,

THE HISTORY OF BLACK PEOPLE AT ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, GEORGETOWN

INTRODUCTION

This history of Black people at St. John's, Georgetown parish, located at 3240 O Street, N.W., was written as a part of a Diocesan-wide effort, called the Congregation History Partners, to encourage individual parishes to develop their racial histories. Ron Ivey, a former vestry member, served as a member of the Congregation History Partners team; attended a series of on-line meetings; wrote and provided updates on his efforts to write a summary of St. John's Georgetown's racial history; and had the text reviewed by the rector and several senior parishioners.

This racially-focused history of St. John's, Georgetown was primarily based on three histories of the parish: The Changing Face of St. John's – 200 Years in Georgetown that was published in its bicentennial by Francis Barbour Lombard in 1998; Short History of St. John's Church, Georgetown Parish 1796-1968, written by Mary Mitchel; and a similar short version written by William B. Cobb in 1998. It should be noted that there were no specific mention of the names of Black parishioners from its founding until approximately 1847 in the church registries. Another reference used extensively was an unpublished parish history written by Margaret Shannon in 1995. Another source was a beautifully handwritten "historical account" found in the parish archives compiled by the Rev. Dr. Butler in 1847. The histories of neighboring Christ Church, Georgetown and Grace Church, Georgetown, both Episcopal churches, were also reviewed. Other important references included the book From Slave Ship to Harvard, written by James H. Johnston, which provides an excellent history of early Georgetown and slavery. Another important source was the third edition of Black Georgetown Remembered published in 2022 by Kathleen M. Lesko, Valerie Babb, and Carroll Gibbs. Visits were made to review documents in the Maryland Diocesan archives in Baltimore and the Peabody Room at the Georgetown Public Library. Specific information requests were also responded to by the archivist of the Diocese of Washington. From these and other sources, specific references to Black people at St. John's and in Georgetown were noted and referenced in this text.

What was known at the outset of this effort? Al LaPorta, St. John's historian, had previously researched St. John's archives and for several reasons (no church burial ground, few related records at the church), he felt that a more complete history might be difficult to assemble. As a starter, he could provide the records only 25 to 30 Black individuals who had participated in services at St. John's. Their names and others subsequently found are listed in this document, but those are obviously nowhere near a complete record of the Black people who were enslaved or employed by St. John's white members.

There were a few other glimpses into St. John's institutional racist history: for example, an 1884 photograph currently hanging in the church's interior shows a gallery that was originally built, in part, to accommodate Black people's church attendance and to keep them separate from white parishioners.

Finally, it is hoped that this Racial History will provide a more comprehensive understanding of St. John's parishioners' historical involvement in enslavement, and other important aspects affecting Black community relations, including such topics as the African Colonization Initiative; the Black Codes of Georgetown; post-Civil War freeing of slaves; and segregation and gentrification of Georgetown. The Racial History will discuss: 1) the Practice of Enslavement; 2) St. John's Founding; 3) Early Struggles within the Parish; 4) Colonization, A Reaction to the Prospect of the Abolition of Slavery; 5) Closing St. John's and Its Use as An Artist's Studio; 6) the Pre-Civil War Era and a Glimmer of Empathy; 7) the Founding of Grace Church; 8) Gentrification and the Civil War; 9) The Diocesan Mission Church Movement; 10) Reconstruction Period and Segregation; 11) Gentrification and Civil Rights Era; 12) Contemporary Race-Related Activities and Issues; 13) Preliminary Conclusions; 14) Reflections Upon the Effects of Enslavement and Persistent Institutional Racism; and 15) Possible Next Steps.

I. THE PRACTICE OF ENSLAVEMENT

The site where St. John's was established was originally in the Colony of Maryland. Settlers learned, early in the colony's history, that they could earn substantial income from tobacco, which enjoyed a ready market in Europe. Tobacco cultivation required intensive manual labor, which could be supplied by the settlers themselves, indentured servants, convicts, or enslaved persons. Enslavement was driven by potential for high economic returns. Thus, traders imported large numbers of enslaved Africans to be sold for work in the tobacco fields. Colonial legislatures began enacting laws intended to control the slave population. The collection of colonial laws aimed at not only enslaved persons but also at free blacks became known as "slave codes." Among other legislative controls, these codes specifically decreed that those persons imported for slavery were enslaved for life and that their children would also be enslaved.

The profit potential from the slave trade was stupendous. The price of a slave transported to Maryland or Virginia was, say, 20 British pounds. A slave could produce tobacco worth 50 or 60 pounds every year, generating approximately three times the purchase price in income by the end of the first year of ownership.[1] In Maryland, slave ownership emerged and was instituted with little public debate. The transatlantic slave trade became an accepted and regular practice, tainting the highest levels of the colony's society and government and later the early government of the United States.[2]

As tobacco in Maryland was grown and processed on plantations and farms for sale in Europe, growers needed to transport their output to the nearest seaport. To accommodate

[1] Johnston, James H., From Slave Ship to Harvard, pp 28-29.
[2] Johnston, p 32.

that, early plantation settlements in Maryland grew up on the Eastern Shore, the land east of the Chesapeake Bay, and on the long strip of land between the Bay and Potomac River, i.e. areas readily accessible by ship. Planters, wanting more land for tobacco cultivation, kept moving westward, and so within a few years a port on the Potomac River was established where a small river, called Rock Creek, flowed into the Potomac. That port was the brainchild of a formerly indentured Scotsman named Ninian Beall (pronounced Bell), who rose to serve as the Commandant of the Maryland military and was rewarded by the Colony for his service with land located along the Potomac River.[3] The port's location on the Potomac gave access to relatively large ships because of a deep hole that Rock Creek had eroded in the river bed and its sediment. Larger ships could stably anchor there for longer times, despite the tidal shifts. And this was the beginning of Georgetown.

It is also important to understand the importance of the Anglican Church in colonial Maryland. Maryland's General Assembly in 1692 repealed all previous laws relating to religious liberty and passed an Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion within the Province. This Act ordered Maryland's ten counties to be divided into 30 parishes. "In establishing counties and county courts," colonial historian Edmund Morgan observed, "they were taking one step toward re-creating the pattern of then-English society. By dividing their counties into parishes, each with a vestry and church wardens, they took another step to imitate that structure. Further, to finance the construction of parish churches in Maryland and support the Anglican clergy, each vestry annually collected 40 pounds of tobacco per poll (all males and all enslaved persons over 16) to build and maintain "the established church." The first brick church in Durham Parish, Port Tobacco, Maryland, for example, was erected in 1732 with an appropriation of 30,000 lbs. of tobacco. The historic churches in Southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake were constructed benefitting from this subsidy, and still stand today as brick monuments to the close relationship between Church and State during that era.[4]

The Anglican Church (called after the Revolutionary War, the Protestant Episcopal Church) organized in what would become Washington, D.C. under the Diocese of Maryland. The first Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland in 1792 and, also, the first Episcopal Bishop ordained on American soil, was Bishop Thomas John Claggett. According to the Maryland Diocesan History of Slavery, he owned seven enslaved persons while serving as the rector of St. James' Parish in Anne Arundel County. In fact, most Episcopal clergy in Maryland at that time owned enslaved persons. According to this same report by the Diocese of Maryland, enslavement was accepted by all the Episcopal churches in the Diocese of Maryland as part of the economic and social system. One in six families in Maryland owned enslaved persons.

At one point, Maryland's governor proclaimed the Town of George to be the largest tobacco port in the United States.[5] Its early prosperity resulted from its prominence as a bustling, independent tobacco shipping port. In about 1745, George Gordon built a tobacco inspection house at the foot of High Street (now Wisconsin Avenue). Nearly one-third of all

[3] Johnston, p. 31

[4] Shannon, Chapter 1, page 4.

[5] Lesko et al., p. 6.

Maryland residents at the time were Black people who had been imported to work as enslaved persons in tobacco production. In 1751, the General Legislature of Maryland approved the purchase of sixty acres from George Gordon and George Beall (a descendant of Ninian) to erect a town. Later that year the General Assembly authorized the settlement to organize itself as the "Town of George," reputedly named after George II.[6] James Johnston, who wrote From Slave Ship to Harvard, noted in a Washington Post op-ed that Georgetown itself was never a "slave port", as no slave-bearing ships actually arrived there.[7] While that may be factually correct, it did not preclude the Town of George from being populated by a considerable number of enslaved persons brought there by their owners. Apparently, once enslaved persons arrived at the southern Maryland ports, some were moved or traded to homes, farms, and work sites in and around the colony, with a considerable number reaching the Town of George.

The Town also soon acquired a reputation for its active slave trading. In 1760, John Beattie established a slave trading business on what is now the intersection of High Street and what would become O Street[8]. He set up his stone auction block a short distance away on the east side of High Street (now Wisconsin Avenue). And a slave holding pen was located nearby on the future O Street.

The compromise of 1790 gave George Washington the right to choose the location of the nation's capital. He chose a 10-square mile area near his Mt. Vernon Plantation on January 24, 1791. The land was owned by David Burns, Daniel Carroll, Samuel Davidson, Robert Peter, and Notley Young, who coordinated to combine their land in a block for purchase. Washington met with Thomas Corcoran, who would later become an initial St. John's pewholder and wealthy businessman, and 50 others in Georgetown, who supported his actions.

In the second U.S. census in 1800, in an area slightly larger than present-day Georgetown, there were 1,449 enslaved persons and 277 free Black people out of a total population of 5,120.[9] Free Blacks lived in a particularly precarious civil state: not enslaved, but not truly free, they were subjected to the harsh restrictions of the ordinance of the Georgetown Corporation. In 1795, for example, free Blacks, for example, were denied the right to assemble in groups of seven or more.

I. ST. JOHN'S FOUNDING

Beginning in 1794, the Rev. Walter Dulany Addison, then the rector in charge of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, and later rector of King George's Parish (1801-1809), began to hold services and preach to a few Episcopalian families in Georgetown. Those services were initially held in a nearby Presbyterian Church, through the hospitality of its pastor, Rev Stephen B. Balch.

[6] Lesko et al, p 1-2.
[7] Johnston, James, Washington Post op-ed.
[8] Saint John's eventual address would be 3240 O Street.
[9] Lesko et al, p. 3.

St. John's, the first, then-called, Protestant Episcopal congregation in Georgetown, was founded in 1796 by Rev. Addison. In that same year, Colonel William Deakins, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, gave a plot of ground for the construction of St. John's Church building, just five years after Washington had arranged the purchase of the land for the capital.

The Peabody Room of the Georgetown Public Library provided an annotated list of 117 subscribers who "promised to pay . . . for the purpose of building the walls and covering a Protestant Episcopal Church in Georgetown, August 1796." The professional positions held by some of these subscribers are notable: Samuel Hanson, editor of the newspaper Columbian Chronicle; John T. Mason, son of George Mason, one of the country's founding fathers; Thomas Sims Lee, second governor of Maryland; Patrick McGruder, second Librarian of Congress; Benjamin Stoddert, first Secretary of the Navy; and Lloyd Beall, mayor of Georgetown just after the church's founding. A full list of the original Subscribers, along with what is known about them is found in Appendix A.

The 154 subscribers paid in $4,245 for the church's construction. Even future President Thomas Jefferson contributed $50 (a sizeable amount at the time) to the building fund. Once those funds were raised, construction started in 1796. However, it resulted that there were insufficient funds to complete the planned structure.[10] The walls could only be built up to the bottom of the first-floor window sills, where construction stopped in 1797.

So far, no records of enslaved persons who may have built the structure have been found. It was, however, a common practice that many enslavers made money from contracting out their enslaved persons when not needed for tobacco cultivation or other work. One can surmise that the local planters and tradesmen put some of their workers to work constructing the initial church structure, as will be demonstrated later in this document.

As a sort of desperate attempt to raise more funds to finish St. John's construction, Rev. Elijah D. Rattoone, Associate Rector at St. Paul's Church in Baltimore and evidently a friend of Rev. Addison, wrote a letter in 1803 to the Rector and Vestry of Trinity Church in New York appealing for financial support. His letter was accompanied by a memorial (memorandum) from the Trustees of the Church at Georgetown. The letter read:

"Having perused a memorial from the Trustees of the Church at Georgetown, at their request I am induced to certify that the statement they have given is perfectly correct. The exertions they have made – the difficulties they have encountered and the great importance of the Episcopal Church taking a primary and superior lead, where at the seat of Government, they are now so much divided, a consideration which I have no doubt, will have their due weight, when you shall take into view the facts they have stated. I should regret that from the very small number of wealthy Episcopalians living in that place, & from

[10] It is often stated that Dr. William Thornton, who designed the Capitol, also drew the plans for St. John's. That is apparently true, but, according to Thornton, the builders deviated from the plans. He wrote, "The person who laid the foundation has made an alteration in it which will not only ruin the appearance, but also render the entrance very inconvenient." Thornton suggested alterations, but they apparently were not used.

the great sacrifices they have made to accommodate the poorer classes of the same society, they should not be able to complete the church, and form the most respectable establishment." While this letter clearly depicted the predicament of St. John's founders, it is not evident that Trinity Church sent any support. Nevertheless, construction resumed in 1803 and was mostly completed later that year.[11] That original structure measured 42 by 51 feet and was two stories in height.[12]

The pewholders voted to install their first rector late in 1803. The president of the pewholders was Francis Scott Key's uncle, Philip Barton Key. Philip, who owned a plantation near Leonardtown, MD and was a lawyer in Annapolis, was recently identified in the Washington Post[13] as an enslaver who served as Federal judge twice and subsequently as a U.S. Congressman. Many of the original pewholders who are listed in a framed document on display at St. John's today, were, based on on-line searches, enslavers.

Oft-repeated lore identifies Francis Scott Key as one of the founders of St. John's and a member of its original vestry. However, it should be noted that he would have only been 17 years old at the time of the original fund-raising. Key had studied at St. John's College in Annapolis from 1789 (age 10) until 1796. Thereafter, he studied law at his uncle Philip's law practice in Annapolis. Francis was probably not listed among the initial pewholders because of his age and the dominance of his uncle as the primary pewholder for their family. However, as will be seen below, Francis did become a vestry member in around 1809 -- and he was also an enslaver.

The initial rector of St. John's, who was voted for by a majority of the pewholders, was John J. Sayrs. Reverend Sayrs, served from April 3, 1804 to 1809. He, too, was an enslaver. Originally from New York, he had served at the previously-mentioned Durham Parish (at Port Tobacco) in southern Maryland. There he met and married Sophia Speake, daughter of a church vestryman. Reverend Sayrs, while rector of St. John's, suffered an untimely death. Following his death, his widow, left with two children, was forced to settle their debts by selling her household furnishings, along with two Negro enslaved persons**,** to return to her family in Southern Maryland."[14]

From the start, Black attendees of St. John's, likely household servants of the pewholders or perhaps free Blacks, were denied the use of the chancel. A special staircase was bult for their use outside the building, which accessed an upstairs gallery. Black members could attend church only in that gallery, indicating their perceived inferior civil status.[15] This

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[11] Hayes, Charles W., Parish Register 1869-1880, notes that the building was finished in 1804-5 and Inventory of Diocese of Washington Archives claims that the building was not fully completed until 1806.

[12] It is unclear whether any of these funds came from the Diocesan tax upon males and enslaved persons over 16 years of age.

[13] Washington Post, January 16, 2022, page 1.

[14] Shannon, page 25.

[15] Lesko et al, p. 6. Nearby Old Trinity Catholic Church also had a gallery for Blacks who had to enter by an external stairwell. Blacks could not attend Sunday School or take communion. Black children were also not allowed to use the public libraries. Additional source: CAG Discussion on Blacks in Georgetown, February 9, 2022.

staircase still exists and now leads from a recently-built atrium to a pre-school office located on the second-floor gallery of present-day St. John's.

In 1809, "the Diocesan convention accepted a petition to form a separate Georgetown parish, defined as that part of the original Washington parish that lay west of Rock Creek. Walter Dulany Addison took over as rector again in that year. In October 1809, Bishop Claggett arrived to consecrate two Protestant Episcopal churches in the District of Columbia – Christ Church at the Navy Yard, and St. John's Georgetown." [16] Based on that, St. John's is the third oldest Episcopal parish in Washington, D.C.

As of 1811, within two years of its consecration, "St. John's church was thronged to an overflow, with all who were most elevated in station, and in wealth, from the Capital; most the pews in the gallery were then rented at high rates, and to persons of great respectability; the street before the door of the church was filled with glittering vehicles, and liveried."[17]

One can further see by the presentation of some key dates the convergence of economic and political activities in Washington that stimulated the desire and enthusiasm among some of the Georgetown population for the founding of St. John's:

Tobacco inspection house constructed before Georgetown was founded	1745
Formal founding of the "Town of George," then part of Maryland	1751
U.S. Federal District established	1790
Foundation laid for St. John's Georgetown	1796
Federal District formally named District of Columbia	1796
St. John's construction ceased without completion	1797
Federal Government established in the District of Columbia	1800
St. John's construction completed after additional funds raised	1803
Hiring of John J. Sayrs, the first rector	1804
Consecration of St. John's as a separate Georgetown Parish	1809

However, at the time of that report of a glittering, enthusiastic assembly of congregants, an economic downturn in Georgetown had already begun. And there would be other issues at St. John's. Starting with the construction of the Long Bridge (now the 14th Street Bridge) in 1808, the resulting silting of the Potomac River began to block the Georgetown harbor, leading to a sharp drop in tobacco shipping as well as other types of maritime shipping. Competition from railroads and the then-superior ports below in Washington City, also reduced Georgetown's economic prominence.[18]

In 1812, Washington was in a tremendous turmoil as the United States entered into war again with England. One source described the effects of that conflict as follows: "War and high political excitements are alike disastrous to the cause of religion." Unfounded rumors of a slave revolt caused members of the American militia to flee the capital and surrounding counties in Virginia and Maryland. This gave British troops the ability to take over the

[16] The Changing Face of St. John's, page 40.
[17] Hayes, op cit.
[18] Lesko et al, p. 12.

undefended city, and the White House and Capitol were ultimately burned by the invaders on January 24, 1814.[19]

A reaction to a feared slave revolt was memorialized by Francis Scott Key in what became the third verse of the National Anthem:

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country, should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

II. ST. JOHN'S EARLY STRUGGLES

The economic and military impacts described above had the effect of weakening St. John's parish. Furthermore, Rev. Addison became distracted from tending to parish affairs as he was busily helping elsewhere to erect a Methodist church for a group of Black people. According to his grandson, "there was a Methodist meeting-house belonging to colored people in the neighborhood (near St. Barnabas) over whom Mr. A. had much influence, and for whom he sometimes officiated." Addison apparently had given them the building lot around 1800 on which to build a more permanent church.

In addition, Addison seemed to hold "low" Episcopalian Church views and therefore carried less formal worship, but he was reluctant to openly oppose at-that-time Bishop Kemp on those specific issues. Addison's St. John's congregation now included some of the most impatient and vocal Low Churchmen in the Diocese. Francis Scott Key was one of those. Thomas Henderson, a distinguished physician, was another. Addison's temporizing nature was incompatible with this forceful group's more impatient views.[20]

Nothing adverse happened, however, until 1816 when Addison decided to go ahead with the construction of the church for the Black Methodist community. He raised subscriptions of funds "from his many friends and members of his congregation in Georgetown." That was reportedly a fatal step for Addison, who was forced out over the next three years. Prior to Addison's resignation, a young man named Reuel Keith had passed through Georgetown on his way to be ordained as an Episcopal priest by Bishop Richard Channing Moore of Virginia. He was recognized by the leading Episcopal laymen at St. John's as a brilliant scholar with pronounced Evangelical views. These men proposed Keith as an assistant to Addison, and Keith accepted. Accounts of Keith that survive suggest that he was a man of genuinely transfixing spirituality. He also was an uncompromising advocate of the primacy of scriptural authority and an avid student of Christology, which matched the views of the

[19] French, Howard W., Born in Blackness, 2021, page 405.
[20] Metzdorf, History of Christ Church, p. 9.

vocal Low Church adherents at St. John's. Additionally, he joined forces with those seeking a local theological seminary.

Due to Addison's lack of commitment to the church, a new Episcopalian church named Christ Church was formed just three blocks east that gave Keith his own pulpit and an unobstructed field of endeavor in a low church. Francis Scott Key, Lay Delegate to the 1818 Maryland Diocesan Convention, officially offered an unambiguous explanation. In petitioning for recognition of the new Christ Church congregation, he asserted that "Saint John's Church was incompetent to the accommodation of all persons of the episcopal communion in George-town."[21] Key thereafter left St. John's for Christ Church and was followed thereafter by many of St. John's parishioners.

With these internal and raging pressures, St. John's mission became impaired. Addison's continued efforts to help Black Christians form a church led to his resignation in 1819, thus ending his decade-long ministry. The internal turmoil had resulted in the deterioration of St. John's from the brilliant gathering place for many connected with Jefferson's second administration to one serving only eleven families. The blame could not be laid entirely at Addison's feet. Both changing politics and a strengthening evangelical (Low Church) movement helped render him obsolete, a relic of an age gone by.[22]

It is important to note that in 1816, just as Addison was founding the church for Black people, another Black church called the Meeting House, or the Little Ark, was built in Georgetown to accommodate 125 Black members of the Montgomery Street Church. This Black church was important to the status of churches such as St. John's because it indicated something else, which was a strong reaction to the racism manifested in the poor treatment of Black people in White churches. The environment was changing and this newly-formed Black church, known today as the Mount Zion United Methodist Church, became the first Black church in Georgetown. This initiative by Black parishioners started a church creating momentum that lasted over the next 60 years. Black people, who had grown tired of segregated pews, often in separate upstairs galleries, along with specially designated stairways, and restricted baptisms and other rites, founded four additional Black churches in Georgetown.[23] The exit of the Black people, certainly free Blacks, away from White churches had a lasting effect.

In 1821, Stephen H. Tyng took over St. John's rectorship and stayed until 1823, while the number of communicant families grew to 33.

III. COLONIZATION, A REACTION TO THE PROSPECT OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

Elsewhere in the U.S., especially among northern abolitionists in Pennsylvania and New York, slavery itself was being questioned. In response, the African Colonization Society

[21] Op cit, p. 10.

[22] The Living God, Shannon, p. 37.

[23] Lesko et al, p. 8.

was founded on December 16, 1816, in Washington, D.C. The Society's basic concept was that, if slaveowners were ultimately compelled to give up their enslaved people through manumission, then those freed people should be sent back to Africa, rather than being freed in the U.S. The idea was promoted as a good Christian act, never mind that a large percentage of enslaved persons in 1816 had spent their entire life in America. The movement had broad support that included some important figures including James Monroe and young Abraham Lincoln. The destination for this "colonization" was to become the African country of Liberia.

Old friends in the two Georgetown Episcopalian Churches, St. John's and Christ Church, continued to work together on causes of mutual interest and specifically formation of the African Colonization Society. In December 1819, a committee composed of two Virginians, General John Mason (St. John's parishioner) and General Walter Jones (Christ Church); Francis Scott Key (Christ Church); and one member from elsewhere in the District of Columbia, "presented a memorial (memorandum) to Congress in which they expressed the view that if Colonization should result in the complete abolition of slavery, 'Who can doubt that all the blessing we may be permitted to bequeath to our descendants, this (initiative) will receive the richest tribute of their thanks and veneration.'"[24] In other words, they would be doing good for their descendants and Black people by shipping the latter group to Liberia. And, ultimately, about 10,300 enslaved persons were dispatched to Africa.

In 1838, Francis Scott Key looked back on his participation in the African Colonization effort in a revealing exchange of letters with Rev. Benjamin Tappan, a Congregational minister. Key prefaced his reply by hypocritically saying:

> "He (Key) had been born and reared in Maryland, a slaveholding State, but said 'No Northern man began the world with more enthusiasm against slavery than I did. For forty years and upwards, I have felt the greatest desire to see Maryland become a free state, and the strongest conviction that she could become so.' For he believed that "no slave State adjacent to a free State can continue so."
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> "I have emancipated seven of my enslaved persons. They have done pretty well, and six of them, now alive, are supporting themselves comfortably and creditably. Yet I cannot but see that this is all they are doing now; and, when age and infirmity come upon them, they will probably suffer. It is to be observed, also, that these were selected individuals, who were, with two exceptions, brought up with a view to their being so disposed of, and were made to undergo a probation of a few years in favorable situations, and, when emancipated, were far better fitted for the duties and trials of their new condition than the general mass of enslaved persons. Yet I am still a slaveholder, and could not, without the greatest inhumanity, be otherwise. I own, for instance, an old slave, who has done no work for me for years. I pay his board and other expenses, and cannot believe that I sin in doing so.

[24] Shannon, Margaret, The Living God, unpublished history of St. John's, page 33.

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> "The laws of Maryland contain provisions of various kinds, under which enslaved persons, in certain circumstances, are entitled to petition the courts for their freedom. As a lawyer, I always undertook these cases with peculiar zeal, and have been thus instrumental in liberating several large families and many individuals. I cannot remember more than two instances, out of this large number, in which it did not appear that the freedom I so earnestly sought for them was their ruin. It has been so with a very large proportion of all others I have known emancipated."
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> Tappan's response: "Does the opinion generally prevail among the ministers and members of southern churches that slaveholding as practiced in this country, is sanctioned by the Word of God? If this is not their opinion, how do they justify themselves in holding enslaved persons?"
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> Key's reply: He thought the Bible did not sanction slaveholding, *under all circumstances*. But rather he felt that the Golden Rule should be applied in each case. He continued, "Hundreds and thousands of Christians, showing in their whole life, undoubted evidences of the faith which they profess, have so applied this rule to their consciences, and so come to this conclusion. Their brethren at the North, knowing nothing of the peculiar circumstances under which they have acted, nor of the care and faithfulness with which they have inquired and decided, call upon them to justify themselves for violating the sanctions of God's Word.[25]

Despite Key's canny and contradictory replies and his intent to continue as a slaveowner, there were at this time emerging signs of Black social progress: the enslaved were occasionally being freed through manumission, and some earned enough money to buy small houses in Georgetown. However, along with the progress came harsh attempts to control Black people's behavior. In 1848, Georgetown adopted its first formal Black Code (Ordinances of the Corporation of Georgetown), which copied Washington City's Black Code. The adoption of the Code had been brought about, in part, by a Georgetown fire of mysterious origin that was rumored to have been set by Black people. The harshness of these laws can be demonstrated by the following examples: (1) The code decreed that seven or more Black people could not congregate together publicly; (2) That any Black person swimming in the Potomac or Rock Creek at night "shall be publicly whipped"; (3) that any Black person who watched a cockfight could be punished with as many as 39 lashes; and (4) that even a Black flying a kite was punishable by whipping.

In that same year, 77 enslaved Georgetown persons tried to escape Black Code oppression on a ship called the Pearl. Furious owners sent a posse on a steamer called the Salem to recapture them, catching up with the Pearl 140 miles downriver.[26] The bottom line regarding the Black Code is that Whites feared freed Blacks' behavior and possible retaliation by them and thus sought to control and punish Black people in numerous ways.

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[25] The Living God, Shannon, p. 23.l

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IV. CLOSING ST. JOHN'S AS A CHURCH AND ITS USE AS AN ARTIST'S STUDIO

In about 1831, St. John's, still a parish with a limited membership, ran out of funds. It could not even pay its taxes and was forced to rent out the church building as a workshop to an artist, Ferdinand Pettrich. He called the converted church the "Swallow Barn."

At that time, the displacement of more than 100,000 Indians to permanent reservations in the 1830s along a "Trail of Tears" resulted in a series of Indian Treaties being signed in Washington. While in the nation's capital for the signing of these treaties, many Indian leaders were induced to sit for portraits by some of the great artists of the day. Of great interest were the portraits executed by Pettrich of distinguished Indian leaders from several tribes who visited his converted studio. Five folios of lithographs based on these portraits were published in Baltimore in 1842. The folios' title page stated that "The above portraits were originally drawn from life, full-size, mounted on the four walls of Pettrich's studio" – that is, on the four interior walls of St. John's Church.[27]

By late 1837, the informally operating parish had recovered enough financially to pay off the tax bill (apparently about $50) held by William W. Corcoran, ending Petrich's tenancy. The money was raised by Miss Helen Stewart, a "zealous lady" who gathered a few young girls about her into a sewing circle and raised the necessary amount to redeem the property. When the repayment was offered to Corcoran, who was known as a philanthropist, he returned it, together with the title deeds. In early 1838, St. John's was re-established, refurbished and reconsecrated.

V. THE PRE-CIVIL WAR ERA AND A GLIMMER OF EMPATHY

There is a dearth of information on Black people at St. John's until 1847. One often reliable source of such information, the parish registries, held no records of Black baptisms or marriages.[28]

In 1842, St. John's underwent remodeling. Captain G.F. De La Roche prepared a plan by which the church would be lengthened and the galleries expanded.

In 1844, a questionnaire was sent out by Bishop Whittingham to all the parishes in the Maryland Diocese. One might conclude that the questionnaire had been prompted by some Diocesan thought that enslavement might someday end and that the Episcopal Church should be ready to assist its Black members. At the time, St. John's rector was Alexander Shiras, who responded to the Bishop's questions:

Bishop's Question: Have there been any special religious services for the benefit of the servants?
Answer: None

[27] Ibid. p.33.

[28] LDS Family History Library reference found in the Peabody Room files.

Question: Do you have a Sunday School?
Answer: Sunday School is held in the gallery and is attended by about 60 (author's note: no racial reference was made).
Question: What are the dimensions of your church and how many people can be accommodated?
Answer: 73' x 42' Could accommodate 370 on the ground floor and 130 in the galleries = 500.
Question: Does your church sell or rent pews?
Answer: Pews: some sold; some let; some free. The pews in the gallery are free.
Question: What accommodation is there for servants and free colored people?
Answer: Ample accommodation in <u>one</u> of the galleries. (Rev. Shiras's response did not include the underlining.)
Question: Were schools established by your parish?
Answer: Parish schools were established as a pay school. A "poor" school was maintained by the Ladies of the Congregation.

Significantly, and what must have been a growing consensus regarding the future of Black people, an Act of Congress banned all slave trading in Washington City in 1850. As noted above, Georgetown was identified as one of the "the most active slave trading locations in the country."[29] Despite the ban on slave trading, slavery was nevertheless still widely practiced. In contrary, Mount Zion Church, the first Black church, became a stop on the Underground Railroad.[30]

It seems that with the banning of slave trading there were some brightening rays of racial enlightenment at St. John's. In 1846-48, Rev. Tillinghast emphasized "the need to extend the church's work to the poor."[31] Throughout the 1850s, in a clear change of practice from the previous decades of St. John's, Black people were regularly included in the lists of official rites, such as baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Invariably, the designation "colored" was entered with the names of persons subject to these religious rites into the parish register.

From the middle of the century, there were Black communicants at St. John's. The records of the 1840s through 1860s included marriages between enslaved persons, as well as between free Blacks, and baptisms and burials of both slave and free.[32] It should also be noted that enslaved persons were officially freed in Washington, DC in 1862, a major step forward. To ease the transition, the government compensated the owners for their enslaved persons' market value (instead of compensating the freed enslaved persons!). Margaret Barber, a member of St. John's, claimed $25,000 in compensation for thirty-four enslaved persons. Since her husband's death in 1853, Mrs. Barber, like several other Washington widows, had prospered as a "resident manager," hiring out her enslaved persons as field hands and laborers in neighborhood tanneries and slaughterhouses. A superb business

[29]CAG, Discussion of Black Georgetowners, February 9, 2022
[30] Lesko, p. 17.
[31] Mitchel, Mary, <u>A Short History of St. John's Church from 1796 – 1968.</u>
[32] Lumbard, p. 170.

woman, she continued to manage a seventy-acre farm located where the U.S. Naval Observatory now stands and invested substantially in Georgetown real estate.

The following specific information on Black people was found in the parish registers and, given the dates of the information, they were likely enslaved as household servants:

June 1, 1847
Marriage of Hiram Gray (colored) to Caroline Butler (colored)

June 1854
Confirmations by N.P. Tillinghast, Rector, and the Right Rev. W.R. Whittingham, Bishop

22 Whites confirmed

Coloured confirmation candidates:
Siney Nash.
Mary Brice
Lucy Alexander
Mary Grant
Sarah Price

October 3, 1854
Marriage of Wm. Giles, coloured, of the Estate of Abner Pierce to
Mary Sarah Price, who belonged to T. Grayson Dashiell

March 8, 1855
Marriage of John Lee, coloured, belonging to Mr. Murdock, to
Harriet, (coloured) belonging to Mr. Thomas M. Marshall

January 11, 1858
Funeral of Mac Magruder, an old coloured man, residing on Second St.

April 30, 1858
Confirmations by N.P. Tillinghast, Rector, and the Right Rev. W.R Whittingham, Bishop
15 Whites confirmed
Coloured candidates:
Harriet Coxon
Annie Fisher
Rosetta Smoot
Priscilla Quay

August 16, 1867
Funeral of Eleanor Lee, Colored Woman, died on Dumbarton St., buried in Methodist Cemetery for coloured people

Communicants Removed from the Register from September 16, 1841 onward:

Aunt (?) Henney (colored), 18th & Washington (the church attended?) removed
Robert Bell (identified in the records as col'd)
Lucy Alexander (col'd) and confirmed at St. John's in 1854
Siney Nash (col'd) Removed and also confirmed in 1854
Caroline Chase (col'd) Removed
Mary Bruce (col'd) Deceased
Mary Grant (col'd) Removed and confirmed in 1854
Sarah Price (col'd) Removed and confirmed in 1854
Rachel Lathoron (col'd) Removed
Annie Fisher (col'd) Removed
Harriet Coxon (col'd) Removed
Priscilla Quay (col'd) Removed
Polly Middleton (col'd) at Mt. or Mr. Pictcull's ? St.

Perhaps these latter communicants, now freed, were a part of the migration to nearby Black churches. It is a discouragingly short list of actual communicants – not much evidence of what certainly would have been a much larger presence.

VI. THE FOUNDING OF GRACE CHURCH

Additional enlightenment regarding the plight of the poor, many of whom were undoubtedly Black, was evident in other parts of Georgetown in the 1840s. Sometime in early 1844, prosperous St. John's and Christ Church members became concerned with the welfare of the Potomac River sailors and canal boatmen living and working south of Bridge and Falls Streets, now known as M Street. St. John's decided to support a mission church on the waterfront and three of its vestrymen, Messrs. C. E. Rittenhouse, William G. Ridgely and L. Thomas, began holding services in private homes in that area. They later supervised the building of a wooden chapel on the site where a granite cross stands today in the southeastern corner of Grace Church's present church yard. It is unclear what the racial make-up of the first members were, but certainly many of the dockmen working in the port were Black.

A notable feature of the dock area was the C&O Canal. Begun in 1828, it was completed in 1850 as far as Cumberland, Maryland. After 22 years of construction, mule-drawn barges could ply its waters. Canal boatmen transported such items as grain, building materials, iron ore, groceries and coal between the District and the western Maryland farm country, and dock workers unloaded sailing ships at the wharves on the Potomac. Tobacco production had largely died out. Others worked in the flour mills, the grist and saw mills, and in the lumber and coal yards. Kathryn Smith, historian of Grace Church in 1976, quoted William Gordon in his Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown who wrote about the activities along the Georgetown waterfront prior to the Civil War. He described "vessels loading and unloading on the river, the carts and drays lining K Street, the old warehouses still hiding Indian relics in their damp earth floors, workmen naked to the waist at the iron smelter, and the Negro women cleaning fish at the fish wharf." Georgetown began to prosper again with completion of the canal, obviously using some Black labor.

The date most frequently given for the founding of Grace Church is 1855, likely referencing these first services. The construction of the small wooden chapel occurred in 1856. Rev. Henderson Suter at some point took charge of the mission and organized a Sunday school. Later, the son of Rev. Stephen Tyng, former rector at St. John's, who had also been a student at the theological seminary in Alexandria, carried on the work as a lay reader with several other seminarians.

Kathryn Smith further cited an article by Mary Mitchell, "Intimate Journey Through Georgetown," which described the crowded conditions on the waterfront during the Civil War. She noted that 1,000 coastal vessels, steam barges, and tugs used the harbor every month during the war and stored their cargo in the warehouses there. There was a relatively large number of waterfront workers and 3,000 to 4,000 seamen were frequenting K Street saloons and stores.

In 1862, Henry D. Cooke, brother of financier Jay Cooke came to Washington to open an office for Jay Cooke and Company in which he was a partner. Henry bought a large house at 30th & Q Streets and joined St. John's Church, according to Mary Mitchell's book Divided Town. The membership at St. John's was then composed mainly of prosperous northern businessmen like himself. He was soon (1863) elected to the Vestry of St. John's in which capacity he promoted the replacement of the wooden chapel of the Grace mission with a more permanent stone church. He then offered to finance the entire cost of $25,000 from his own funds. The need for such a mission church was evident to him.

In writing this Racial History, it was hoped that researching the founding of Grace Church would shine more light on the Diocesan involvement with Black people who worked along the waterfront, as the waterfront neighborhood was described as a vibrant, mixed population. That does not seem to be borne out by Kathryn Smith who found that, of the seventy-seven families listed as Grace Church communicants in 1872, only one, a man in a burial listing, was noted as "colored".[33] Perhaps this, once again, reflected the attraction of Black people to the more welcoming Black churches and the lack of attention given to them by White churches.

VII. THE CIVIL WAR

While Lincoln signed the *Emancipation Proclamation* almost two years earlier, it only applied to states that were in rebellion with the Union as of January 1, 1863. Enslaved persons were already free, as noted above, in DC.

During the Civil War, St. John's members included both supporters of the Union and the South. One prominent member, John Marbury, for example, was a Southern sympathizer. Margaret Adlum Barber, widow of Cornelius Barber, who was mentioned above, who had been one of the largest enslavers in the District of Columbia, was also a Southern sympathizer.

[33] Smith, Kathryn, Grace Episcopal Church and the Georgetown Waterfront, 1863-1910, unpublished, pp 18-2

In July 1864, Confederate General Jubal Early marched with 12,000 soldiers through Silver Spring and into the District, and the sailors and canal boatmen in Georgetown panicked over possible guerrilla attacks and refused to move. The vessels stacked up at the wharves for three months and tempers boiled.[34] No active fighting took place in Georgetown, but there was tension.

One December 7, 1865, after the war was over, St. John's Rev. Tillinghast gave a deeply thoughtful sermon at St. John's alluding to the challenges dividing the parish, the community and the country as they recovered from the war:

"There is peace in the land today. God Himself has willed it. Let there be peace in our own hearts! Let the Prince of Peace lay his arresting hand upon every unhallowed thought or impulse; every thought or impulse unworthy of the hour; every thought or impulse not in perfect harmony with the public tranquility that crowns and sanctifies this day of national rejoicing. Let us resolve and do all that in us lies to make the peace that reigns today over our country's hills and valleys a lasting peace . . . and as I firmly believe we are yet to be – a united congregation, zealous of good works working all together with pervading aim and impulse for the prosperity of our beloved church."[35] He does not mention the main cause of the war – slaveholding -- as this probably would have been too divisive

Rev. Tillinghast was cited in the Mary Mitchell's history of St. John's when she wrote, "St. John's was most fortunate in having a man with a Yankee background and experience in Southern churches."[36]

Prior to the war, St. John's, according to a Washington Post history, had been doing quite well as a parish. Among its supported organizations were the Sick Relief Society, which (according to that history) "provides delicacies and food, surgical appliances and comforts to the needs, regardless of creed or race. The Daughters of the King devote themselves to friendly visiting among the sick and poor." At that time, St. John's had 520 communicants and 2,000 baptized members.[37]

VIII. RECONSTRUCTION AND SEGREGATION

During the Civil War (1861-1865) and Reconstruction Period (1865-1877), more than 25,000 Black people moved to Washington. The fact that the city was mostly pro-Union and the nation's capital made it a popular destination.

Through the passage of Congress's Reconstruction Act of 1867, the city's Black men gained the right to vote three years before the passage of the 15th Amendment gave all men the right to vote. (Women only gained the right to vote in 1920.) The first Black municipal office holder was elected in 1868. When Washington briefly became a federal territory in

[34] Smith, Kathryn, History of Grace Church, 1974, pp 1-2.
[35] Tillinghast, Rev. N.P., Sermon delivered December 7, 1865.

[36] Mitchell, Mary, A Short History of St. John's Church from 1796 – 1968.
[37] "History of St. John's," Washington Post, May 30, 1903.

1871, Black men continued to make important decisions for the city. Lewis H. Douglass introduced the 1872 law making segregation in public accommodations illegal. But in 1874, in part because of the perception and fear of growing Black political power, the territorial government was replaced by three presidentially appointed commissioners. (This system survived until the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s returned a measure of self-government to the District.[38])

Following the end of the Civil War, civic leaders agreed that the preservation of the District of Columbia would require a regular, significant financial contribution from the federal government to support of the city. It seemed probable this would require a new form of local government and the uniting of Washington and Georgetown governments – a matter under consideration before the war. Although White civic leaders worried about political reform, as well as the effect of Black people having the right to vote through suffrage**,** Washington and Georgetown began to enjoy a return of the pleasures of social life.[39]

In February 1867, a new St. John's rector, Octavius Perinchief, proposed a new approach in which one-fourth of the pews would be free seats. The implication was that this would have made it easier for poorer Whites or freed Blacks to attend. And that idea went nowhere.

The next steps described below show how St. John's transformed into a nearly completely segregated church. While St. John's had not been completely blind to the needs of Black people, little previous effort was directed toward including them within its community of worship.

In the 1880s, references to any specific Black parishioners disappear completely from St. John's records. One small vignette, however, provides a somewhat positive story. In 1882, a local Black man named Lorenzo Harris was hired as sexton of St. John's. Being a sexton was essentially serving the role of a church officer. In this case there was substantial responsibility, but unfortunately little pay. In 1892, the rector, Rev. Regester, was called to serve in a church in Buffalo, New York, and he recruited the trustworthy Mr. Harris to join him there as sexton. [40]

The annual report of 1888 reported that the Diet Kitchen, which furnished free milk, beef, tea, and barley water to the sick, had recently extended its services "to cases of need among the colored people upon application of their physician." A year later, the agenda of the November meeting of St. John's brotherhood presented for discussion the topic "What can this church do for the interests of the colored people of this parish?"[41] It is unclear whether much was done at that time. It appears, though, that the forces of segregation were getting stronger.

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[38] McQuirter, Marya Annette, African American Heritage Trail (Cultural Tourism DC), Washington, DC, 2003.

[39] Op. cit., Lumbard, p. 120.

[40] Torrey, Barbara Boyle and Clara Myrick Green, Between Freedom and Equality, 2021, pages 118-9.

[41] Ibid. p. 171.

By 1900, Washington had the largest percentage of Black people of any city in the nation. Many came because of opportunities for federal jobs. Others were attracted to the myriad educational institutions. Howard University, founded in 1867, became a magnet for professors and students and would become the "capstone of Negro education" by 1930. The Preparatory School for Colored Youth, the city's first public high school, attracted college-bound students and teachers, many with advanced degrees. (Founded in 1870, the school became renowned as M Street High School, and later, Dunbar High School.) As far back as 1814, churches had operated and supported schools and housed literary and historical societies that promoted critical thinking, reading, lecturing, and social justice. Black people also created hundreds of black-owned businesses and numerous business districts.[42]

There were Episcopalian efforts to support Black people in other parts of the District. The King Hall Theological Seminary, largely funded by John Alsop King of New York, had been chartered by Congress as an independent religious education organization in 1891. Located on Washington's Sixth Street NW, near Howard University, it trained Black students for ministry in the Episcopal church. Bishop Satterlee from New York was among its supporters and was a regular lecturer until the seminary was closed in 1905 by the decision of the southern bishops. Meanwhile, Black churches became the source for Black people of social services, education protection and business opportunities.

In 1897, in a response to the new Bishop's visitation questions, which is preserved in Diocesan archives, the then-rector, Rev. Buck, answered starkly that St. John's made "no provision for the colored people, there were no colored communicants and no colored Sunday Scholars." The situation was in striking contrast even to the church of only twenty years before. This response affirmed that segregation was a reality.

IX. THE DIOCESAN MISSION CHURCH MOVEMENT

Rector Howden, called to St. John's in 1902, entered with a vigor that was not only directed toward the welfare of St. John's. In 1906, he led the congregation in establishing a mission chapel for Black residents of Georgetown. At the turn of the century, Georgetown's population was still about 30 percent Black and there was still the separation of the Black churches mentioned above. With no zoning regulations, the town was a jumble of commercial and residential buildings, of rich and poor, occupied by Black and White. The social separation of Blacks and Whites, however, had grown greater than it had ever been, not only in Georgetown, but in the nation as a whole. The principle of segregation, growing in practice, had been given legal standing by the 1896 Supreme Court Decision *Plessy v. Ferguson,* which established the doctrine of "separate but equal." Black people had gradually come to be unwelcome in places that had once accommodated both races to some degree. With the decision of the court, informal separation took institutional form. The Episcopal church was not immune to this development.

Howden's proposal to create a mission where Black people might worship apart from Whites was in keeping with the efforts of other major Episcopal churches in Washington.

[42] McQuirter, Marya Annette, Ibid.

St. John's Lafayette Square's initiative was to establish a mission chapel "for the colored" in Foggy Bottom (St. Mary's) and St. Alban's supported a mission in Tennallytown (now Tenley) called St. George's. At St. John's, this impetus recalled the congregation's support of, a half-century before, establishing a mission chapel (later Grace Church) to serve dock and canal workers.[43]

In March 1906, the vestry approved the temporary use of the parish hall to start a mission for the parish's few Black members. At a special meeting in 1907, Rev. Howden reported a donation of $1,200 from Miss Marianne Murdoch "to be used to establish a chapel for the colored people in memory of Miss Louisa Keith." The vestry agreed to augment these funds and authorized Howden to spend $2,500 to $2,600 to purchase the building at 1552 33rd Street from the West Washington Methodist Episcopal congregation, which was moving to larger quarters. This simple structure, built on a part of the old Presbyterian burial ground between Volta Place and Q Street, had been used by various religious groups since about 1800.

After considerable repairs, it was dedicated as an Episcopal chapel and the first services were held during Advent in 1907. Embellishments to the interior included the installation of a stone font, choir stalls, prayer desk, lectern, pulpit, altar, organ and bishop's chair. Seating capacity was 250. To fill the role of assistant in charge of what was to be called St. John's Chapel, St. John's hired Edmond Douse, who also served as vicar of St. Alban's Chapel (St. George's) in Tennallytown, giving half his time to each congregation. Douse was a native of Kingston, Jamaica, where he had been educated in private schools before entering the King Hall Theological Seminary in Washington. He was ordained in 1909, after St. John's vestry signed the appropriate canonical permissions. At the end of 1909, the vicarship of St. John's Chapel passed briefly to W.A.S. Wright, also Jamaican and a graduate of Howard University and King Hall. But Douse soon returned and remained as vicar.

Two years after its opening, St. John's Chapel reported thirty-nine baptisms, Sunday school enrollment of sixty, and attendance at regular services ranging from forty to two hundred. Considering the previously-mentioned realities of segregation and migration to Black churches, this result was clearly understandable and its attendance surged. The Chapel had a vested choir of nine, a chancel guild, and a women's auxiliary. St. John's was assisted in the chapel's maintenance with a grant from the Diocesan Board of Missions and by contributions from the chapel congregation itself. The latter covered the expenses of heat, light, sexton, and organist. Both St. John's church as well as the chapel were thriving in 1909. The year book put their combined membership at "some 2,100 souls".[44]

Additional support for such Mission churches was noted in the Journal of Proceedings for the 1912 Diocesan Convention of Washington. At that time the Diocese was apportioning pledges of 5% to 8% of parishes to support the Diocesan Mission Churches. In addition, there was a resolution "that a Committee consisting of the Archdeacon and five laymen be appointed to canvass among church people in the city of Washington for the support of Diocesan Missions for work among colored people, and especially for support of a City

[43] Ibid. p. 172.
[44] Ibid., p 173.

Missionary to supplement the amount already pledged."[45] Appendix C provides a description of St. John's Chapel's status in1912. Rector Howden of St. John's described the chapel in that year as "free of debt, well-equipped and ministering to a good-sized congregation of colored people."

The Diocesan Convention took on another challenging issue in a resolution that year: "That a Committee of three be appointed (one clergyman and two laymen) who shall be charged with the duty of giving circulation to the resolutions passed this morning relating to Sectarian teaching in Government Schools, and to the question of mixed marriages; and that they be instructed to send copies of the same to the Secretaries of all our Diocesan Conventions, to the President of the United States and his cabinet, and to the Senators and Representative of the several States of the Union."[46]

At the end of 1919, St. John's had appropriated $500 for repairs on the chapel, which was inadequate. And, by 1920, St. John's Chapel was unfortunately in financial trouble. It had received scant maintenance attention during the WWI years and the building suffered from neglect. The matter drew the attention of the increasingly active Diocesan Board of Missions, which at the 1920 convention reported: "St. John's Chapel, located in Georgetown, is surrounded by a large population of colored people, but owing to the inadequate equipment to meet the needs of the people, the work has not progressed in proportion to the splendid opportunities that are within our reach."

The Board of Missions continued a stipend of $480 for Douse, whom they commended as "a kind pastor to the congregations he served." But no further Diocesan aid was offered. In March 1921, a bequest of $4,800 from Miss Murdoch, designated as an endowment for the chapel, provided much-needed financial assistance, but more was needed.

In fact, as the Diocesan Board of Missions came to the opinion in the following year that the locations of Douse's two chapels – Tennallytown and Georgetown – were not actually where the need was. The influx of newcomers spurred initially by World War I, then by the subsequent growth of the Federal bureaucracy, had absorbed much of the housing that had formerly been available to working class Black people in northwest Washington. A map based on the 1920 census and included in the Journal of the Diocesan Convention of 1924 showed concentrations of Black populations in three areas of the city. The largest numbers were in the area extending east of the Capitol to the Anacostia River and in the far northeast quadrant from Soldier's Home to P Street. A smaller concentration was in Foggy Bottom. Based on these figures, the Committee on the State of the Church recommended that St. George's Chapel be relocated from Tennallytown. It was eventually settled at its current location at 2nd and U Streets NW.[47]

In 1921, while St. John's Church itself was without a rector, it was still working to support St. John's Chapel. Subsequently came the message from Bishop Harding: "Although $1,000 had been appropriated previously for the Vicar of St. John's Chapel for Colored

[45] Journal of Proceedings, Diocesan Convention of Washington, 1912, p.14.
[46] Ibid., p. 15.
[47] Ibid., p. 183.

People, it was presently without an incumbent. Bishop Harding advised St. John's vestry that "we cannot deal with the question of what you believe should be done in Georgetown to promote the work of the church among our Colored people, and especially of St. John's Chapel, until there is a rector at St. John's Church. I am very sympathetic with all that you say, and will bear it in mind for consideration when the time comes."[48] But the Mission Board, reporting to the Convention of 1921, deemed the need for expenditures as far greater: "A modern church and Parish House were necessary requisites towards the establishment of a permanent work."

The exodus of Black residents from Georgetown had been more gradual than that from the upper northwest part of the District, and the committee did not urge the near-term closing of St. John's Chapel. The Chapel's congregation, however, was gradually declining. In 1917, it reported 74 communicants; by 1925, only 51. Yet, at the Diocesan convention of 1925, the Board of Missions continued to urge that the rector and vestry of St. John's undertake the leadership for building a new church to serve the Black population of Georgetown. Separation of the races had become so complete in all phases of Washington life that even those with the greatest concern for incorporating Black people into the Episcopal fellowship did not think of opening St. John's Church to the small chapel's congregation.[49]

The problems of the Chapel dragged on. Five hundred dollars was appropriated for repairs in 1927. Early in 1928, the building committee inspected the building and recommended expenditure of an additional $930 to include some repairs and a new furnace. The vestry approved the repairs, but did not agree to the furnace. In the meantime, the resignation of Douse as vicar created a new problem. J.W. Mitchell, a deacon awaiting ordination to the priesthood, took on the position in January 1930, but the solution proved temporary. By year's end, the vestry asked then-Rector Francis Bland Tucker to confer with the Bishop on the question of closing the chapel and disposing of the property. Subsequently, the final service was held on June 28, 1931.[50]

Additional detail was written in the Sullivan history: "Although the church made valiant efforts to repair St. John's chapel and secure a permanent vicar, the rector met with the bishop in December 1930 to discuss closing the chapel and disposing the property. On May 1, 1931, Rev. Tucker formally informed the Bishop that "we have decided to close St. Johns Chapel, Georgetown, on or before July 1. **The population changes have diminished its usefulness, and the congregation is so small that it does not justify its continuance**. The endowment fund committee is in charge of the parish, and the bequest was made in a specific way that it cannot be used for work outside these parish limits, or except for colored work unless other heirs of the estate will release their claim permitting it to be used for colored work in the District. The heirs are being approached as to this."

Disposition of the chapel building was a simpler matter. Within a few months of its closing, the church received an offer of $4,500 from Carl F. Ernst, who planned to use it as a

[48] The Face of Thine Anointed, Shannon, p. 25.
[49] Op cit, p 184.
[50] Lombard, p 194.

residence. The building that had served as a community resource for more than a hundred years was thus converted to private use.[51]

X. GENTRIFICATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Beginning in the 1930s, young Whites coming into Washington DC to work for the Federal government had begun to buy, for modest prices, the small dwelling houses and shops owned by Black people in Georgetown and convert them into stylish homes.[52] Latent segregation drove Black people from formerly integrated communities, leaving only pockets of Black homeownship along the east side of Georgetown.

In 1933, the same year that President Franklin Roosevelt (1933-1945) began to end segregation in the federal government, the young Black men of the New Negro Alliance instituted "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns against racist hiring practices in white-owned stores in predominantly Black neighborhoods. The Washington chapter of the National Negro Congress also organized against police brutality and segregation in recreation beginning in 1936. The "Double V" effort - Victory Abroad, Victory at Home - increased civil rights activity. In 1943 Howard University law student Pauli Murray led coeds in a sit-in at the Little Palace cafeteria, a White-trade-only business near 14th and U streets, NW, an area that was largely Black.

In 1948 the Supreme Court declared that racially restrictive housing covenants were unconstitutional in the local Hurd v. Hodge case. Beginning in 1949 Mary Church Terrell led a multiracial effort to end segregation in public accommodations through pickets, boycotts, and legal action.

Four years later, in the case of District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co., the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation in Washington was unconstitutional based on the 1872 law passed during Reconstruction, but long forgotten. In 1954, a local case, Bolling v. Sharpe, was part of the landmark Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court decision, which declared separate education was unconstitutional. In 1957 Washington's Black population surpassed the 50 percent mark, making it the first predominantly black major city in the nation, and leading a nationwide trend. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom brought more than 250,000 people to the Lincoln Memorial. Its success was helped by the support and contributions of local churches and organizations. The assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, triggered immediate and intense reactions throughout the nation and the city.

Nationally, in the late 1960s, race relations were even more troubling than the menacing emergence of White hippies; and St. John's was not immune to those changing times. On one hand, many in St. John's congregation wished to explore and understand the issues being raised by increasingly militant Black organizations. On the other, there was a strong feeling at St. John's that the Diocese and the national church had become far too liberal in their support of these organizations and, as a result, were driving from the church the more conservative element that had been its traditional support. After considerable debate in 1969, St. John's vestry agreed to spend $300 for a professionally-led workshop on race

[51] Doorkeepers and Tent Dwellers, Shannon, p. 3.
[52] Lombard, p. 194.

relationships. The format would use role playing to enable participants understand how it felt to be a minority. As a follow-up, St. John's committee on community relations helped to establish a relationship with a Black congregation to continue a dialogue on racial issues. St. John's was rebuffed by St. George's, the church on U Street to which the parish rolls of St. John's Chapel had been transferred when it was closed. Mt. Zion Methodist Church in Georgetown was more receptive, and there were several meetings between the two congregations.

But the efforts to identify and support civil rights brought new tensions to St. John's. During the 1968 riots that resulted in buildings being burned and destroyed in the eastern side of Washington, many Black people were reacting to continued racism, injustice, and the federal government's abandonment of the city. Even before Dr. King's assassination, demands for equity and justice undoubtedly helped push the federal government to take first steps towards "home rule" by appointing a Black, Walter Washington, as mayor in 1967. In 1974 residents chose Washington as the city's first elected Black mayor and the first mayor of the 20th century.

By 1975, Black people were politically and culturally leading the city with more than 70 percent of the population. The Black Arts, Black Power, Women's, and Statehood movements flowered in Washington. Indeed, Marion Barry, whose questionable morals punctuated his term as mayor, began his public life as a leader of local justice movements. There were independent think tanks, schools, bookstores, and repertory companies. Go-go (DC's home-grown version of funk) as well as jazz, blues, and salsa, resonated from clubs, parks, recreation centers, and car radios. With the uniting of political activism and creativity, Black people were transforming the city.[53]

As these movements proceeded, concern about race relations policies adopted by the Diocese and the national church erupted into a vituperative debate. In the spring of 1969, the St. John's parish newsletter (the Sentinel) ran a passionate article by one parish leader who deplored the actions of the recent Diocesan convention:

"Thinking people must realize that the resolutions which were passed this session will have such a divisive effect on our Diocese that we will be able to meet few of the commitments in the 1969 budget. And who will support the $3,000,000 fund drive this year? The radical minority that stampeded their resolutions through the Convention, or the vast majority of concerned Christians who now feel further alienated and unrepresented by a Diocesan Convention that on one hand says segregation is evil, and the other establishes, by resolution, a black committee to select black representatives for a panel to study the racial problems of the city?"

The General Convention that summer aroused even greater fury by its decision to give $500,000 to the Black Economic Development Council (BDEC). St. John's rector, James Fenhagen, preached on the Convention's actions on September 7, 1969, and seventy-five parishioners gathered for discussion afterward. One parishioner cited Time magazine's assertion that: "One of BDEC's directors has indicated that one idea which this group has is

[53] Reprinted from Marya Annette McQuirter, African American Heritage Trail, Washington, DC (Washington: Cultural Tourism DC, 2003).

to raise capital for the poor Negro to legally allow the ghetto Negroes to operate various gambling houses, numbers rackets, houses of prostitution, etc."

Another St. John's parishioner reportedly was equally vehement: "Money will *never* solve the problems of Black Militants. It will serve only to further their hateful and ugly purpose which is the division of the people in this country, and to feed their oversized egos."

There were more positive voices among the letters: "The Convention has asked us to trust that the National Committee of Black Churchmen and the Black Economic Development Conference could act responsibly in investing . . . for the betterment of their people. I urge that our energies be used not in deploring this action but in praying that these groups may be given the wisdom to use these funds effectively."

Rector Fenhagen, in his letter to the congregation, rejected the extremist interpretations of the Convention's actions and reminded his parishioners of the importance of preserving unity in diversity. "It is becoming increasingly difficult for any group of people to respond to the issues of the world in ways which are not controversial . . . It is important, therefore, that we find ways in which differences of opinion may be heard, people's concerns taken seriously, and controversy squarely faced. In this way, controversy may contain for us the seeds of life."[54]

During the time of Rev. Peter Winterble in 1977, a church booklet expressed a more inclusive posture with photos of two Black children in Sunday School; a Black man pulling a rope, perhaps the rope to ring the bell in the tower; Black member Mel Mitchell of a mixed couple; and Silvia and Comfort Nwosu, perhaps Africans, and their four children: Samson, Chima, Chika, Paulina Chukwaocha. St. John's, it seems, was at last making an effort at integration.

XI. CONTEMPORARY RACE-RELATED ACTIVITIES AND ISSUES

Over the last 30 years, St. John's has had a limited number of Black parishioners. The parish has worked to cross the divide to Black communities with outreach support for programs such a Grate Patrol, a program that, in cooperation with the Salvation Army, provides meals to primarily Black homeless people on Washington's streets. St. John's outreach is also extended to the primarily Black homeless by participating in a joint effort of Georgetown churches to give them a dignified meal on Saturday afternoons. These meals are provided at Mt. Zion United Methodist Church. Another activity where needy Black persons have been supported is through the Jubilee Jobs entry level support program. St. John's recent outreach efforts also included the support of an Afghan refugee family in about 2017, followed by another Afghan refugee family in 2021. Our rector, Gini Gerbasi, was gassed by Federal police while engaged in a social justice ministry involving Black Lives Matter protesters in Lafayette Park. The periphery and streets of Georgetown today is home to poor, hungry, and unhoused Black people and others. St. John's responds primarily through its outreach activities.

[54] Lombard, pp 244-6.

XII. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

One conclusion that one might draw from the research for this historical paper is that, given the location of St. John's, first in a tobacco growing region and port followed by being in the newly created capital of the United States, events in Georgetown and Washington ran parallel and were affected by the racial history of the entire East Coast and Southeastern U.S. Not covered in this history were the numerous questionable points having to do with the displacement and treatment of the Native Americans.

Segregation and gentrification reduced Georgetown from a 30-40% Black community to one today having few Black residents. The extraordinary rise in house prices throughout DC, and particularly Georgetown, has resulted in less and less economic and racial diversity. Given the lack of Black people in the immediate community, St. John's has been unable to appeal to many Black people and because of these factors it remains challenging for St. John's parish to reach across that divide today.

This history may serve to make us aware of what transpired for Black people during the foundation of the United States and its early years, but it is still a challenge to imagine what can be done with this information. One thing that this history can do for us is to understand the pervasiveness of enslavement in the region, reactions to Black people's status as Americans, given the abolition movement and the Civil War, the passage of Black Codes, segregation, and civil rights movement. This view can enable us to look around to identify places in our society where we, as citizens, at a minimum, can change the conversation and be of assistance in a Christian and transformative way. We must not find ourselves in a fearful reaction to all things Black, but need to work compassionately to understand why Black crime rates, education, job discrimination, voting right curtailment and other contemporary challenges are related to the actions to dominate Black people (and Native Americans) prior to and during the founding of our country. Confederate flags being paraded through the Capitol in an insurrection in 2020 are, to Black communities and to many of us Whites, a demonstration that some Whites want to maintain White social and political domination to the extent possible.

Looking at the Washington Diocese, the complicity and condonement of slave trading and ownership by the Anglican and then the Episcopal Church has yet to be fully recognized and addressed. There is a strong need to put these histories together in a compelling version of the Church's role in this entire process and find a way for the Church to clearly express that we fully understand what the reality was and the damage that is has done and continues doing.

Further, considering St. John's history enables us to reflect on the situation in America today where some of the negative, residual effects of that racist history undoubtedly still have an effect. Our history and a new understanding of it can undergird steps that we as individuals and as a church might take regarding issues such as income and wealth disparities, voter suppression, health care shortfalls, and other issues. With strength and leadership from the Diocese, we can actively recognize this history and do what we can as individuals in an

Episcopal parish and together as a committed church to help reduce some of these deficiencies that remain in 2025 and will remain in the future.

XIII. THOUGHTS ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF ENSLAVEMENT UPON PERSISTENT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

One of the most challenging concepts that we are facing in the United States today is the division inherent in the conversation about racism. One side supports the advancement of minorities, particularly Black people. This might be typified by the Black Lives Matter movement. There is another side that is pushing back in every way possible with warnings about Replacement Theory, Critical Race Theory (CRT), Diversity, Equity and Integration (DEI), "woke" culture, and other angry manifestations against a changing world. Where is this coming from? Is it fear? Is it fear manifested as self-preservation? This division is impeding a serious discussion about race, and the creation of positive steps to alleviate this problem. It seems like this is unique to the United States, but probably many other countries are facing similar issues regarding skin color, class, poverty, and other ways that divide their communities or country.

Perhaps relevant, David Brooks wrote The Social Animal in 2011, which explored how the subconscious mind works to capture (starting in young children) to build models in our brains that continue to affect our perceptions until late in into adulthood. The conversations captured by our young, subconscious minds, are surfaced and employed time and again over the rest of our lives. The confusions, misapprehensions, traumas, mysteries and prejudices can get locked into our psyches, and can surface over and over again, even as we grow older.

Conversations about race, the perceived deficiencies in a group of people, and built-in prejudices are built in the perceptions of one generation, and then another, and then another, sometimes inexplicably inserting that conversation into a current day situation. One often hears about a "good tradition" that was passed down from generation to generation; that's also true for "bad traditions", such as viewing people as inferior.

So, as we look back over the history of Georgetown and St. John's, what were the family-level conversation about enslavement: Why was there an urge to create a colonization movement to send Black people back to Africa? Why was the Civil War fought and what were the social and economic implications? Why were those Black Codes put into place; and the Jim Crow laws? Why did segregation take place? We need to imagine the nature of those family-level conversations that pushed Black people through a separate entryway and into the overhead galleries for church services; and finally out of Georgetown neighborhood, given the fear by Whites of freed Blacks and economic gentrification. Early conversations about "inferior people" whose labor could nevertheless propel the economic development of the U.S., never got reconciled. Over the period covered by this paper, it seems that little conscious thought was given to whom Black people really were or what they could become and contribute. Building codes and banking regulations likely propelled gentrification of this historic and special location in the Nation's capital to one where many fewer Black people now live or can afford to live. It is not just a

problem with parking on Sundays that keeps White Georgetown churches White and Black Georgetown churches Black.

How does one stop the negative aspects of this unconscious conversation? Courses like Sacred Ground can make us more aware of the history of the U.S. and the treatment of minorities, but they do not necessarily lead to ending the conversation about Black inferiority. Is there a liturgy that can help us with those deeply held prejudices and sinful thoughts. It's not enough to say that enslavement was "then" and there is nothing that we can do about it "now". It's definitely not enough to say "Love Thy Neighbor," if your Black neighbors are nowhere in sight. Most of the time, actions change from resolving these deeply held issues to something like the feeding of the homeless, but, in reality, does not go deeply enough to become aware of and change those deeply engrained conversations.

XIV. POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS

This section is obviously still in formation and conversations hopefully generated by this paper. To complete our own process, we at St. John's could extend our historic research of early records of the Maryland and Washington D.C. Diocese to further to learn more about that racial history.

Possible outcomes of this effort to reconcile with Black people:

1. We could research and pay tribute to and specifically name, if possible, the Black people whose labor surely constructed our beautiful church and numerous houses in the original Georgetown village. Perhaps that could be a physical plaque placed in front of St. John's to make public our recognition of these contributions, as many local museums in parts of Maryland, Virginia and Georgetown University now do.

2. Perhaps we could generate a prayer of reconciliation and atonement to periodically ask forgiveness for the mistreatment of Black people throughout our history and the obvious sins against the words of Jesus Christ. We could invite important Black leaders from our community such as Mayor Bowser, Diocesan and other religious leaders and representatives of the historic Black Georgetown churches to participate in a special service of reconciliation and atonement.

   NB: Holy Trinity Catholic Church received positive recognition on its recent CAG Zoom presentation for their asking for forgiveness and support of the Black community in D.C.

3. Perhaps we can invite some Black people to preach and/or share their voices about their experiences and how they imagine churches might become anti-racist. (Note: currently in process are actions to start a new podcast with our rector's three seminary classmates, two of whom are Black. This can facilitate an interchange with Black women, and having important sometimes racially-sensitive conversations with one another. The podcast will be "about" the Bible, but the whole content will always be in the context of diversity and how to have conversations together.)

4. Perhaps we could develop a program of compassionate inclusion that would reach out in multiple ways to support Black communities, e.g. music scholarships to support inclusion in St. John's superb choir; scholarships and mentoring to help young Black people get through high school, which could lead to university or a better job; etc.

5. Perhaps we could remove the plaque in our front yard that lauds Ninian Beall for his efforts in displacing American Indians, or add explanatory history. There is an early conversation with the Sons of the American Revolution that they would move the plaque to a place that would honor Ninian Beall more appropriately. We might place a plaque to recognize how settlers displaced the Nacochtank, Nameroughhquena and other tribes from the Washington, D.C. area.

6. Perhaps we could create an Adult Forum, perhaps lasting periodically over several months, that would assist our parishioners to understand more about this history and how that impacted and continues to impact Black people today. These need to go deeply into how racism is passed along to our descendants and held. Perhaps we could interview James H. Johnston in an Adult Forum.

7. Perhaps we could support the reconstruction of the Black cemetery in the northeast corner of Georgetown that is being driven by Mt. Zion United Methodist Church of Georgetown.

The exact path forward is not known, but may we prayerfully ask God to help us find the way.

APPENDIX A

SUBSCRIPTION LIST – 1796 AND. WHERE KNOWN, BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

"We whose name are hereunto subscribed, to promise to pay unto such persons as shall be appointed at a general meeting of the subscribers to the same object, the several sums to our names respectively annexed, for the purpose of building the walls and covering in a Protestant Episcopal church in Georgetown, August 1796." (Source: Peabody Room)

Addison, Walter D.
Ardery, John
Baily, Jesse
Balch, Stephen B.: graduate of Princeton in 1833, classmate of Aaron Burr, studied with Clagett
Beall, George
Beall, Lloyd, mayor of Georgetown 1797-1799
Beatty, Thomas, J.
Beck, Joseph
Beech, Joseph
Blake James H.
Boymeniff, Val
Bowie, Washington
Bowles, Joseph E.
Bowman, Peter
Brooks, Walter B.
Burnett, Charles A., silversmith
Calder, James, tailor on Bridge Street, a Presbyterian
Carlton, Joseph, Tobacco businessman, postmaster in 1799, died 1813
Casanove, Peter
Chandler, Walter S., businessman and entrepreneur
Clagett, Walter,
Clagett, James
Clagett, Jane, property owner across from the post office
Clerke, Thomas
Clape, Jane
Clape, Walter
Cloud, Abner
Cooke, Thomas
Corcoran, Thomas, moved to Georgetown from Baltimore in 1788, leather business, founder of Christ Church, father of W.W. Corcoran
Crookshanks, John
Davis, Thomas
Deakins, William Jr.
Deweens, Jesse
Dill, Nicholas
Dunlop, John
Duckey, John
Eastburn, Jane
Eno, Edward

Fisher, Hillary Lyles
Forrest, Joseph
Gantt, James M.
Green, Joseph
Hamilton, Samuel
Hanson, Samuel, editor of the Columbian Chronical from 12/3/1793-5/10/1796
Haun, John
Hedges, Thomas C.
Hedges, Nicholas, builder who built Evermay
Hellen, Walter
Hessap, Philip
Jones, Edward
Kennedy, Matthew
King, Adam
King, George
King, William, Jr., cabinet maker, one of his chairs is in the White House
Kurz, Christian
Lee, Thomas Sims, second governor of Maryland
Livey, Nathan
Long, John
Lowndes, Charles
Magruder, George
Magruder, Ninian
Magruder, Patrick, second Librarian of Congress
Magruder, William B.
Mason, John, youngest son of George Mason, member of the African Colonization Society, bought Columbian Foundry in 1839
McDaniel, George G.
McDougall, Duncan S.
McIntire, Alexander
Melvin, James,
Middleton, John
Millard, Enoch J.
Mitchell, Joseph
Mitchell, John
Munroe, Jonathan
Montgomery, James
Morsell, James S.
Mounts, Sen., John
Newton, Ignatius
Nowles, Joseph E.
Ober, Richard
Pringle, John
Reintzel, Daniel
Reintzel, John
Saunders, Thomas

Scott Gustavus, Built Kalorama, owned a cotton mill on the waterfront, one of three DC commissioners
Semmes, Joseph, owner of Semmes Tavern
Sims, Joseph
Smith, Mary
Smith, Walter, storeowner on the waterfront
Sparrow, Henry
Stewart, A.M.
Stoddert, Benjamin, first Secretary of the Navy
Templeman, John
Thompson, Christian
Thompson, William
Threkeld, John
Tranener, Nicholas
Turner, Samuel, Jr.
Turner, Thomas
Waring, Marsham
Waters, William
Wayman, Charles
Weems, John
Wham, William, a Presbyterian
White, Jane
Williams, Elisha O.
Williams, Jeremiah
Worthington, Charles, physician
Wright, John
Green & English (Caleb S. Green and David English, both Princeton graduates)
Huff & Suter

APPENDIX B
ORIGINAL PEWHOLDERS AND OTHER EARLY MEMBERS

Philip Barton Key, pewholder president and uncle of Francis Scott Key, vestry member 1807, lawyer; Francis Scott Key joined his uncle as a pewholder; replaced his uncle on the vestry by 1811. Francis was a lawyer in Georgetown, who ultimately served as District Attorney for D.C. Philip Barton was an enslaver who ultimately served in the U.S. Congress.[55]

James Deakins
Edward Gantt
Dr. Charles Worthington, helped re-start St. John's construction efforts in 1803, warden of vestry 1807
Walter Smith, helped re-start construction efforts in 1803
In/ Cox
W.H. Dorsey
W.S. Chandler, small subscriber in 1796, merchant, helped re-start construction efforts in 1803, pewholder $15
W.O. Sprig
E.O. Williams (Elisha O. Williams, pewholder $15)
L. Jones
Thomas Corcoran, vestry member, 1807, (see biobligraphic information below)
James MacCubin Lingan, owner of Prospect House and incorporator of the Bank of Columbia, prominent merchant and landowner, collector for the Port of Georgetown, vestryman, beaten to death by a mob during the War of 1812 (see biographical information below)
Thomas Plater, vestry member 1807
Charles McLaughlin
Lamb. Turner Jr.
A. Beall (descendant of Samuel or Finian Beall?)
Charles Wagman
R. Johns

Ben Stoddert (aide to General Washington during the Revolutionary War, named by President Adams as the first Secretary of the Navy. When he was Secretary of the Navy, he barred Blacks from the service.

Thomas Hyde, vestry 1811, tanner
I. Williams
Mik (?) Hughes
John Gosler (also spelled Gozler), vestry member in 1811
Thomas Tunnerer
Mrs. Jane Claggett
Martha Claggett
William Smith
In.(?) Holmes
Ins. (?) E. Rowles
Broadhay
William Stewart, vestry 1807

[55] Zauzmer, Julie Weil, Adrian Blanco and Leo Dominguez, Washington Post, January 16, 2022, p. 1.

James Kennedy

Subsequent church members:
John Mason, vestry 1807, pewholder $30)
Benjamin Mackall, vestry 1807
Clement Smith, vestry 1811, instrumental in the church's construction
Robert Beverly, owner of Dumbarton Oaks
Dr. John Abbott, vestry 1811
Leonard Johns, banker and vestry 1811
Thomas Gantt
George McGruder
Washington Bowie, pewholder $30

Vestry in 1807
Charles Worthington
W. Bowie
T. Corcoran
J Mason
T. Plater
B. Mackall
Phillip Barton Key (buried in Oak Hill Cemetery)
William Stewart
Subsequent Vestry members included: T. Corcoran, treasurer; J. Abbot, secretary; T. Peter, J Gozler, L.H. Johns, R. Beverly, T. Hyde, Francis Scott Key, C. Smith, and J. Kennedy, wardens.

APPENDIX C
ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL IN 1912

Families or parts of families (estimated) 66; Baptisms – infant 18; Confirmed – Male 4, female 9, total 13; Marriages, 2; Communicants – number last reported, 28; added from other parishes 2, by confirmation 13, total 43; lost by death 1; present number 42. Services – on Sundays, 132; on other days, 194; public catechisings, 12; Holy Communion – public 24, private 1, total 25. Sunday Schools – teachers, male 4, female 2, total 6; scholars, male 25, female 40, total 65; Bible classes – teachers, male 1; scholars, male 3, female 6, total 9.

Seating capacity of chapel, 200; rectory, with ¼ acre of land, Estimated aggregate value of property of the chapel and land, $2,800.00. Title to parish property vested in rector of parish. Parish expenses defrayed by weekly envelope system and by voluntary offerings.

Receipts – Communion alms, $9.81; other offerings at church services, $47.81; subscriptions for parish support, $15.30; entertainments, $31.12; Sunday School, for parish, $7.84; Sunday School, for missions, $2.00; total receipts, $113.88.

Disbursements – Foreign missions, $12.00. Diocesan missions, $10.00; bishop's visitation fund, $1.48; total diocesan, $11.48. Current expenses (including all salaries, music fuel, light, etc.), $80.90; charitable purposes, $3.50; Sunday School, $6.00; total parochial, $90.40; total disbursements, $113.88.

EDWARD DOUSE, Priest in Charge.