14, 21; 1 Tim. 4:6; 2 Tim. 3:16.
[187] Russell, *Adventure*, 35-36.

proposals of the convocation to the diocese required a steady, broader and more nuanced appeal.

Russell exhibited great personal restraint over the years toward Bishop A.M. Randolph. It will be recalled that Randolph, while still bishop coadjutor of the un-divided Diocese of Virginia, provided the keynote address in its annual council of 1889 that led to the disfranchisement of the colored clergy and laity. Russell and two other clergy were exempt according to the Randolph plan. Limits were placed on black voter participation in future councils. This canon carried over the newly created Diocese of Southern Virginia. Randolph became the diocesan and quickly appointed Russell as Archdeacon for Colored Work. Russell could have confronted the bishop and the diocese on the wrongness of the canon but he knew he could not advance his argument, at least not directly. He had to take an indirect approach.

It was puzzling that Russell's colored convocation always presented memorials backing their bishop by refusing to endorse a black bishop for the black convocation. Puzzling? Probably not! Russell, as a person engaged in reconciliation and as a realist, knew that he did not have the votes. So his tactic had to be vested in a process of negotiation which as a practical matter would take years of unrelenting reinforcement of the same message meaning his annual archdeacon reports, sermons, speeches and prayer. Those were his tactics. Catholicity[188] was his strategy. It was Russell's theology of the catholicity of the church that guided his spiritual, social and political posturing. Russell knew that it was the church – the Body of Christ – that was most important. To be catholic the church must be open to all. To be catholic the unified Body of Christ of individuals and groups had to sacrifice whatever in their lives stood between them and

[188] See Appendix C below.

Christ's bride in order to witness to the world. In earthly or practical terms this meant that both blacks and whites had to give up something while simultaneously emptying themselves to others for the cause of Christ. For Russell this meant that the white leadership of the Episcopal Church had to give up its old ways and break through their old order so that they can receive their African American brothers and sisters and complete human beings and equal partners in the cause of Christ. It is reasonable to assume that Russell's insistence that his Colored Convocation reject the proposed separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction for African Americans was the sacrifice necessary by blacks as an act contributing to the catholicity of the church. In summary, it was Russell's spiritual and theological understanding of the nature of the church that supported and transcended his earthly or practical activities.

Between groups (the convocation and the diocese) the process was that of negotiation through a long-term and long-suffering endurance run. Russell never lived to see the change in the canon eliminating all references to race and the granting of equal voting participation to African American parishes on the Diocese of Southern Virginia. Because of his non-stop efforts change eventually came. It was not until the late 1940s that the Diocese of Southern Virginia[189] dropped all of its obstacles to African American participation in its deliberative assembly. It should be noted that Russell was never a person to deny his racial identity or to stand idly by if an explanation of the reality of slavery was distorted.

Outside ecclesiastical machinations Russell could not hold back responding to rhetoric he found objectionable. The First Universal Races Congress was held in 1911 at the University of London. The primary organizer was Gustav Spiller (a Briton) and

---

[189] Raper and Jones, *A Goodly Heritage*, 42-3.

W.E.B. DuBois planned and led the participation and direction of the American (African American and American Indian) delegation. Although not a delegate, Russell and his son Alvin attended the Congress. Russell and Dr. R.R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, were listening to a speech presented by William Sanders Scarborough. A former slave, Scarborough was a renowned classics scholar and professor who eventually became president of Wilberforce University in Ohio. According to Russell the speech given by Scarborough did not resonate accurately with his own experience. Scarborough said "that the Negro in America was much better off in slavery …"[190] Both Moton and Russell hurried to the platform asking for time to respond to Scarborough but were turned down. The point of citing this incident is that Russell was not about to cave in to theories inconsistent with his Christian beliefs.[191]

Scarborough wrote in his autobiography[192] that although he was a slave his mother's slave holder treated her and her children as free persons of color. Therefore Scarborough received an education similar to the young white boys in his surroundings. He was free to play along with his white friends also. It is interesting to note here, but only briefly, that Scarborough fell into the camp of liberal arts education led by W.E.B. Du Bois against the industrial arts education point of view of Booker T. Washington. A case could be made that James Solomon Russell fell into Washington's camp. Russell, however, played both sides of the issue as documented in his *Autobiography*.[193]

---

[190] Russell, *Adventure,* 95.
[191] Scarborough was not listed in the roster of presenters at the Congress. Russell said that Scarborough made a "statement" and then there was a rush to the platform by those who wanted to counter him.
[192] William Sanders Scarborough, *Williams Sanders Scarborough: An American Journey from Slavery to Scholarship*, ed. Michele Valerie Ronnick (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), 217. Scarborough's autobiography acknowledges that he attended the Congress and that Archdeacon Russell, his son and R.R. Moton's were also present. Scarborough writes that he "addressed the Congress on the 'Color Question in the United States'."
[193] Russell, *Adventure*, 82.

Honors

Russell's lifetime achievements are noteworthy and it is curious that historians have for the most part passed over the work of this remarkable man. Gardiner Shattuck, Harold T. Lewis, and Michael J. Beary mention Russell rarely in their books.[194] To be fair to these scholars, their books had different purposes. However, the extent to which Russell was a major church actor during his era seems to be overlooked if not ignored by church history writers. Only the book *Dangerous Donations* by Anderson and Moss provides extended, if not unflattering, analysis on part of Russell's career. Honor was brought to Russell by the fact that over the years many students passed through the halls of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School and received the education they sought and the success in life that they dreamed of. Midway into his *Autobiography* he writes about several of those students by name and identifies their successes.[195]

In 1922 the President of the nation of Liberia conferred upon Russell the dignity of "Knight Commander"[196] of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption.[197] Russell was the first African American member of Episcopal Church's Department of Christian Social Service and served from January, 1924 to September, 1931.[198] In 1929

---

[194] Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race*, 24; Lewis, *Steady Beat*, 97; Beary, *Black Bishop*, 106-9, 118, 128.
[195] Russell, *Adventure*, 49-59 Chapter VII "The Living, The Real St. Paul's".
[196] The "Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption" was founded on January 13, 1879 during the presidency of Anthony W. Gardiner. It is awarded for humanitarian work in Liberia, for acts supporting and assisting the Liberian nation and to individuals who have played a prominent role in the emancipation of African Americans and the pursuit of equal rights. The Order replaced the older Liberian "Lone Star Medal". The three grades of the Order are:* ***Grand Commander:*** The Grand Commander wears a wide ribbon on the right shoulder and the star of the Order on the left.* ***Knight Commander:*** The Knight Commander, wears a ribbon around the neck and a smaller but otherwise identical star. * ***Officer:*** The Officer wears a narrow ribbon with rosette on the left.
[197] Russell, *Adventure*, 101.
[198] Russell, *Adventure*, 115, Appendix; "James Solomon Russell Day Celebrated at St. Paul's", *The Jamestown Cross: The Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia*, Vol 73, no. 3, (May, 2009): 3.

Russell was presented the famed African American Harmon Award.[199] In 1931 he was named an honorary trustee of the Yorktown [Virginia] Sesquicentennial Association. The trustees of Liberia College conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and the Virginia Theological Seminary honored Russell with the Doctor of Divinity Degree (1917).[200]

Russell retired in 1929 and his son James Alvin Russell succeeded him as principal.[201] In 1996 the Diocese of Southern Virginia named James Solomon Russell a local saint in recognition of his service to the community.[202]

END

[199] Russell, *Adventure*, 108; "2 State Negroes Will Be Honored: J.M. Gandy and J.S. Russell to Receive Awards for Service to Race", *Richmond News-Leader*, January 3, 1929.
[200] Russell, *Adventure*, 106.
[201] Russell, *Adventure*, 30.
[202] Archives of The Episcopal Church; see http://www.episcopalarchives.org/Afro-Anglican_history/exhibit/leadership/russell.php, viewed February 19, 2010.

Picture No. 1

(The Younger) James Solomon Russell

© Copyright 2004 by the University Library,
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, all rights reserved
Copyright / Usage Statement
URL: http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/richings/ill17.html
Last updated September 14, 2009

G.F. Richings
Evidences of Progress among Colored People
Philadelphia: G.S. Ferguson, 1902

REV. JAMES S. RUSSELL.
(Page 89)

Source: http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/richings/ill17.html
Copyright/Usage
Documenting the American South (DocSouth) contains materials that are protected by federal copyright law.

Picture No. 2

(The Elder) James Solomon Russell

Negative Number: 6402
City: Lawrenceville
State: Virginia
County: Brunswick
Country: United States

Date: May 15, 1928

Comments: Unidentified group of men. **James S. Russell** in the center

Copyright ©1999 by the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia
Source: http://mcgregor.lib.virginia.edu/davis/FMPro

Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library
The Jackson Davis Collection
University of Virginia
PO Box 400498
Charlottesville, VA 22903-2498
(434) 924-3025
(434) 924-3143 fax

Picture No. 3

James Solomon Russell at Brunswick County Exhibit
(Left of center in clergy collar)

Negative Number: 0039
City: Oak Grove
State: Virginia
County: Brunswick
Country: United States

Comments: Oak Grove Colored School.
"Patrons visiting the Brunswick County Exhibit"
Archdeacon Russell, Principal of St. Paul's School, stands at the left of center."

From Jackson Davis' Collection
Practical Training in Negro Rural Schools
Date: unknown

http://mcgregor.lib.virginia.edu/davis/FMPro

Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library
The Jackson Davis Collection
University of Virginia
PO Box 400498
Charlottesville, VA 22903-2498
(434) 924-3025
(434) 924-3143 fax

Picture No. 4

St. Paul Normal and Industrial School - Senior Class of 1917

Negative Number: 1495
City: Lawrenceville
State: Virginia
County: Brunswick
Country: United States
Comments: St. Paul's School Senior Class
Date: November, 1917
Copyright ©1999 by the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia

Source: http://mcgregor.lib.virginia.edu/davis/FMPro?-db=jd&-format=details.html&City=lawrenceville&County=brunswick&State=Virginia&%5bsearch%5d=do%20not%20care&-max=10&-recid=37592&-find=

Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library
P.O. Box 400110
Charlottesville VA 22904-4110
phone: 434.924.3025 • fax: 434.924.4968

Appendix A

Summary of the Official Acts of the Archdeacon for Colored Work

SUMMARY OF OFFICAL ACTS	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
# Public services, not including daily services at the School	106	117	123	111	101	121	154	123	156	113	102	92	115	131	110	81	112
# Sermons and addresses	92	80	112	135	108	134	158	132	164	130	122	116	119	167	132	91	165
# Public addresses out of the Diocese in the interest of our Church and educational work	19	16	7	10	23	18	11	35	11	19	38	31	26	21	15	53	73
# Catechisings of Sunday school			22	26	18	19	17	21	19	17	20	17	19	27	22	19	20
# Private services in sick rooms	10	24	33	2	4												
# Private celebrations of HC in sick rooms								3	4	3	2	1	1	3	1	2	2
# Visits to sick in hospital and private homes					69	59	54	58	56	21	27	16	45	85	48	21	48

SUMMARY OF OFFICAL ACTS	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
# Public celebrations of HC	35	34	32	24	29	48	39	36	44	32	20	15	19	24	25	15	22
# Baptisms - adults & infants	9	41	11	22													
# Baptisms - adults					12	7	7	18	20	13	3	3	4	6	9	5	3
# Baptisms - infants					14	16	17	12	7	6	4	6	7	21	11	13	7
Presided at Church and educational meetings					55	49	57	50	80	55	57	55	40	66	41	27	83
Presented for confirmation at St. Paul's, Lawrenceville						31		24	21								
Number of marriages	5	4	3	3	6	3	3	3	7	5	3	4	4	6	5	2	3
# Funerals	6	3	4	5	9	5	4	6	10	3	5	5	7	10	7	3	11
Assisted at Consecration of Churches and Ordination Services									2	3	3	1	2	3			3

SUMMARY OF OFFICAL ACTS	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Attended Educational and religious meetings of importance												**12**	**29**	**16**	**38**	**45**	**33**

Source: Compiled from "Reports of the Archdeacon for Colored Work" in the Journals of Annual Council of Diocese of Southern Virginia

Appendix B

Churches and Missions in the Colored Convocation
Diocese of Southern Virginia - 1910[203]

1. *All Saints', McKenny[204]
2. *Ascension, Palmer Springs
3. Ascension, Ream's Station
4. Christ, City Point
5. Christ, Houston
6. *Christ, Red Lawn
7. *Epiphany, Blackstone
8. Good Shepherd, Lynchburg
9. *Grace, Diamond Grove
10. Grace, Norfolk
11. Hope Chapel, Manchester
12. Peyton Chapel, Skelton
13. St. Cyprian's, Hampton
14. St. James', Lunenburg C.H.
15. *St. James', Portsmouth
16. *St. James', Warfield
17. St. James the Less, Charlie Hope
18. St. John's New River
19. St. Luke's, Chatham
20. *St. Luke's Edgerton
21. *St. Mark's, Bracey
22. *St. Mary's, LaCrosse
23. *St. Matthew's, South Hill
24. *St. Paul's, Lawrenceville
25. St. Paul's, Newport News
26. *St. Paul's, Union Level
27. St. Phillip's, Bedford City
28. St. Stephen's, Petersburg
29. St. Thomas', Freeman
30. *Trinity, Boydton
31. Trinity, McFarland's

Total Communicants	1,628
Total Sunday School Pupils	1,968

[203] James S. Russell, "Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work", *Journal of Southern Virginia 1910* 1910: 268-70.

[204] Ulysses Russell, "Churches Established by James Solomon Russell", master's thesis, 1926: Appendix A. All churches noted with an asterisk (*) were founded by James S. Russell. Those churches founded after 1910 are St. John's Forksville; St. Thomas, Totaro; St. Philips', Dillard's Siding; St. James, Emporia; St. Luke's, Kenbridge; and St. Mark's, Suffolk.

Appendix C

Article from *Southern Missioner* (October, 1922)

GENERAL CONVENTION – THE OPENING SESSION[205]
Portland, Oregon 1922

The General Convention opened with the dignity and stateliness characteristic of the Church. Two hundred and fifty vested choiristers [sic] led the long procession. After the choir came the long line of bishops led by Dr. Anstice, the venerable secretary, and Dr. Nelson and Dr. Mann with the Bishops marching in the order of their consecration. A striking picture as they walked side by side in the procession were the Church's two Negro Suffragans, Bishops Demby and Delany, of Arkansas and North Carolina, preceded and followed by their white colleagues, convincing proof of the catholicity of the Church that knows no distinction of race or creed in her ministrations.

Besides the American Bishops, dignataries [sic] of the Eastern Churches in their gorgeous vestments were the cynosure of all eyes. The venerated Presiding Bishop, Bishop Tuttle, brought up the rear of the procession. Fully 5,000 people filled the edifice and joined in singing the opening hymn, "Ancient of Days."

[205] *The Southern Missioner* was the monthly journal of St. Paul School and James S. Russell was its editor and publisher. This article reflects the equality sought in the church by African Americans.

Appendix D

An Index of *Adventure in Faith*

'Cuffee', 63
"Ida", 28
"James the Just", 21
A.M.E. Zion Church, 44
African Methodist Episcopal Church, 15
Alberta, Virginia, 103
Ambulance, 45
American Church Institute for Negroes, 41, 113, 115
  Board of Officers and Trustees, 116
  Colored Commission predecessor, 64
  David H. Greer, Bishop, 41
  List of ACIN schools, 117
  Robert W. Patton, 2nd Director, 107
  Samuel H. Bishop, 1st Director, 94
American Missionary Association, 10
Anglican Church, 92
Ante-bellum days, 38
Apostle to the Negro Work (Bishop Whittle), 23
Apostle's Creed, 14
Appomattox Court House, Virginia, 19
Araminta, 1
Archdeacon, 90
  appointed by Bishop Randolph in 1893 in Diocese of Southern Virginia., 64
Arkansas, Diocese of, 73
Armstrong, Samuel Chapman, 9, 10, 15, 16, 21
Army of Northern Virginia, 19
Atwell, Joseph, 18
Bagnall, R.W., Sr., Rev., 44
Baird and Belfield replied at once and each offered to contribute one-half of the estimated price
  Baird and Belfield replied at once and each offered to contribute one-half of the estimated price, 37
Baird, John E., 36
Batchelder, David, 39
bedsprings, half, 7
Belfield, T. Broom, 36
Benson, Mary, Miss, 46
Bible, 4, 62, 72, 89
Big House, 1, 3
Birchette, M.B., 30
Bishop Coadjutor of Southern Virginia, 66
Bishop Payne Divinity School, 16, 23, 44, 53, 54, 94, 113, 117
  Branch Theological Seminary, 17, 46
Bishop, Samuel H., 94
black belt, 83
Black Canon, the, 66, 67
Black Episcopal Churches, 61
  Bishop Meade problem, 62
Black Mistrust of White Church, 63
blacklisted
  Russell accused of educating blacks away from manual lablor, 82
Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church, 113
Book of Common Prayer, 14, 15
Boston, 34
Boyd, N. Peterson, 46
Boydton, Virginia, 12, 26
Bragg, George Freeman Jr, 21
  bitterly outspoken about the passage of the Black Canon in the Diocese of Southern Virginia, 66
Brooklyn, N.Y, 46
Brother Schouler, 19
Brunot, Felix R., 34
Brunswick County School Board, 87
Brunswick County, Virginia, 23, 26, 79, 85
  Most prosperous, law-abiding, and thrifty Negro population in the state, 85
Brunswick Springs, 90
Brunswick Times-Gazette, 82
Bruton Parish, 47
Bryan, Corbin Braxton, 24
Bryan, John Stewart
  editor, Richmond *News Leader*, 108

Buford, Edward P. the honorable, 50, 109
Buford, Mrs. P. E., 15
Bunting, Oscar, 24
Burbank, A.C., 39
Business Men's Association of Lawrenceville, 80
C.I.A.A. conference, 57
Cain, Thomas W., 23, 27
Cameron, governor, 89
Camp Dix, 58
Canaday, E.M., 9
Canon 15
  Of the Colored Missionary Jurisdiction, 69
Canon XIII
  see Black Canon, 66, 67, 70
Canterbury Cathedral, 92
Cappahosic School, 9
Cassell, Nathaniel H.B. Rev., 99
Cheeley, a Mr., 4
Chicago, 41, 52
Chicago Building, 39, 41
Christ's Kingdom, 111
Christian training, 31
Christlikeness, 49
Church, 71
Church of Our Merciful Saviour, Louisville, Kentucky, 18
Civil War, 2, 8, 18, 19, 71
Collins
  Johnson, 27
  Rebecca, 27
Colored Commission, 64
Colored High School, 20
Colored Ministers, 69
Colored School, No. 1, 20
Committee on Appreciation and Arrangement
  for First Founder's Day celebration, 108
Connecticut legislature, 21
Cooke, Giles Buckner, 17, 18
Cuba, 49
Daschiell, T. Grason Rev., 15
Deane, R.A., 30
December 20, 1882
  Married Virginia Michigan Morgan, 28
December 3, 1867
  Virginia Constitutional Convention in Richmond, 29
Delafield, Katherine Van Rensselaer, 45
Delany, Henry Beard
  1st Bishop Suffragan of North Carolina, 81
Demby, E.T., 80
Department of Christian Social Service, 70
Department of Domestic Missions, 70
Dibble, Eugene, 14
Diocesan Councils of Southern Virginia
  1893, first council in Norfolk after separating from Diocese of Virginia, 64
  1905, St. Paul's Church-Lynchburg, 65
  1906, Trinity Church-Portsmouth, 65
  1922, St. John's-Hampton, 67
  1923, Danville, 67
  1933, Suffolk, 67
  1934, Petersburg, 69
  1935, Newport News, 69
Doctor of Divinity degree, honorary
  Virginia Theological Seminary, 106
Doctor of Laws Degree, honorary
  Liberia College, 103
Dosen, J.J. the honorable
  Chief Justice of (Liberian) Supreme Court of Appeals, 100
DuBois, W.E.B., 95
Dugger, "Mack", 4, 12
Duluth, Minnesota, 34
Durham, North Carolina, 51
Eagle, 56
Edmonds, George W.
  2nd pupil at St. Paul's College, 40
Edmonds, Shepherd Randolph, 50
Emancipation, 84
Emery, Julia C., Miss, 45
Emporia, Virginia, 26
England, 91

Episcopal Church, 14, 15, 22, 60
Fain, Mrs. Jennie, 15
Fort Norfolk, 19
Founder's Day
March 9, 1931, 106, 107
France, 91
Freedmen's Bureau, 10, 39, 108
Freedmen's Hospital, 51
Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, 96
freighter *Bodnant*, 96
Galveston, Texas floods of 1900, 27
Gardiner
Danielette, 52
Rt. Rev. T.M. Suffrgan Bishop of Liberia, 52
General Conventions of the Episcopal Church, 74
1901 San Francisco, 43
1907 Richmond, 43
1913 New York City, 43
1916 St. Louis, 43
1919 Detroit, 44
1922 Portland, Oregon, 44
1925 New Orleans, 44
1928 Washington, D.C., 44
It has been my good fortune to attend eleven General Conventions of the Church -from 1898-1928, 43
General Cox of Powhatan County
Absentee Plantation owner of Arthur Creek, Rose Creek, Meherrin and Pea Hill, 38
General Education Board (GEB), 51, 79
Rockefeller Foundation, 41
gerrymandering/political surgery, 83
Goodwin, W.A.R., Rev., 47, 67
Gospel, 71
Grace Episcopal Church, Norfolk, 67
Gray, Zabriskie, 11
Great Barrington, Massachusetts, 22
Greene, H.C., 84
Greer, David H., 42, 55, 114
Bishop of New York, 41
Predicts St. Paul's to be extinct, 41
President of American Church Institute for Negroes, 41
Haiti, 49, 99
Halifax County, Virginia, 23
Hampton Institute, 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 16, 17, 58, 86, 115
Hampton, Virginia, 6
Harmon Foundation Award
February 12, 1929, 108
gold medal and honorarium, 110
meritorious service to his people, 115
Hendrick Estate, 1, 3
Hendrick, Aaron, 28
Hicks, Benjamin J., 39, 108
Hicks, D.S. Judge, 34, 90
Hogan, Ada, 34
Holy Orders, 21
House
Cherry, 27
Horace, 27
Rosetta, 27
Howe, Albert, 9
I *Chronicles 16:22*
"touch not my anointed and do my prophets no harm", 105
Institute Schools, 115, 116
Jackson, Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall", 19
Jamaica, 49
James River, 61
John Payne, 99
Journal and Guide, 67
Julia C. Emery Hall for Girls, 41
Keiley, John D., 21, 89
King, Charles R., Dr., 33
Kirby, F.M., 41, 47
Knight Commander of the Humane Order of African Redemption, 115
Knight Commander of the Liberian Humane Order of African Redemption, 101
Lawrenceville, Virginia, 15, 23, 26, 27, 87, 90, 94, 115
Lee, Robert E., 17
Lewis, B.A.
Virginia Commonwealth's Attorney, 109
Lewis, N.C. Dr., 35

Liberia, 52, 91, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 115
Liberia College, 103
Lincoln, Abraham, 93
Lloyd, A.S.
as bishop of New York refers to Lawrenceville as Russellville, 90
congratulates Russell on election as Suffragan Bishop of Arkansas, 80
declines election as Bishop Coadjutor of Southern. Virginia, 65
listed as vice president of ACIN, 116
London, 92
Long Island Domestic Science Building, 46
Lord Nelson, 91
Lott Carey Baptist Convention
Summerville, Liberia, 100
Loulie Taylor Letcher Memorial Hospital, 89
Ludgate Hill - London, 92
Ludlow, Miss Helen, 11
Lunenburg County, Virginia, 23
Mackie, Miss Mary Fletcher, 8
Maine, 39
Mason
Benjamin, 27
Harriett, 27
Mayfield's Gate, 12, 14
McSparren, the Rev. Mr., 35
Meade, Bishop William, 62, 63
Mecklenburg County, Virginia, 1, 5, 12, 23, 55
Meherrin River, 39
Miller, Armistead, 4
Miller, E.E., 53, 69
Missionary Bishop. *See* Suffragan Bishop
Monrovia, 52
Morgan College, 50
Morgan, John
descended from an ancient King of Mercia, 93
Morgan, Peter G., 18, 28
One of the incorporators of St. Paul's College, 30
Petersburg Rep. in 1st Virginia General Assembly after re-entry to Union, 29
Took leading role establishing State College for Negroes in Petersburg, 29
Morgan, Virginia Michigan, 28
Mrs. Russell, 31
Moton, R.R., 80, 86, 95, 106
Mud Houses on plantations
preserved traditions of ancestral homes of the Negro in Africa, 38
Muskogee, Oklahoma, 52
Negro, 73, 97
Negro Bishop, 68
Negro Churchmanship, 21
Negro holdings, 84
Ephraim Gaines, 84
In 1925 Brunswick negro farmers owned 2nd largest acreage in Virginia, 85
Powelton District, 84
Ruffin Callis, 84
Negro Organization Society, 86
New York University, 50
New York Weekly Witness, The, 14
North Carolina, Diocese of, 80
Northern Churchmen, 63
Northern city-Negro bricklayers, 56
November 16, 1898, was a big day of land purchasing for the school
November 16, 1898, was a big day of land purchasing for the school, 36
Oberlin College, 50
Old Christ Church, Norfolk, 27
Old Hotel, 39
Ordination to the diaconate, 22
Ordination to the priesthood, 32
Ormond Beach, Florida, 47
Overs, W.H. Rt. Rev.
Bishop of Liberia, 99
Paine, Robert Treat, 34
Palmer Springs, 1, 3, 5, 12, 15, 22
Pardee, Cora, 45
Pardee, Judge of the Corporation Court, 45

Paris, 93
Patton, Robert W., 107, 116
Payne, E. George Dr.
Assistant Dean of New York University, 115
Peabody, George Foster, 114, 116
Perry, Miss Amelia J., 9
Petersburg, Virginia
Prominent in Negro ownership of real property after Civil War, 29
Phelps-Stokes Fund, 79
Phi Gamma Mu
In Appendix and not written by Russell - perhaps an error, see page 106, 115
Philadelphia, 31, 36
Pi Gamma Mu
Russell said he was elected a member in 1928, 106
Pittsburgh, 34
Pollard, J.H.M., 23, 27
Pope, Mr. Frank J., 22
Portsmouth, Virginia, 6, 19
Poyner, J.C. Captain, 90
President of Yale, 110
prison ministry, 89
father and son prisoners Lit & Oliver Hatchet, 89
Providence Baptist Church
Liberia, 99
Psalm CXXI, 90
Puerto Rico, 49, 51
Purchase Land
From Dr. Lewis, 35
From William Watkins, 32
Rose Creek Plantation, 37
Queen Victoria, 94
Races Congress, 91, 95
racial caste system, 87
racial uplift, 83
Radium, Greenville County, Virginia
rural school named for Russell in 1931, 106
Randolph, Alfred M. Rt. Rev., 42, 64, 79
Reconstruction, 28, 29, 84
Richmond Beneficial Life Insurance Company, 9
Richmond *News-Leader*, 57
Richmond, Virginia, 19
Roanoke River, 2
Roberts
Robert Emmett, 27
Susan, 27
Roberts, R.E., 26
Rogers, J.R., 33
Rogers, John, 10
Rose Creek Plantation, 37
Rosenwald schools, 87
First school built in 1914 at Charlie Hope, 87
Rosenwald, Julius, 41
Rosenwald, Julius Fund, 86, 87
Russell organized congregations in
Warfield, Palmer Springs, Diamond Grove, Lawrenceville, Forksville, Bracey, Union Level and Edgerton, 32
Russell plantation, 1
Russell, Alfred P., Dr., 52
Russell, Alvin J., 108
Russell, Mrs. Czarina, 22, 45
Russell, Solomon, 1
Russell's Children
Araminta Czarina 12-19-1883, 30
Charlotte Baylies 3-14-1895, 30
Herman Webster 8-2-1889, 30
James Alvin 6-10-1885, 30
Otelia Virginia 6-10-1887, 30
Russellville, 90
Saul building, 31
Saul, James, 31
Scarborough, W.S.
Wilberforce University, 95
School Improvement League, 86
Seleah
Russell’s maternal grandmother, 1
Sesquicentennial Association
In 1931 President of United States was guest of the day, 106
Shackleford, J. Green, 26
Sierra Leone, 52

Sierra Leone Company, 99
Slater Fund, 78
Sledge and Barkley store building, 39
Sledge, W.A., 35
Solicit Funds
  An anonymous gift of $500.00, 43
  For eleven months I did not return to the North to solicit funds, 42
  J. P. Morgan, Sr, 42
Solomon of the Bible, 3
Southern Missioner, 59, 107
Southern Reconstruction Constitution, 29
Southern Virginia, Diocese of, 60
  inherited a problem from the undivided diocese, 66
Southwestern Virginia, Diocese of, 61
Spencer, Thomas, 21, 24
St. Andrew's, 34
St. Andrew's Church, 15, 26
St. Andrew's Divinity School, Syracuse, New York, 55
St. Augustine's College, 115
St. Augustine's League, 44
St. Augustine's School, 113
St. Cyprian's, New Bern, N.C, 54
St. James' Church, Baltimore, Maryland, 21
St. John's Church, Hampton, 67
St. Martin-in-the Fields - London, 91
St. Paul Benevolent Society of St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg, 83
St. Paul Board of Trustees
  first meeting of (1893), 33
St. Paul Farmer's Conference, 83, 86
St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, 32, 78, 82, 113, 117
St. Paul School, Cape Mount, Liberia, 52
St. Paul's Cathedral - London, 91
St. Paul's Church, Lynchburg, 65
St. Paul's Church, Norfolk, 66
St. Paul's College, 9, 16, 23, 41
St. Philip's Church, Brooklyn, 55
St. Philip's Mission, Richmond, 23
St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg, 16
St. Stephen's Church, Savannah, Georgia, 55
St. Stephens' Normal School, 17
Starke, Lillie, 26
Stetson, Francis L.
  ACIN founding board member, 114
  J.P. Morgan's attorney, 43
Stewart
  Harriet B., 27
  Richard, 27, 28
Suffragan Bishop
  Boston Convention of 1904, a movement toward, 77
  for Colored Work, 74
  The position was a new one in the Episcopal Church and closely connected with the colored work, 77
Suffragan Plan
  a black bishop, 74
Sunday School Movement
  Robert Raikes, 91
Supreme Court of Appeals - Liberia, 100
Taylor, Junius L., 108
The Churchman, 46
The Hill, 39, 40
The Southern Churchman, 60
Thomson, A.C. Rt. Rev., 68, 107
Thoroughgood, Sallie Davis, 59
threatened with personal harm, 104
Trafalgar Square, 91
Trinity Church, Portsmouth, 65
Tucker, Beverly D., Rev., 65
  as Bishop, 79
Turnbull, Robert, 33
  Sheriff, 89, 90
Turner, A.H., 30, 50
  business mgr of St. Paul's, 41
Tuskegee Institute, 52, 80, 86
Twice elected to the episcopate, 115
Typhoid, 1897 siege of, 44
Up From Slavery
  B.T. Washington autobiography, 8
Vermont, 39
Virgin Islands, 49
Virginia Diocesan Councils

May, 1882 Old Christ Church-
Norfolk, 27
Virginia Episcopal Dioceses
Virginia, Southern Virginia,
Southwestern Virginia, 61
Virginia Manual Labor School at
Hanover, 50
Virginia Military Institute, 19
Virginia State College for Negroes,
Petersburg, 30, 50
Virginia, Diocese of, 15, 18, 22, 60
Wade, Thomas, 3
Walker
Ferdinand, 27
George Washington, 27
Lucy, 27
Mary, 27
Walker, Martha A., 26
Wallace
Alexander, 27
Lydia, 27
Walmsley, bishop, 98
Sierra Leone, 96
Warren County, North Carolina, 1, 12
Warren Plains, 6
Warrenton, North Carolina, 15, 28
Washington, Booker T., 8, 11, 86
Washington, Lewis, 47
Watkins, William, 32
Weaver Orphanage, 9
Weaver, W. B., 9
Weddell, Alexander the Rev., 15
Wesley, John, 92
West Africa, 91
Westminster Abbey, 91
white or black, 97
Bishop Walmsley of Sierra Leone
praised Russell as a white
American, 97
conductor on Southern Railway tries
to eject Russell, 98
trolley in Phoebus, Virginia, 97
young man asks Russell, 6
White, Robert, the Rev., 15
Whitehead, J. Lyman, 51
Whitehead, Mrs. Genevieve C., 107
Whitehead, W.M., 50
Whittle, F.M. Rt. Rev., 15, 22, 23, 25,
33, 60, 64
Wilberforce Farm, 52
Wilberforce University, 95
Wilkesbarre, PA, 41
William and Mary College, 47, 115
Williams, J.R., 33
Winchester, James R. Rt. Rev., 76
Windsor Avenue, 39
Winfield, Eliza, 27
Wingfield, Osborne
prominent figure of Reconstruction,
84
Woman's Auxiliary of St. Paul's
Memorial Chapel, 31
World War I, 30, 43, 50, 62, 90
Wren, Christopher Sir, 92
Wright, Arthur D., 86
Wright, John E.P., 3
Yankees, 2
Yorktown Sesquicentennial Association
Russell was honorary trustee, 106
Young Men's Christian Association
Sir George Williams, 91

The above Index of *Adventure in Faith*[206] was created by Worth E. Norman Jr. as part of this thesis.

The original book by James Solomon Russell has no Index.

[206] James Solomon Russell, *Adventure in Faith: An Autobiographic Story of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia*, (New York: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1936).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Anderson, Eric, and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999.

Beary, Michael J. *Black Bishop: Edward T. Demby and the Struggle for Racial Equality in the Episcopal Church*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Berger, Peter. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. New York: Anchor Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1967.

Bragg, Jr., George Freeman. *History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church*. Baltimore: Church Advocate Press, 1922.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*. New York: Perennial Classics, 1989.

Johns, John. *A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia*. Baltimore: Innes & Company, 1867.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States, Volume II, Bulletin 1916, No. 39*. Washington: United States Bureau of Education, 1916.

Lewis, Harold T. *Yet With a Steady Beat*. Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996.

Neale, Gay. *Brunswick County, Virginia 1720-1975: The History of a Southside Virginia County*. Brunswick County: The Brunswick County Bicentennial Committee, 1975.

Norrell, Robert J. *Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.

Robertson, David. *Denmark Vesey: The Buried Story of America's Largest Slave Rebellion and the Man Who Led It*. New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 1999.

Pelletreau, William S. *Historic Homes and Institutions and Genealogy and Family History of New York, Volume IV*. New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907.

Raper, Derris L., and Constance M. Jones. *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia 1892-1992*. Norfolk: Pictorial Heritage Publishing Company, 1992.

Russell, James S. *Adventure in Faith: An Autobiographic Story of St. Paul Normal and Industrial School, Lawrenceville, Virginia*. New York: Morehouse Publishing Company, 1936

Scarborough, William Sanders. *Williams Sanders Scarborough: An American Journey from Slavery to Scholarship*. Edited by Michele Valerie Ronnick. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005.

Shattuck, Gardiner. *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000.

Slaughter, Philip. *A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D.* Boston: New England Genealogical Society, 1885.

Spiller, Gustav. *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress Held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911*. London: P.S. King & Son, 1911.

Strange, Robert. *Church Work Among the Negroes in the South*. Chicago: Western Theological Seminary, 1907.

Talbot, Edith Armstrong. *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904.

The Living Church Annual and Churchman's Almanac, 1918. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company, 1918.

Townsend, Craig D. *Faith in Their Own Color*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Washington, Booker T. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond Smock. Champagne-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981.

DIOCESAN JOURNALS OF ANNUAL COUNCILS

"Bishop's Report." *Journal of the Eighty-Fourth Annual Council in Virginia Held in St. George's Church, Fredericksburg on the 21st, 22d,23d, and 24th May, 1879.* (1879): 36-37.

"Report on Diocesan Colored Work." *Journal of the Eighty-Seventh Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in Christ Church, Norfolk, Virginia May 17, 1882* (1882): 70.

Journal of the Fifteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia 1907. Report of the Committee of the State of the Church. 1907.

Louisiana, Diocese of. *Thirty-Third Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, 1874*. New Orleans: James A. Gresham Booksellers and Stationer, 1874

Randolph, A.M. “Address of Bishop Randolph.” *Journal of the Ninety-Fourth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Lynchburg*, May 15-17, 1889.

Russell, James S, "Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work." *Journal of the Twentieth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Petersburg, Virginia May 28th to 30th 1912*, 1912

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocease [sic].” *Journal of the Seventeen Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Newport News, Virginia May 25th to 27th, 1909*, 1909.

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia.” *Journal of the Eighteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. Paul's Church, Lynchburg, Virginia May 31st to June 2nd, 1910*, 1910.

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese of Southern Virginia.” *Journal of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Epiphany Church, Danville, Va. May 29th-30th, 1917*, 1917.

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese.” *Journal of the Fourteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Trinity Church, Portsmouth, Virginia May 29th-31st, 1906*, 1906.

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese.” *Journal of the Sixteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in Church of the Epiphany, Danville, Virginia June 11th and 12th, 1908*, 1908.

_____________ “Annual Report of the Archdeacon for Colored Work in the Diocese.” *Journal of the Thirteenth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Southern Virginia Held in St. John's Church, Wytheville, Virginia May 30th, 31st, June 1st, 1905*, 1905.

Virginia, Diocese of. J*ournal of the Seventy-Ninth Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia Held in Christ Church, Charlottesville on the 20th, 21st 22nd & 23rd of May 187*4. Richmond: Clemmitt and Jones Job Printers, 1874

“St. Paul's Farmers' Conference.” *Southern Workman* 35, no. 9 (September, 1906): 468-69.

JOURNALS

“Archdeacon Russell Remains in Virginia.” *The Southern Workman* 46, no. 8 (1917): 424.

“Man of the Month: An Archdeacon and Educator.” *The Crisis* 14, no. 4 (August,1917): 189.

“St. Paul School.” *Southern Workman* 41, no. 9 (September, 1912): 502.

“The Coming Episcopal Convention.” *The Independent* 63, no. 3068 (1907): 703.

Banks, Fred D. “The St. Paul's Farmers' Conference.” *Southern Workman* 37, no. 10 (October, 1908): 571.

Funke, Loretta. “The Negro in Education.” The Journal of Negro History 5, no. 1 (1920): 2.

Russell, James S. “Communications.” *The Journal of Negro History* 8, no. 3 (July, 1923): 341-44.

Wood, John W. “The Missionary Story of the General Convention.” *The Spirit of Missions: An Illustrated Monthly Review of Christian Missions* 78, no. 11 (November, 1913): 769.

Work, Monroe N. “Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress.” *The Journal of Negro History* 5, no. 1 (January, 1920): 63.

OTHER SOURCES

Goodwin, W.A.R. “The Church's Missions in Christendom: A Speech Given on Race Problems in America.” In “Volume VI. Section E,” Special issue, *Pan-Anglican Congress 1908* (1908): 123-25.

Supreme Court of the United States. “James Holly vs. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society [DFMS], No. 138 of October Term, 1900 in The Supreme Court of the United States, Record No. 17,523”, Brief for Appellant, p.1 and Brief for Appellees.

Russell, Ulysses W. “James Solomon Russell: Priest, Educator, Humanitarian.” Master's thesis, Virginia State College, 1962.

A Memorial to the Bishop and Convention of the Diocese of North Carolina: By the Colored Convocation Asking for a Missionary Jurisdiction for the Colored People - May 13-15, 1913. Tarboro: Diocese of North Carolina, 1913.