

**A Report on The Falls Church's Ties to Slavery,
1730s-1860s**



By Jan Cornelius and Amy Marshak
With Research Contributions from Jennifer Stacks
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Executive Summary

The literal and figurative cornerstones of The Falls Church (TFC) exist because of slavery. The money to build our historic church was derived from the labor of enslaved people. The hands of those held in bondage formed and laid the bricks to create the sanctuary we use today. Our faith leaders—Rectors and Vestry members of our parish—actively participated in the institution of slavery, owning and exploiting our brothers and sisters in Christ. TFC would not exist in its current form were it not for our predecessors stealing the labor and liberty of Black Americans with the support of the law. That theft generated economic benefits we still enjoy and moral scars that, until very recently, we have ignored.

In 2022, TFC Rector Burl Salmon asked the Church's Racial Justice Ministry (RJM) to conduct a Comprehensive Racial Audit of the Church to examine TFC's relationship with race and racism now and in the past. This report covers the findings of the initial research effort examining TFC's ties to the institution of slavery in the period prior to the Civil War.

Researchers found extensive ties between TFC and the institution of slavery. Rectors and Vestrymen of TFC personally held approximately 747 enslaved people in bondage. Moreover, as previously acknowledged by TFC, enslaved persons built the Historic Church. In this vein, researchers found that the taxes that supported the building and furnishing of the Historic Church and the incomes of its Rectors were paid in tobacco produced by enslaved persons, indicating further complicity in the institution of slavery than previously acknowledged. Finally, researchers found probable evidence that there are likely people alive today whose ancestors were held in bondage by Rectors and Vestrymen of TFC.

Given the findings of this report, the RJM recommends TFC take direct, positive steps to acknowledge the institution's historic ties to slavery and to repair the breach with communities we have historically wronged and from whose labors we continue to benefit every time we worship in the Historic Church. The RJM recommends that the Church seriously consider putting financial resources toward racial reconciliation work in order to pursue further actions that:

- Speak the truth about TFC's ties to slavery
- Seek spiritual penitence
- Make amends with communities we have historically wronged
- Educate the congregation about ongoing racial justice issues
- Implement institutional changes that advance the cause of racial justice
- Create and bolster ties to ecumenical and lay organizations committed to racial justice.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful for the work of Jennifer Stacks, who contributed her time and talent to help bring this report to fruition. A big thank you is also owed to the active members of the RJM, who developed the recommendations for the congregation and reviewed this report. Thanks to Julia Randle, Registrar and Historiographer for the Diocese of Virginia, for providing researchers with general advice, support, research starting points, and numerous historical documents. Researchers also owe a great deal of gratitude to the archivists at the Fairfax County Historic Records Center and the librarians of the Virginia Room at the Fairfax Public Library. And the RJM thanks the TFC Clergy and Vestry for their support, both past and future, of the Ministry's efforts to move toward becoming beloved community.

Finally, the RJM acknowledges that this report is a first effort and is inherently incomplete and imperfect. We welcome feedback from the community, especially those whose families were affected by slavery, to continue to build upon and refine the findings contained herein.

The Racial Justice Ministry of The Falls Church

The RJM is a collection of like-minded Christians committed to the pursuit of justice and equality for all races, inclusive of intersectional populations, by identifying and eradicating racial barriers in the Church, community, and country.

Introduction to the Comprehensive Racial Audit of The Falls Church

The Comprehensive Racial Audit (CRA) of TFC is an effort by the RJM, with the full support of the Clergy and Vestry, to examine the Church's relationship with race and racism now and in the past. The effort is divided into two phases with each phase divided into two parts. The elements of the CRA include:

- **Phase 1 – Historical Research into Race and Racism at TFC.** The purpose of Phase 1 is to examine TFC's links to slavery and to examine race-related decisions and actions made by TFC Clergy and Vestry members during other historical periods, including the Jim Crow and Civil Rights Eras.
 - *Part A – Research TFC's Ties to Slavery*
 - *Part B – Research TFC's Race-Related Decisions and Actions during the Jim Crow and Civil Rights Eras*

- **Phase 2 – Conducting a Contemporary Racial Audit of TFC.** The purpose of Phase 2 is to gain an understanding of whether and how parishioners—especially Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) congregants—experience racism at TFC at this time and in the recent past, and to examine TFC's decision-making structures, institutions, iconography, and processes to understand how these systemic elements compound or reduce racial injustices.
 - *Part A – Conduct a Survey of All TFC Members to Gain Views of Race and Racism at the Church at this Time and in the Recent Past.*
 - *Part B – Conduct a Structured Review of TFC Governance and Decision-making Structures.*

The RJM is conducting the CRA as a means for TFC to break with its racist history and become a community of racial reconcilers, healers, and justice-bearers. The CRA is rooted in the pillars of the Becoming Beloved Community initiative, the Episcopal Church's long-term commitment to racial justice. The pillars include:

- **Telling the Truth.** The CRA will allow TFC to determine what the Church has done and left undone regarding racial justice and healing.
- **Proclaiming the Dream.** By publishing the results of the CRA, TFC will publicly acknowledge the things we have done and left undone.
- **Repairing the Breach.** The CRA will help TFC determine which institutions and systems are broken by examining race and racism at TFC now and in the recent past. The CRA will also allow TFC to begin healing the wounds the Church has inflicted over the course of its history.
- **Practicing the Way of Love.** By implementing the recommendations of the CRA, parishioners of TFC will be empowered to grow as reconcilers, healers, and justice-bearers and allow TFC to actively grow relationships across dividing walls and seek Christ in others.

This report covers the findings of Phase 1, Part A, namely TFC's ties to slavery.

Notes on Methodology and Assumptions

To examine TFC's ties to slavery, researchers relied on primary sources found within the holding of the Fairfax County Historic Records Center. Most information came from Fairfax County tax data and probate records, as well as from inventories found in the Fairfax Court Slavery Index. Researchers also used primary source information made available on the website Ancestry.com.

Researchers consulted secondary sources detailing the history of TFC, the City of Falls Church, the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the broader Episcopal Church.

The Registrar and Historiographer for the Diocese of Virginia, Julia Randle, provided researchers with in-depth information about TFC during the slavery era as well as an extensive timeline of the Church's activities used in the various court cases involving the Church property in the 2000s.

Researchers cannot precisely count the number of enslaved persons owned by TFC-linked Clergymen and Vestrymen because complete data does not exist. That said, the authors of this report endeavored to find and count the enslaved persons tied to TFC not as an accounting exercise, but as a way to honor and recognize the humanity of the hundreds of people enslaved by the leaders of this institution.

In attempting to accurately tally the number of enslaved persons tied to TFC, researchers encountered a variety of challenges, to include:

- Data sets of enslaved persons are incomplete, inconsistent, or simply do not exist.
- Some data sets, such as tax records, give only a broad snapshot, providing the number of enslaved persons owned by a slaveholder in a given tax year while failing to provide the names of enslaved people or any other identifying characteristics.
- Researchers do not know how the data for one slaveholding taxpayer relates from one year to the next. For example, a slaveholder in one year might list 6 enslaved persons on their taxable income, but the next year they might list 9. Researchers do not know if the slaveowner kept the original 6 enslaved persons and bought another 3, or if the slaveowner sold the original 6 enslaved persons and bought 9 new enslaved persons. This problem could lead to under-counting the number of individuals held in bondage.

- Another problem arises when enslaved persons are bought, sold, or gifted within a family or local network. In these instances, the enslaved persons might be over-counted. For example, the same enslaved persons were owned at various points by three members of the larger Fairfax-Griffith family.

To mitigate the effect of these challenges and create a consistent method of counting, the authors of this study used the highest figure reported in the yearly property tax list, property inventory, or probate record, and added any other reported enslaved persons that we knew for a fact were not previously accounted for in the other records. For example, researchers added enslaved persons mentioned in a bill of sale for a transaction that occurred subsequent to the final year for which we have tax records. Researchers acknowledge that this method will never lead to an accurate accounting and would welcome additional resources to attempt to fill out this picture more completely. The RJC presents the information to demonstrate the Church's general relationship with the institution of slavery and to begin the process of lamentation and reconciliation for those we can identify.

Historical Context

History of the Falls Church Area

Prior to the arrival of European settlers, native peoples, including those from the Algonquin, Iroquoian, and Siouan linguistic groups, lived on lands in the vicinity of Falls Church. After pushing these tribes off the land, early European settlers used the trail systems established by native peoples for travel and commerce. TFC was built near the intersection of two of these early roads.

During the colonial period, Falls Church was a small farming village. First settled in 1699, it was not incorporated as a township until 1875. The local economy was driven by tobacco farming, a labor-intensive crop that, by the 1700s, was usually grown using the labor of enslaved people of African descent. Tobacco was so prominent in the colonial Virginia economy that English colonists used tobacco as currency.

“Early records document that both free men and women of color and enslaved people of African descent were part of the Village of Falls Church as early as the mid-1700s.”¹ Records from 1782 show that Fairfax County, of which Falls Church was then a part, had a population of 5,154 White persons and 3,609 Black persons, the vast majority of whom likely were enslaved.²

By the end of the eighteenth century, tobacco farming was waning in northern Virginia as tobacco depleted the soil and farmers began growing corn and other grains. Over the course of the next few decades, many enslaved persons were sold to owners in the Deep South as cotton became the preeminent cash crop, but others remained enslaved in the Falls Church area until the Civil War. By 1860, the population of Fairfax County was 8,047 White persons and 3,117 enslaved Black persons (27.9% of the population).

¹ City of Falls Church, “The Story of Falls Church” History Panels.

² By the 1850s, roughly one in ten Black Virginians was free. This number was likely lower in the 1780s, as Virginia law only began to permit slaveholders to emancipate enslaved persons in 1782, and even then with some limitations.

The Episcopal Church in the Slavery Era

Through the eighteenth century, the Church of England (or the Anglican Church and later, the Episcopal Church) was the “established,” or state-sanctioned, church of Virginia. Lay leadership was particularly important to the Anglican Church in colonial Virginia as parishes functioned as local governmental entities and clergy members were in short supply. The local parish vestry was usually comprised of male members of prominent local families, and it “directed the day-to-day operations of individual parishes.”³ One of the most important functions of the vestry was to set the annual parish levy, a tax that paid the rector’s salary, raised funds for building or repairing church buildings, supported the purchase of a parish glebe (farm lands for the rector’s use), and provided for the poor.⁴ The annual levy was paid by all White male adult inhabitants of the parish (as it was assumed that everyone was a member of the official church) and was set in pounds of tobacco.⁵

The original wooden Falls Church was built in 1734. From then until 1764, TFC parishioners worshiped within the construct of Truro Parish, which included the area north of the Occoquan River and Bull Run (covering today’s Loudoun, Fairfax, and Arlington Counties and the cities of Falls Church and Alexandria). The parish consisted primarily of TFC, which was known at the time as the New Church or the Upper Church, and the church at Pohick Bay, built in 1724. The Vestry of Truro Parish oversaw both TFC and the Pohick Church, and was comprised of parishioners from both churches. During this era, George Washington and George Mason both sat on the Truro Vestry as members of the Pohick Church. **Charles Green** served as the Rector of Truro Parish for nearly 30 years.

In 1765, the Virginia General Assembly divided Truro Parish into two, creating Fairfax Parish. Like Truro Parish, Fairfax Parish consisted of two church congregations, TFC and the church at Alexandria, named Christ Church in 1814. Rectors of Fairfax Parish between 1764 and the end of the century included **Townshend Dade, Hugh West, David Griffith, Bryan Fairfax, and Thomas Davis.**

In November 1766, the Vestry of Fairfax Parish instituted a levy of 31,125 pounds of tobacco “for Building Churches,” namely, Christ Church and a new brick church at

³ Virginia Historical Society, “The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607–2007,” 115 *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 163, 175 (2007).

⁴ *Id.* at 181.

⁵ In the colonial era, the parish tithe or tax was paid on all White males over 16 years of age and all enslaved people, male or female, over sixteen years of age. Taxes on enslaved persons were paid by the enslaver.

the site of the Falls Church.⁶ The current Falls Church was built between 1767 and 1769. The Fairfax Parish also provided its rectors with a glebe in present-day Arlington of a brick home and about four hundred acres, which the rectors farmed to supplement their income.

After 1776—when the Virginia General Assembly ended the payment of rectors’ salaries using tax revenues—prominent families, including George Washington (who attended both the church at Alexandria and Pohick Church at that time), paid the Fairfax Parish rector’s salary by subscription and later by annual pew rent. The income of such families usually was derived from the labor of enslaved people.

TFC worshiped within Fairfax Parish until approximately 1798, when TFC went dormant, with few official activities for the next four decades. This timing is consistent with the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Virginia in the 1780s and the end of public financial support and official sanction for the Episcopal Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Through a series of laws, the Virginia General Assembly ended tax support for the Church, disestablished the Episcopal Church as the state’s official church, and sold off many of the Episcopal Church’s glebe properties for support of the poor and other public purposes. Stripped of its property and much of its organizational structures, the Episcopal Church in Virginia went through a challenging time.

Around 1836, TFC emerged from its dormancy period. Funds for the repair of the church property were provided by Captain Henry Fairfax, grandson of former rector Bryan Fairfax.

During this time, students and professors at Virginia Theological Seminary, founded in 1823, engaged in missionary work to rebuild churches that had fallen into disrepair in the years since the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church. Professor Rev. **Edward Lippitt** of Virginia Theological Seminary served as Rector of TFC from 1836 to 1842. **Richard Templeman Brown** served as Rector from 1842 to 1844.

From 1846 to 1852, **William Lockwood** served as Rector of TFC. Lockwood also served as Rector at the Zion Church in Fairfax City, then known as Providence. At this time, the congregations at TFC and Providence were considered “yoked.”

From 1855 to 1861, **Richard Templeman Brown** served a second stint as Rector at TFC. Rev. Brown attended the Diocesan Convention in Richmond in May 1861,

⁶ Joseph Hodge Alves & Harold Spelman, *Near the Falls: Two Hundred Years of the Falls Church* 12 (1969).

where the Diocese of Virginia joined the other secessionist state dioceses in separating from the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States to form a General Council of the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. The day after Virginia seceded from the Union, federal troops took Alexandria and Rev. Brown fled from his home in Fairfax and headed further south to avoid the invasion.

Episcopalians' Views on Race and Slavery During the Slavery Era

Throughout the slavery era, the Episcopal Church in Virginia generally supported slavery as an institution. Indeed, Episcopal clergymen in Virginia participated in slavery and benefitted from it: “The diocese’s first four bishops—Madison, Moore, Meade, and Johns—all owned slaves at some point in their lives. One hundred and twelve active Episcopal ministers were both canonically resident and living in Virginia in 1860. Of the 103 who appeared in the 1860 census, eighty-four owned slaves.”⁷ Even those members of the clergy who devoted themselves to the education of enslaved Black Americans, including the Associates of Dr. Bray, who taught enslaved Virginians in Williamsburg and Fredericksburg between 1760 and 1770, did not oppose slavery as an institution.

A number of Episcopalian bishops argued at the time that slavery was sanctioned in the Bible, making it legitimate and not inherently immoral or sinful. This position took a narrow literal view of the Bible, pointing out that slavery was accepted throughout the Old Testament and by the apostle Paul; and that Jesus never denounced slavery, despite its prevalence in the Roman Empire, even as he spoke out against other practices he saw as sinful.⁸ Although some who espoused this view personally believed slavery was wrong, they believed that it was God’s will that slavery should persist, and that “God would remove it at a time and with instruments of his own choosing.”⁹ All these views, however, missed the fact that the American institution of racialized chattel slavery was qualitatively different from the biblical institution of slavery, and as such, even the most narrow literal reading of the text provided little support thereof.

Bishops Richard Channing Moore and William Meade, leaders of the Diocese of Virginia during the first half of the nineteenth century, shared these beliefs. As Bishop John Johns reported about Bishop Meade’s views: “Slavery, as a civil institution, was never to his taste. He had, however, no conscientious scruples as to its lawfulness,

⁷ Virginia Historical Society, *supra* note 3, at 264.

⁸ T. Felder Dorn, *Challenges on the Emmanus Road: Episcopal Bishops Confront Slavery, Civil War, and Emancipation* 286–88 (2013) (describing pamphlet written by Vermont Bishop John Henry Hopkins).

⁹ *Id.* at 72.

because he believed it to have been distinctly recognized, and formally legislated about, by divine authority in the Sacred Scriptures.”¹⁰ Although Bishop Meade emancipated most of his own enslaved people, he nonetheless defended the institution of slavery against critics.

While failing to recognize the evils of enslavement, Anglican and Episcopal Church leaders generally believed that the Church was responsible for the souls of enslaved people. This position was met with some resistance. During the colonial period, many White lay members of the Anglican Church objected to allowing enslaved people into the Church at all. According to historians, some thought enslaved people were “so beastly that religion could have no influence on them”; others “believed that Christian slaves would think themselves too much like their White owners and thus refuse to work as hard”; still others believed that enslaved people “only wanted to become Christians because they thought it would lead to their freedom” because it was believed wrong for a Christian to enslave another Christian; and others “objected to being in the presence of” Black people and “refused to attend integrated services, especially baptisms.”¹¹

Church leaders made religious arguments against the view that evangelizing to enslaved people would undermine the system of slavery. First, leaders argued that slavery was a civil institution and that introducing Christianity to enslaved people would not undermine that civil relationship. As Bishop of London Edmund Gibson—who was responsible for overseeing the Church of England in the American colonies—explained:

The freedom which Christianity gives is a freedom from the bondage of sin and Satan, and from the dominion of men’s lusts and passions and inordinate desires; but as to their outward condition, whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized and becoming Christians makes no manner of change in it.¹²

Second, church leaders argued that God had chosen Southern Whites as guardians of enslaved persons and gave them the duty to bring Christianity to enslaved persons. Some church leaders in the South, among them Bishop Meade, even went so far as to argue that slavery was part of God’s plan to bring Christianity to the inhabitants of Africa. Under this patronizing view, enslaved persons should be trained in necessary

¹⁰ *Id.* at 50.

¹¹ Virginia Historical Society, *supra* note 3, at 187.

¹² Edmund Gibson, “Letter to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad” (1727), *quoted in* Committee on Race and Reconciliation, Episcopal, Diocese of Virginia, *Meet Me in Galilee* 24 (2012).

skills and taught as Christians, and they would be returned to Africa when sufficiently trained, where they would serve as missionaries to other Africans. Moreover, according to this belief, the Civil War wrongfully interrupted God's plan by prematurely ending slavery in the United States.¹³

Consistent with this worldview, the Diocese encouraged evangelization to enslaved people, including offering church services (sometimes, though not always, separate from those for White Episcopalians) and Sunday School classes for Black worshippers through the slavery era. The 1838 TFC parochial report noted the baptism of “3 White, 1 Colored” infants at TFC. Rev. Richard Templeton Brown also reported around this time that a “Bible Class and Sabbath School and services for ... the colored are ... established at the church under care of brethren from the Theological Seminary.”¹⁴

But White Episcopalians' view of Black Episcopalians reflected the paternalism and segregation of their daily lives. As historians have recounted, “White Episcopalians did not accept Black Episcopalians as brothers but as children who heard the Gospel preached at predominately segregated gatherings and who received the Lord's Supper from the hands of a white minister at a separate table.”¹⁵ However, Sunday School classes sometimes taught literacy among enslaved people, with a few continuing with their instruction even after the General Assembly made teaching Black people to read a crime in the 1830s.

A minority of Episcopalians in Virginia were uncomfortable with slavery. A few White Episcopalians, including Bishop Meade and his sister, freed the enslaved people they personally owned. Meade and other diocesan leaders in the early 1800s, such as layman Scott Francis Key—the principal benefactor and one of the founders of Virginia Theological Seminary—were heavily involved in the American Colonization Society, which was founded in 1817 to promote the idea of sending free Black Americans to Liberia to form an American colony in Africa and, as a result, to gradually end slavery through the removal Black individuals from the United States. “Although most historians have been critical of the ACS as an attempt to rid the United States of Blacks, Virginia Episcopalians viewed the group as part of their missionary outreach to African Americans.”¹⁶

¹³ Dorn, *supra* note 8, at 73.

¹⁴ *Near the Falls*, *supra* note 6, at 31.

¹⁵ Virginia Historical Society, *supra* note 3, at 262–63.

¹⁶ *Id.* at 228.

As the Civil War loomed, the Episcopal Church nationally and its clergy in Virginia did not take a stand on national politics and considered non-involvement a matter of religious principle. Slavery and secession were civil issues, and the Episcopal Church viewed them as improper subjects for the Church. In a pastoral letter issued by the national House of Bishops in 1856, the Church stated its position thus: “With party politics, with sectional disputes, with earthly distinctions, with the wealth, the splendor, and the ambition of the world, [the clergy] have nothing to do.”¹⁷ This stance marks a significant contrast between the Episcopal Church and other major Protestant churches in the United States at the time. Many other Christian denominations, including the Congregational Church and the Quakers, formally opposed slavery, and other denominations, like the Baptists and the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, split into northern and southern branches prior to the Civil War because of disagreements over slavery. The Episcopal Church was the only major denomination to have a significant presence in the north and the south that did not split over slavery.

Soon after the southern states seceded, however, the dioceses of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia organized the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, a body never recognized by the national church. This body used the influence of the church to support the secessionist cause. For example, Bishop John Johns participated in the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Confederate States of America, where he “invoked the guidance of Providence and protection of Heaven[] in our struggle.”¹⁸ And, in a pastoral letter delivered before their General Council in Augusta, Georgia, in 1862, the Confederate bishops stated that, having “thrown off from us that hateful and infidel pestilence” of abolitionism, they were free to declare that enslaved persons were “a sacred trust committed to us, as a people,” in which God “freely gives to [the slaveholder] their labor, but expects us to give back to them religious and moral instruction.”¹⁹ Importantly, the religious sanction provided by southern Episcopal bishops for slavery and secession “provided assurance and reinforcement for the belief that the South’s cause was right” and helped “strengthen the resolve” of the South during the Civil War.²⁰

¹⁷ *Id.* at 244.

¹⁸ Dorn, *supra* note 8, at 191 (quoting the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Feb. 24, 1862).

¹⁹ Pastoral Letter from the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America (1862), *available at* <https://anglicanhistory.org/usa/pastorals/csa1862.html>.

²⁰ Dorn, *supra* note 8, at 223–24.

Findings

Researchers have found extensive ties between TFC and the institution of slavery. Rectors and Vestrymen of TFC personally held enslaved people in bondage. As previously acknowledged by TFC, enslaved persons built the Historic Church. In this vein, researchers found that the taxes that supported the building and furnishing of the Historic Church and the incomes of its rectors were paid in tobacco, indicating further complicity in the institution of slavery than previously acknowledged. Finally, researchers found evidence that there are likely people alive today whose ancestors were held in bondage by Rectors and Vestrymen of TFC. Further research likely would uncover additional holdings of enslaved persons by TFC leadership as well as additional descendants of enslaved persons with connections to TFC. Conducting this research is beyond the capacity of TFC's volunteer researchers and would require funding for professional genealogical services.

Rectors

Researchers found that at least six former Rectors—**Charles Green, Townshend Dade, Hugh West, David Griffith, Bryan Fairfax, and Thomas Davis**—held at minimum 96 enslaved persons over the course of their lifetimes, according to probate records, tax documents, the Fairfax Court Slavery Index, and primary source documents found on Ancestry.com. The same sources show that Rectors participated in the selling, buying, and leasing of enslaved persons, and that Rector Bryan Fairfax worked for a Barbados-based slave trader for a short time in his youth.²¹

Of these 96 enslaved persons, we know the first names of 66 according to the same sources. They were: **Abraham, Adam (x2), Bess, Betty, Bob, Cesar, Chloe, Daniel, Dolly, Dublin, Emegrator, Fan, Fanny, Fatima, Frederick, George, Graciana, Hannah, Hanson, Harry (x3), Isabel (x2), Jack, Joe, John (x2), Jude, Judith, Kate, Kildare, Luce, Milly (x3), Mingo, Mohun, Myrtilla, Nan (x2), Nance, Nany, Nelson, Newton, Norman, Omah, Peter, Pipero, Robin, Sabrina, Sall, Sam (x3), Sarah (x3), Scipio, Selah, Stephen, Tnom, Toulston, Will and York**. Researchers could not find probate records for all the Rectors of this period. Researchers therefore posit that the number of enslaved persons held in bondage by Rectors of TFC exceeds the 96 listed above.

²¹ Hugh Fairfax, *Fairfax of Virginia. The Forgotten Story of America's Only Peerage* 69 (2017).

The Falls Church's Connection to the Fitzhughs

*“1759: George Washington is the major slave owner that year with 188 slaves, followed by George Mason with 128 slaves, William Fitzhugh with 122.”*²²

According to the Historiographer for the Diocese of Virginia, a prominent slaveholding family, the Fitzhughs, served on TFC Vestries before and during the Church's dormant period, when unsanctioned worship occurred. William Fitzhugh (who died circa 1810) and his son, William Henry Fitzhugh (who died circa 1830), both served as Vestrymen, according to the same source. This connection is also confirmed in an 1822 court case, where witnesses testified that the early 1800s saw Rev. Mr. Moscrop conducting services at the church to a congregation that included Col. Little, Col. Payne, the Wrens, the Fitzhughs, and others.²³

TFC's connections to the Fitzhughs substantially increases the number of enslaved persons tied to the congregation. The original William Fitzhugh came to Virginia in the late 1600s, and in the course of his lifetime amassed 54,000 acres of land including, among other plantations, the so-called Ravenwood Landgrant. The Ravenwood Landgrant totaled approximately 24,112 acres stretching from contemporary Springfield in the south, north to Falls Church City, and west to Fairfax City. According to inventories found in the Fairfax Court Slavery Index, his descendant William Fitzhugh owned approximately 232 enslaved persons upon his death in 1810, while William Henry Fitzhugh held approximately 207 enslaved persons at this death in 1830.

²² Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickim & Patrick Reed, *Fairfax County, Virginia. A History* (1978).

²³ Deposition of Alfred Donaldson, 01/05/1822, p. 2, *Mason v. Muncaster*, Arlington County Chancery Papers, Chancery Box 29, 1822-018, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia. (See *Mason v. Muncaster* transcription, p. 74); Deposition of Mordecai Fitzhugh, 01/05/1822, p. 2, *Mason v. Muncaster*, Arlington County Chancery Papers, Chancery Box 29, 1822-018, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia. (See *Mason v. Muncaster* transcription, p. 75); Deposition of William Moss, 01/05/1822, pp. 2, 4, *Mason v. Muncaster*, Arlington County Chancery Papers, Chancery Box 29, 1822-018, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Vestrymen

Researchers found that almost all the Vestrymen from this time period held persons in bondage, enslaving approximately 651 men, women, and children, according to probate records, tax documents, the Fairfax Court Slavery Index, and primary source documents found on Ancestry.com. The examined Vestrymen came from the TFC side of the split vestries of Truro and Fairfax Parishes. They therefore do not include enslaved persons tied to other congregations, such as the enslaved people held by George Washington or George Mason. Of these approximately 651 enslaved persons, we know the first and last names of 260 (see Appendix 1). We also know the first names of another 303 enslaved persons (see Appendix 2). Since researchers could not find probate records for all the Vestrymen of this period, researchers posit that the number of enslaved persons held in bondage by Vestrymen of TFC exceeds the approximately 651 already uncovered.

The Building of the Historic Church

In 2017, under the leadership of Rector John Ohmer and the Vestry, TFC placed a commemorative plaque honoring the enslaved persons who built the Historic Church. According to a timeline furnished by the Historiographer for the Diocese of Virginia, the financing for the construction of the Historic Church came from the sale of tobacco—produced by enslaved persons—suggesting further complicity in the institution of slavery than previously acknowledged. Beginning in about 1763, TFC leaders began collecting tens of thousands of pounds of tobacco in levies as a means to finance the building of the Historic Church. The Historiographer also noted that, in all likelihood, all the inputs for the construction of the Historic Church, for example, the bricks, tiles, and lumber, also came into fruition through the labor of enslaved people.

Linked Descendants

Inventories of the Fitzhughs' enslaved population found in the Fairfax Court Slavery Index include first and last names, suggesting it may be possible to identify the living descendants of these enslaved persons through professional genealogical research. Further, researchers found initial information suggesting that there could be at least 21 people currently living that may be descendants of enslaved persons tied to TFC through Rector Bryan Fairfax, according to information found on Ancestry.com. Researchers expect that a comprehensive genealogical examination will reveal the existence of many more linked descendants.

Recommendations for the Congregation

Given the foundational role that the institution of slavery played in the first century of TFC's history, the RJM recommends TFC take direct, positive steps to acknowledge the institution's historic ties to slavery and to repair the breach with communities we have historically wronged. The RJM recommends the Church pursue the following actions that address the pillars of Becoming Beloved Community:

- Speak the truth about TFC's ties to slavery
 - Seek spiritual penitence
 - Make amends with communities we have historically wronged
 - Educate the congregation about ongoing racial justice issues
 - Implement institutional changes that advance the cause of racial justice
 - Create and bolster ties to ecumenical and lay organizations committed to racial justice
1. TFC should publish the Interim Reports of the CRA as well as the Final Report via electronic and traditional methods and should make affirmative efforts to communicate the information in these reports to the parish and public.
Speak the Truth about TFC's Ties to Slavery
 2. The congregation should continue to promote Sacred Ground and work to expand educational offerings to include Sacred Ground for youth and the NAACP's Allyship Course. ***Educate the Congregation about Ongoing Racial Justice Issues***
 3. The Vestry should assign a member of the Clergy to explicitly oversee racial justice matters as a part of their everyday activities. ***Implement Institutional Changes that Advance the Cause of Racial Justice***
 4. The congregation should proactively build relationships with, and seek insights from, historical institutions—such as Virginia Theological Seminary and James Madison's Montpelier—that have begun wrestling with their own organizations' ties to slavery. ***Create and Bolster Ties to Ecumenical and Lay Organizations Committed to Racial Justice***
 5. The Clergy should lay the groundwork for the congregation to engage racial justice leaders in the broader Episcopal Church and neighboring dioceses. ***Create and Bolster Ties to Ecumenical and Lay Organizations Committed to Racial Justice***

6. The congregations should consider ways TFC can use the Historic Church, built by enslaved people, as a place of gathering for reconciliation. TFC could, for example, host events that allow historic Episcopal Churches to share lessons learned and best practices in addressing institutional slavery at the local level. ***Implement Institutional Changes that Advance the Cause of Racial Justice***

7. The congregation should revisit the official church narrative, as told in brochures, TFC's website, and the Church Tour, to include the Church's full history, especially its complicity with the institution of slavery. The Church should recognize the humanity of enslaved persons tied to TFC, giving them subjectivity beyond their status as laborers by providing enslaved people with equal attention in the official church narrative as the Founding Fathers. ***Speak the Truth about TFC's Ties to Slavery***

8. The Clergy should conduct an annual Lamentation Service. According to *Healing Our Broken Humanity*, the Bible states that we cannot move towards hope, peace, transformation, and reconciliation without going through sorrow, mourning, regret, and lament.²⁴ An annual service in which the names of enslaved persons are read aloud would ensure that TFC persistently honors the memory of the enslaved people tied to the Church after the dehumanizing experience of slavery. The Clergy should consider hold this Lamentation Service on a meaningful or auspicious date. ***Seek Spiritual Penitence***

9. To help fund its breach-repairing activities, the congregation should seek grant funding as an individual church and/or in conjunction with linked congregations, such as the Episcopal Church at Pohick Bay and Christ Church, Alexandria. The congregation should assign a staff member or parishioner to oversee this process. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***

10. The Clergy and staff, through sermons and formation opportunities for adults, youth, and children, should prepare the whole congregation to participate fully in racial justice work. ***Educate the Congregation about Ongoing Racial Justice Issues***

²⁴ See Grace Ji-Sun Kim & Graham Hill, *Healing Our Broken Humanity* 42 (2018) (Practices for Revitalizing the Church and Renewing the Word). The typical lament has 9 elements: invocation, worship, description, connection, repentance, confession, petition, trust, and praise. *Id.* at 48.

11. Because official church records contain only the views of the enslavers, the RJM and congregation should continue to engage in research regarding TFC's ties to slavery and provide additional resources for this effort. This could include: (a) conducting an oral history project with linked descendants and the local African-American community to fill in the gaps left by the official church record; (b) conferring with archeologists about the prospects for finding useful information on slavery at TFC through archeological research methods; and (c) conducting research into those buried in the churchyard and notifying descendants should the graves of enslaved persons be identified.

Speak the Truth about TFC's Ties to Slavery

12. The congregation, and especially the Vestry, should financially support a professional effort to conduct deeper research into the slaveholding practices of TFC Clergy and Vestry. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***
13. The congregation should conduct a survey of plaques, portraits, paintings and other media memorializing slaveholders in the Church and, with our linked descendants, carefully consider what to do with these objects to contextualize the slaveholders' role in the history of the Church. ***Implement Institutional Changes that Advance the Cause of Racial Justice***
14. The Vestry should provide a budget for Clergy, staff, and parishioners seeking to attend racial justice-themed educational opportunities. ***Educate the Congregation about Ongoing Racial Justice Issues***
15. The archival evidence about TFC, currently held by the Archives Committee in paper and electronic formats, should be digitized and made available to researchers, including those acting on behalf of descendant communities, so they can easily access information about slavery and the church more generally. ***Implement Institutional Changes that Advance the Cause of Racial Justice***
16. The congregation, and especially the Vestry, should financially support a professional effort to identify TFC's linked descendants community, including the families of enslaved persons owned by the Church's Clergy and Vestrymen as well as the families of those who built the Church. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***

17. The congregation should develop a strategy for engaging our linked descendants community. The RJM recommends an approach based on the findings of the [Engaging Descendant Communities](#) report published by The National Summit on Teaching Slavery and James Madison's Montpelier. In considering how to engage the TFC linked descendants community, the congregation should consider how the concept of structural parity—that is, equal say in how decisions are reached—can be implemented when considering questions concerning both the congregation and the descendants community. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***
18. The congregation should research tangible ways to repair the breach with communities we have historically wronged and take action to bring these ideas to fruition. Potential avenues could include: college scholarships, capital campaigns, reforming business practices, fellowship meetings, and the establishment of a Linked Descendants Council. Some Episcopal Churches have set up separate, not-for-profit entities to raise funds for specific purposes (for example, the [Little Fork Church's 1776 Preservation Fund](#)), and TFC should consider a similar structure to advance our efforts. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***
19. The congregations should research if there are descendants communities tied to the Fitzhughs and the Ravenwood Landgrant as well as the Fairfaxes and the Mount Eagle plantation, among others, and if not, consider helping create such organizations as a breach-repairing activity. ***Make Amends with Communities We Have Historically Wronged***

Sequencing of the Comprehensive Racial Audit Recommendations

Phase 0: Ongoing Activities				
Recommendation	Description	Next Steps	Funding	Notes
1	TFC should publish the Interim Reports of the CRA.	N/A	No cost	
2	The congregation should continue to promote Sacred Ground and work to expand educational offerings to include Sacred Ground for youth and the NAACP's Allyship Course.	RJM and Clergy will continue to promote this activity.	No cost	This is an ongoing activity.
3	The Vestry should assign a member of the Clergy to explicitly oversee racial justice matters as a part of their everyday activities.	RJM acknowledges that the Associate Rector currently oversees the RJM's work.	No cost	This is an ongoing activity.
4	The congregation should proactively build relationships with, and seek insights from, historical institutions—such as Virginia Theological Seminary (VTS) and James Madison's Montpelier—that have begun wrestling with their own organizations' ties to slavery.	RJM acknowledges that TFC already maintains ties to VTS. RJM will oversee outreach to other organizations.	No cost for planning. Events paid for by RJM budget.	This is an ongoing activity.
5	The Clergy should lay the groundwork for the congregation to engage racial justice leaders in the broader Episcopal Church and neighboring dioceses.	RJM acknowledges that TFC Clergy already maintain ties to Diocesan racial justice leaders and encourages further outreach.	No cost	This is an ongoing activity.
6	The congregations should consider ways TFC can use the Historic Church, built by enslaved people, as a place of gathering for reconciliation. TFC could, for example, host events that allow historic Episcopal Churches to share lessons learned and best practices in addressing institutional slavery at the local level.	RJM will take the lead on this activity.	No cost for planning. Events paid for by RJM budget.	This is an ongoing activity.

Phase 1: Years 1-2

Recommendation	Description	Next Steps	Funding	Notes
7	The congregation should revisit the official church narrative, as told in brochures, TFC's website, and the Church Tour, to include the Church's full history, especially its complicity with the institution of slavery.	Once the CRA is published, RJM will work with the Parish Administrator to update brochures and the website. RJM will work with the Archives Committee to update the Church Tour.	Costs from regular Parish Administration budget	Vestry Endorsed
8	The Clergy should conduct an annual Lamentation Service.	The Clergy will plan an annual Lamentation Service.	No cost	Vestry Endorsed
9	The congregation should seek grant funding as an individual church and/or in conjunction with linked congregations. The congregation should assign a staff member or parishioner to oversee this process.	The RJM will apply for grants and forge ties to linked congregations. The Clergy, Vestry, or Parish Administrator will assign a person to oversee grants.	No cost	Vestry Endorsed
10	The Clergy and staff, through sermons and formation opportunities for adults, youth, and children, should prepare the whole congregation to participate fully in racial justice work.	Clergy and staff will continue to create racial justice-themed sermons and events	No cost	Vestry Endorsed

Phase 2: Years 3-5 or as Funds are Identified

Recommendation	Description	Next Steps	Funding	Notes
11	The RJM and congregation should continue to engage in research regarding TFC's ties to slavery and provide additional resources for this effort. This could include: (a) conducting an oral history project with linked descendants and the local African American community to fill in the gaps left by the official church record; (b) conferring with archeologists about the prospects for finding useful information on slavery at TFC through archeological research methods; and (c) conducting research into those buried in the churchyard and notifying descendants should the graves of enslaved persons be identified.	RJM will continue its research, if funding can be secured.	Funded via grants or fundraising	RJM Endorsed, to be reviewed at the completion of Phase 1.
12	The congregation, and especially the Vestry, should financially support a professional effort to conduct deeper research into the slaveholding practices of TFC Clergy and Vestry.	RJM will continue its research, if funding can be secured.	Funded via the budget process or via grants	To be reviewed at the completion of Phase 1.
13	The congregation should conduct a survey of plaques, portraits, paintings and other media memorializing slaveholders in the Church and, with our linked descendants, if identified, carefully consider what to do with these objects to contextualize the slaveholders' role in the history of the Church.	RJM recommends the Church form a committee of Clergy, Vestry, and lay persons to consider this question.	No cost	To be reviewed at the completion of Phase 1.
14	The Vestry should provide a budget for Clergy, staff, and parishioners seeking to attend racial justice-themed educational opportunities.	RJM will continue to research opportunities.	Funded via grants or fundraising	To be reviewed at the completion of Phase 1.

15	The archival evidence about TFC, currently held by the Archives Committee in paper and electronic formats, should be digitized and made available to researchers, including those acting on behalf of descendant communities, so they can easily access information about slavery and the Church more generally.	RJM will engage the Archives Committee on their views on this matter.	Could be done for free or funded via grants or fundraising	To be reviewed at the completion of Phase 1.
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Proposed Sequencing of a Congregation-Wide Discernment Process on Linked Descendants

Phase 1: Years 1-2				
Recommendation	Description	Next Steps	Funding	Notes
N/A	Based on the findings of the CRA, the RJM recommends that TFC, as a congregation, begin a discernment process related to what actions, if any, the Church should take to identify and reach out to our linked descendants. Questions to be addressed during this process include: Who are the historic linked descendants of TFC? Where are their ancestors now? And what does the TFC owe this community?	RJM will engage the Clergy and Vestry to determine next steps towards setting up a discernment process.	No cost	RJM will lead the effort to set up this committee.
Phase 2: Years 2-10				
16	If deemed desirable by the Church, the congregation and the Vestry should financially support a professional effort to identify TFC's Linked Descendent Community, including both the families of enslaved persons owned by the Church's Clergy and Vestrymen and the families of those who built the Church.	Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.	TBD	Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.
17	While professionals seek out linked descendants, the congregation should develop a strategy for engaging our linked descendants community. In considering how to engage the TFC linked descendants community, the congregation should consider how the concept of structural parity—that is, equal say in how decisions are reached—can be implemented when considering questions concerning both the congregation and the descendants community.	Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.	No cost	Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.

18	<p>The congregation should research tangible ways to repair the breach with communities we have wronged and take action to bring these ideas to fruition. Potential avenues could include: college scholarships, capital campaigns, reforming business practices, fellowship meetings, and the establishment of a Linked Descendants Council. Some Episcopal Churches have set up separate, not-for-profit entities to raise funds for specific purposes (for example, the Little Fork Church's 1776 Preservation Fund), and TFC should consider a similar structure to advance our efforts.</p>	<p>Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.</p>	TBD	<p>Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.</p>
19	<p>The congregation should research if there are linked descendants communities tied to the Fitzhughs and the Ravenwood Landgrant as well as the Fairfaxes and the Mount Eagle plantation, among others, and if not, consider helping create such organizations as a breach-repairing activity.</p>	<p>Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process and available funds.</p>	TBD	<p>Dependent on the outcome on the discernment process.</p>

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Appendix 1

Persons Enslaved by TFC Vestrymen Identified by First and Last Name

	Enslaved Person's First Name	Enslaved Person's Last Name	Enslaver	Notes
1	Sally	Backer	William Fitzhugh	
2	William	Backer	William Fitzhugh	Cook
3	Daniel	Backer	William Fitzhugh	Cook
4	Caroline	Backer	William Fitzhugh	
5	Dick	Backer	William Fitzhugh	Tanner
6	Bob "Meadow Bob"	Backer	William Fitzhugh	
7	John	Bell	William Henry Fitzhugh	
8	Lewis	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
9	Judy	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
10	James	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
11	John	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
12	Henry	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
13	Louisa	Birk	William Fitzhugh	
14	Billy	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	Blacksmith
15	Abram	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	Cooper
16	Gawen	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	Carpenter
17	Doctor	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
18	Gowen	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
19	Winney	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
20	Roderick	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
21	Easter	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
22	John	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
23	Ben	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
24	John, Sr.	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
25	John, Jr.	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
26	Alexander	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
27	Sibby	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
28	Borkett	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
29	Simpson	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
30	Archibald	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
31	Sam	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
32	Price	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
33	Sarah	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
34	Aggy	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
35	Birk	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
36	Peyton	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	

37	Lindsey	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
38	Nanny	Bossee	William Fitzhugh	
39	Billy	Bossey	William Henry Fitzhugh	
40	Edmond	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
41	Linny	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
42	Aggy	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
43	Clary	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
44	Clarissa	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
45	James	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
46	Suckey	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
47	Norah	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
48	Sarah	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
49	Franky	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
50	Giles	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
51	Linney	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
52	Felisha	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
53	George	Brown	William Fitzhugh	
54	Charles	Brown	William Henry Fitzhugh	
55	Jim	Brown	William Henry Fitzhugh	
56	James	Buchan	William Fitzhugh	
57	Lucy	Buchan	William Fitzhugh	
58	Nancy	Buchan	William Fitzhugh	
59	John	Buchan	William Fitzhugh	
60	Nanny	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
61	Kelsy	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
62	Patty	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
63	Nelly	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
64	Henry	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
65	Selia	Bucher	William Fitzhugh	
66	Bill	Burke	William Fitzhugh	
67	Linda	Burke	William Fitzhugh	
68	Billy	Burke	William Henry Fitzhugh	
69	Jim	Burke	William Henry Fitzhugh	
70	John	Burke	William Henry Fitzhugh	
71	Jim	Butcher	William Henry Fitzhugh	
72	James	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
73	Franky	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
74	George	Butler	William Fitzhugh	Carpenter
75	Adam	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
76	Akey	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
77	Billy	Butler	William Fitzhugh	Has fits and burnt

78	Becky	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
79	Judy	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
80	Sibby	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
81	Molly	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
82	Clarke	Butler	William Fitzhugh	
83	David	Carey	William Fitzhugh	Carpenter
84	Alcey	Clark	William Henry Fitzhugh	
85	Aaron	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	Blacksmith
86	Clarke	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	Blacksmith
87	Joseph	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
88	Jesse	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
89	Nathan	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
90	George	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
91	Elijah	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
92	Daniel	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
93	Jacob	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
94	Ailcy	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
95	Tray	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
96	Stacey	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
97	Milly	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
98	Cloe	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
99	Selia	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
100	Aaron	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
101	Robert	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
102	Aggy	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
103	Janny	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
104	Kessy	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
105	Lewis	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
106	Noble	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
107	Cossa	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
108	Ben	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
109	Nanny	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
110	John	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
111	Philis	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
112	Ned	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
113	James	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	Twin of Frankey
114	Frankey	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	Twin of James
115	Sirus	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	Sickly
116	Frankey	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
117	Minta	Clarke	William Fitzhugh	
118	F	Clarke	William Henry Fitzhugh	

119	James	Curry	William Fitzhugh	
120	Betty	Curry	William Fitzhugh	
121	Gowen	Curry	William Fitzhugh	
122	Jim	Curry	William Henry Fitzhugh	
123	Cye	Cyrus	William Henry Fitzhugh	
124	John	Cyrus	William Henry Fitzhugh	
125	Nancy	Cyrus	William Henry Fitzhugh	
126	Ned	Cyrus	William Henry Fitzhugh	
127	Aaron	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
128	Deriah	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
129	James	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
130	Caty	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
131	David	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
132	Jesse	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
133	Betsey	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
134	Moriah	Davis	William Fitzhugh	
135	Ben	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
136	Scharlotte	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
137	Sintha	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
138	Lucy	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
139	Franky	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
140	Moses	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
141	Sina	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
142	Hnery	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
143	Sally	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
144	Arianna	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
145	Robert	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
146	Lucy	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
147	Billy	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
148	Nelley	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
149	Billy, Sr	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
150	Prasilia	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
151	Judy	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
152	James	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
153	Winnie	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
154	Easter	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
155	Sarah	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
156	Sally	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
157	Violett	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
158	Janny	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
159	Aaron	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	

160	Mingo	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
161	Nelly	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
162	Moriah	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
163	Bryant	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
164	Becky	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
165	Matilda	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
166	Delphia	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
167	Letty	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
168	Kitty	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
169	Polly	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
170	Lany	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
171	Frank	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
172	Randolph	Douglas	William Fitzhugh	
173	Jesse	Douglas	William Henry Fitzhugh	
174	Dick	Gardner	William Fitzhugh	
175	Beckey	Gardner	William Fitzhugh	
176	Tom	Geeson	William Henry Fitzhugh	
177	Tom	Geson	William Fitzhugh	
178	Rose	Geson	William Fitzhugh	
179	Anny	Geson	William Fitzhugh	
180	Billy	Geson	William Fitzhugh	
181	Harry	Halley	William Henry Fitzhugh	
182	Ben	Holly	William Fitzhugh	
183	Besse	Holly	William Fitzhugh	
184	Anthony	Holly	William Fitzhugh	
185	Anny	Holly	William Fitzhugh	
186	Sarah	Holly	William Fitzhugh	
187	John	Hopes	William Fitzhugh	
188	Betty	Hopes	William Fitzhugh	
189	Kelly	Hopes	William Fitzhugh	
190	Betty	Hopes	William Henry Fitzhugh	
191	John	Jepsey	William Henry Fitzhugh	
192	Ailey	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
193	Amey	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
194	Mary	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
195	Emilia	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	A granny
196	Easter	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
197	Siller	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
198	Saul	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	A boy; one hand
199	Grace	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	
200	Kitty	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	

201	Peter	Johnson	William Fitzhugh	Has fits
202	Nanny	Kelley	William Fitzhugh	
203	James	Newman	William Fitzhugh	
204	Phil	Newman	William Fitzhugh	
205	Venus	Newman	William Fitzhugh	
206	Conny	Newman	William Fitzhugh	
207	Ned	Newman	William Fitzhugh	
208	George	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
209	Sarah	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
210	Henson	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
211	Beckey	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
212	Peton	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
213	Dennis	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
214	Ailey	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
215	Isaac	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
216	William	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
217	Henry	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
218	Suckey	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
219	Dinah	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
220	Henry	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
221	Lydia	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
222	Lucy	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
223	Nancy	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
224	Mary	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
225	Eliza	Packer	William Fitzhugh	
226	Harry	Parker	William Henry Fitzhugh	
227	John	Patrick	William Fitzhugh	
228	Lucy	Patrick	William Fitzhugh	
229	John	Patrick	William Henry Fitzhugh	
230	Billy	Robinson	William Fitzhugh	Carpenter
231	John	Robinson	William Fitzhugh	
232	Lucy	Robinson	William Fitzhugh	
233	Anny	Robinson	William Fitzhugh	
234	Billy	Robinson	William Henry Fitzhugh	
235	Bob	Ross	William Henry Fitzhugh	
236	Henry	Ross	William Henry Fitzhugh	
237	George	Spotswood	William Fitzhugh	
238	Milly	Spotswood	William Fitzhugh	
239	David	Thomas	William Fitzhugh	
240	Clary	Thomas	William Fitzhugh	
241	Rachel	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	

242	Randolph	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
243	Giles	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
244	Elizabeth	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
245	Judy	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
246	James	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
247	Betty	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
248	Eliza	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	Infant
249	Lucy	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
250	Henry	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
251	Penny	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
252	Jone	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
253	Enock	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
254	Gennett	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
255	Moses	Triplett	William Fitzhugh	
256	Jemmy	Triplett	William Henry Fitzhugh	
257	Jim, Sr.	Triplett	William Henry Fitzhugh	
258	Alcey	Turner	William Henry Fitzhugh	
259	Billy	Williams	William Fitzhugh	
260	Billy	Williams	William Henry Fitzhugh	

Appendix 2

Persons Enslaved by TFC Vestrymen Identified by First Name Alone

	Enslaved Person's First Name	Notes	Enslaver
1	Aaron		William Payne Sr.
2	Abram		William Henry Fitzhugh
3	Adaline		William Henry Fitzhugh
4	Adam		William Henry Fitzhugh
5	Adam		William Fairfax
6	Africa		George William Fairfax
7	Aggy		William Henry Fitzhugh
8	Agnes		William Henry Fitzhugh
9	Albert		William Henry Fitzhugh
10	Alfred		William Henry Fitzhugh
11	Alfred		William Henry Fitzhugh
12	Allen		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
13	Alzira		William Henry Fitzhugh
14	Amy		William Henry Fitzhugh
15	Andrew		William Henry Fitzhugh
16	Ann		William Henry Fitzhugh
17	Ann		George William Fairfax
18	Anner		William Henry Fitzhugh
19	Anthony		Charles Broadwater
20	Archy		William Henry Fitzhugh
21	Armstead		William Henry Fitzhugh
22	Augustin		William Henry Fitzhugh
23	Bea		William Payne Sr.
24	Beck		William Payne Sr.
25	Beckey		William Henry Fitzhugh
26	Becky		William Henry Fitzhugh
27	Ben		Thomas Wren
28	Bess		Charles Broadwater
29	Bess		William Payne Sr.
30	Betsey		William Henry Fitzhugh
31	Betsey		William Henry Fitzhugh
32	Betsey		William Henry Fitzhugh
33	Betty		William Henry Fitzhugh
34	Betty		William Fairfax
35	Betty		George William Fairfax

36	Beverly		William Henry Fitzhugh
37	Bob		William Henry Fitzhugh
38	Bossy		William Henry Fitzhugh
39	Bryant		William Henry Fitzhugh
40	Burke		William Henry Fitzhugh
41	Burke		William Henry Fitzhugh
42	Calvert		William Henry Fitzhugh
43	Cano		Jeremiah Bronaugh
44	Caroline		William Henry Fitzhugh
45	Caroline		William Henry Fitzhugh
46	Carter		William Henry Fitzhugh
47	Cate		Charles Broadwater
48	Cate		William Payne Sr.
49	Cato		William Henry Fitzhugh
50	Cato		William Henry Fitzhugh
51	Celia		William Henry Fitzhugh
52	Charles		William Henry Fitzhugh
53	Charles		William Henry Fitzhugh
54	Charles		Charles Broadwater
55	Charles		William Payne Sr.
56	Citizen		William Henry Fitzhugh
57	Claracy		William Payne Sr.
58	Clarey		George William Fairfax
59	Cloe		William Payne Sr.
60	Cornelius		William Henry Fitzhugh
61	Cott		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
62	Curry	The younger	William Payne Sr.
63	Cynthia		William Henry Fitzhugh
64	Daniel		William Henry Fitzhugh
65	Daniel		William Henry Fitzhugh
66	Daniel		William Henry Fitzhugh
67	Daniel		William Payne Sr.
68	Daniel		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
69	Daniel	The boy	Thomas Wren
70	Daniel Jr.		William Henry Fitzhugh
71	Delia		Jeremiah Bronaugh
72	Delphy		William Henry Fitzhugh
73	Dick		William Payne Sr.
74	Dick		Thomas Wren
75	Dinah		William Henry Fitzhugh
76	Doll		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin

77	Dolly		William Fairfax
78	Ealce		Thomas Wren
79	Easter		William Payne Sr.
80	Edmund		William Henry Fitzhugh
81	Eleana		William Henry Fitzhugh
82	Eleanor		William Henry Fitzhugh
83	Elijah		William Henry Fitzhugh
84	Elijah		William Henry Fitzhugh
85	Elizabeth		William Henry Fitzhugh
86	Ellick		William Henry Fitzhugh
87	Enoch		William Henry Fitzhugh
88	Esther		William Henry Fitzhugh
89	Esther		George William Fairfax
90	Fairfax		William Henry Fitzhugh
91	Fan		Charles Broadwater
92	Fan		William Payne Sr.
93	Fann		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
94	Fanny		William Henry Fitzhugh
95	Fenton		William Henry Fitzhugh
96	Frank		George William Fairfax
97	Frank		Jeremiah Bronaugh
98	Franky		William Henry Fitzhugh
99	George		William Henry Fitzhugh
100	George		William Henry Fitzhugh
101	George		William Payne Sr.
102	George		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
103	Gerard		William Henry Fitzhugh
104	Gowen		William Henry Fitzhugh
105	Gowen		William Henry Fitzhugh
106	Grace		William Henry Fitzhugh
107	Hampton		George William Fairfax
108	Hannah		Jeremiah Bronaugh
109	Hannah		William Fairfax
110	Hanner		William Payne Sr.
111	Harriet		William Henry Fitzhugh
112	Harry		William Henry Fitzhugh
113	Harry		William Henry Fitzhugh
114	Harry		Charles Broadwater
115	Harry		William Payne Sr.
116	Harry	A boy	Thomas Wren
117	Harry		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin

118	Henrietta		William Henry Fitzhugh
119	Henry		William Henry Fitzhugh
120	Henry		William Henry Fitzhugh
121	Henson		William Henry Fitzhugh
122	Herbert		William Henry Fitzhugh
123	Hilliard		William Henry Fitzhugh
124	Hunter		Charles Broadwater
125	Isabella		William Henry Fitzhugh
126	Jack		William Fairfax
127	Jacob		William Henry Fitzhugh
128	Jame		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
129	Jane		William Payne Sr.
130	Janney		William Fairfax
131	Jea		Charles Broadwater
132	Jenney		William Henry Fitzhugh
133	Jenny		William Henry Fitzhugh
134	Jenny		William Henry Fitzhugh
135	Jenny		William Payne Sr.
136	Jesse		William Henry Fitzhugh
137	Jim		William Henry Fitzhugh
138	Jim		William Henry Fitzhugh
139	Joan		William Henry Fitzhugh
140	John		William Henry Fitzhugh
141	John		William Henry Fitzhugh
142	John		William Henry Fitzhugh
143	John		William Henry Fitzhugh
144	John		Charles Broadwater
145	John	Mulatto boy	William Fairfax
146	Jone		Jeremiah Bronaugh
147	Joshua		William Fairfax
148	Judah		Jeremiah Bronaugh
149	Judith		William Henry Fitzhugh
150	Judith		William Henry Fitzhugh
151	Judith		John Turley
152	Judy		Jeremiah Bronaugh
153	Kissey		William Henry Fitzhugh
154	Kitty		William Henry Fitzhugh
155	Kitty		William Henry Fitzhugh
156	Lana		William Henry Fitzhugh
157	Lana		William Henry Fitzhugh
158	Laura		William Henry Fitzhugh

159	Leah		William Henry Fitzhugh
160	Leah Jr.		William Henry Fitzhugh
161	Leana		William Henry Fitzhugh
162	Let		William Payne Sr.
163	Letty		William Henry Fitzhugh
164	Letty		William Payne Sr.
165	Lewis		William Henry Fitzhugh
166	Lewis		William Henry Fitzhugh
167	Libby		William Henry Fitzhugh
168	Libby		William Henry Fitzhugh
169	Lilly		William Henry Fitzhugh
170	Lindy		William Henry Fitzhugh
171	Lindy		William Henry Fitzhugh
172	Linny		William Henry Fitzhugh
173	Lizzy		William Henry Fitzhugh
174	Lonnon		William Payne Sr.
175	Lorenzo		William Henry Fitzhugh
176	Louisa		William Henry Fitzhugh
177	Lucinda		William Henry Fitzhugh
178	Lucy		William Henry Fitzhugh
179	Lucy		William Henry Fitzhugh
180	Lucy		William Henry Fitzhugh
181	Lucy		William Henry Fitzhugh
182	Lucy		William Henry Fitzhugh
183	Lucy		John Turley
184	Lucy		William Fairfax
185	Lucy		Thomas Wren
186	Lusey		William Payne Sr.
187	Lylla		William Henry Fitzhugh
188	Lylla		William Henry Fitzhugh
189	Manuel		William Henry Fitzhugh
190	Manuel		William Henry Fitzhugh
191	Mariah		William Henry Fitzhugh
192	Mariah		William Henry Fitzhugh
193	Martha		William Henry Fitzhugh
194	Marthy Ann		William Henry Fitzhugh
195	Mary		William Henry Fitzhugh
196	Mary		William Henry Fitzhugh
197	Masey		William Payne Sr.
198	Matthew		George William Fairfax
199	Melissa		William Henry Fitzhugh

200	Michael		William Henry Fitzhugh
201	Minney		William Henry Fitzhugh
202	Minny		William Henry Fitzhugh
203	Mintela		George William Fairfax
204	Moll		William Payne Sr.
205	Molly		Jeremiah Bronaugh
206	Monaca		William Payne Sr.
207	Monster		John Turley
208	Moses		William Henry Fitzhugh
209	Moses		William Fairfax
210	Nalee		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
211	Nan		William Payne Sr.
212	Nan		George William Fairfax
213	Nancy		William Henry Fitzhugh
214	Nancy		William Henry Fitzhugh
215	Ned		Charles Broadwater
216	Ned		John Turley
217	Nell		William Fairfax
218	Nelly		William Henry Fitzhugh
219	Nelly		William Henry Fitzhugh
220	Nelson		William Henry Fitzhugh
221	Noah		William Henry Fitzhugh
222	Noble		William Henry Fitzhugh
223	Norman		William Payne Sr.
224	Old Bob		William Henry Fitzhugh
225	Oliver		William Henry Fitzhugh
226	Omah		William Fairfax
227	Oney		William Henry Fitzhugh
228	Patrick		William Henry Fitzhugh
229	Patsey		William Henry Fitzhugh
230	Pattey		William Henry Fitzhugh
231	Peg		Jeremiah Bronaugh
232	Pegg		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
233	Peter		William Payne Sr.
234	Peter		William Payne Sr.
235	Peter		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
236	Peyton		William Henry Fitzhugh
237	Phillis		William Henry Fitzhugh
238	Phillis		William Fairfax
239	Phoebe		William Henry Fitzhugh
240	Phoebe		George William Fairfax

241	Pipero		William Fairfax
242	Polly		William Henry Fitzhugh
243	Polly		William Fairfax
244	Pompey		William Fairfax
245	Poplin		George William Fairfax
246	Presley		William Henry Fitzhugh
247	Price		William Henry Fitzhugh
248	Prue		William Payne Sr.
249	Rachael		William Henry Fitzhugh
250	Roben		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
251	Rose		William Henry Fitzhugh
252	Sally		William Henry Fitzhugh
253	Sally		William Henry Fitzhugh
254	Sally		William Henry Fitzhugh
255	Sally		William Henry Fitzhugh
256	Sam		William Payne Sr.
257	Sam		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
258	Sam		Thomas Wren
259	Sanford		William Henry Fitzhugh
260	Sarah		William Payne Sr.
261	Sarah		Jeremiah Bronaugh
262	Sarah		William Fairfax
263	Sarah		Jeremiah Bronaugh
264	Sarah		William Fairfax
265	Sarah (Old)		William Fairfax
266	Sarah Ann		William Henry Fitzhugh
267	Sarah Ann		William Henry Fitzhugh
268	Sciprio		William Fairfax
269	Selse		Charles Broadwater
270	Shirley		William Henry Fitzhugh
271	Silas		William Henry Fitzhugh
272	Simpson		William Henry Fitzhugh
273	Sinah		William Henry Fitzhugh
274	Sophy		William Henry Fitzhugh
275	Stacy		William Henry Fitzhugh
276	Stewart		William Henry Fitzhugh
277	Suda		Charles Broadwater
278	Sue		Charles Broadwater
279	Sue		John Turley
280	Sukey		William Henry Fitzhugh
281	Suky		William Fairfax

282	Suner		George William Fairfax
283	Susan		William Henry Fitzhugh
284	Sylvia		William Fairfax
285	Sylvia		Jeremiah Bronaugh
286	Tom		William Payne Sr.
287	Tom		George William Fairfax
288	Tony		William Payne Sr.
289	Towlston		William Fairfax
290	Venus		Jeremiah Bronaugh
291	Violet		William Henry Fitzhugh
292	Virgial		William Henry Fitzhugh
293	Virgil		William Henry Fitzhugh
294	Virgin		William Henry Fitzhugh
295	Washington		William Henry Fitzhugh
296	Westley		William Henry Fitzhugh
297	Will		Jeremiah Bronaugh
298	Will		William Fairfax
299	Will		Edward Dulling AKA Dulin
300	William		William Henry Fitzhugh
301	William		William Henry Fitzhugh
302	Winney		Jeremiah Bronaugh
303	Winnifred		Jeremiah Bronaugh