THE AFRO-AMERICAN METHODIST TRADITION:
A REVIEW OF SOURCES IN REPRINT

by William B. Gravely

The Afro-American Methodist tradition has a distinctive place in the black religious history of this country. The religious continuity within the tradition was drawn from the Wesleyan evangelical heritage, modified by the facts of black existence in slavery and segregation. The institutional embodiment of the tradition has been typical of American religious pluralism. Three major Negro Methodist denominations came into being under the conditions of racial caste in American society of the nineteenth century. From the first there were black Methodists in predominantly white churches as well—slaves who were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; free Negroes in the Methodist Episcopal Church north of slavery; the black minority, mostly in the South, which belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church after 1865 and which became, in 1939, the now defunct Central Jurisdiction of The Methodist Church.

Another indication of the influence of Afro-American Methodism lies in its contribution to black leadership. Black Methodist clergy have been community spokesmen and commanding figures in the abolitionist, educational and civil rights movements. Richard Allen, for example, was a founder of black community institutions, a critic of the colonization movement to deport free Negroes and an exponent of Christian abolitionism which sought to rescue the religion of and about Jesus Christ from proslavery, racist perversion. What Allen did in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Christopher Rush and others accomplished in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. The story of black educational and intellectual life depends significantly upon the contributions of Methodist clergymen like Daniel Alexander Payne, Joseph Charles Price, John Wesley Edward Bowen, Benjamin Tucker Tanner, Richard R. Wright. No account of the long civil rights struggle for black Americans is inclusive if it ignores the leadership of Negro Methodists like Henry McNeal Turner, James W. Hood, James Lynch, Hiram Revels during reconstruction and Benjamin W. Arnett, Madison Charles Butler Mason, Reverdy C. Ransom, Charles H. Phillips, Lucius H. Holsey, Alexander Walters during the Jim Crow era.

Black leaders who were Methodist have not come solely from the clergy. Frederick Douglass, however nominal his church relations as a Zion Methodist, was not the only prominent black layman. Martin R. Delany, an early black sociologist, a medical doctor and the first Negro commissioned in the United States Army, was an A. M. E. churchman, as was Timothy Thomas Fortune, an eminent editor. John E. Bruce, likewise an editor and columnist, was a member of
the A. M. E. Zion Church. Hightower T. Kealing, as a layman, was editor of the *A. M. E. Church Review* and later a college president. William Sanders Scarborough, an outstanding black educator and philologist, was an A. M. E. churchman. A black leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church, I. Garland Penn, was lay executive secretary of the Epworth League and of the Freedmen’s Aid Society. William Henry Crogman served as a distinguished professor in Methodist Episcopal schools, particularly at Clark College in Atlanta.

The careers of these churchmen and the social and religious significance of the institutions of black Methodism can now be more easily studied because of a new accessibility to source materials in Afro-American history. Of all the religious traditions within black America, Methodists are by far the most represented in current Black Studies reprint series of various publishers. Among these extensive materials there are several items in biography, denominational history and protest literature which deserve special attention.

**Afro-American Methodist Biography**


Heard, William H. *From Slavery to the Bishopric of the A.M.E. Church.* New York: Arno Press, 1969 reprint of the original (1924) with introduction by Edgar Allan Toppin. vii, 104 pp., illus. $3.50.

Payne, Daniel A. *Recollections of Seventy Years.* New York: Arno Press, 1968 reprint of the original (1888), with introduction by Benjamin Quarles. 335 pp., illus. $10.00 hardcover; $3.45 paperback.


A host of fugitive slave narratives have been reissued recently. The story of Jermain (or Jarmain) Wesley Loguen is of particular interest to Methodists, because this ex-slave became in the free north a pastor and, after the Civil War, a bishop in the A. M. E. Zion Church. Unhappily the narrative was not written by Loguen but by an anonymous party who indulged freely in literary license. The essential thread of the biography up to about 1852 is intact, but the author could not resist putting in the mouths of some characters unlikely conversations on complicated theological and philosophical questions. The content of the discourses gives the impression that the unknown author was a liberal Christian, perhaps a Unitarian, who had probably been influenced by Transcendentalism. Unquestionably, he was a white abolitionist.

The portrait of Loguen, filtered through the author’s verbosity and romantic flair, is identifiable when compared with contemporary records of his work with the underground railroad in and around Syracuse, New York. “Jarm,” as he was called as a child, was born to
the union of a slave woman, who had been kidnapped from freedom in Ohio as a young girl, and her white owner, David Logue. As he grew up, he witnessed most of the potential horrors associated with the institution of chattel slavery: the separation of families, the perennial threat of being sold to a cruel master, the lack of educational opportunity, harsh discipline employed to keep the slave subservient. About 1835 when Loguen was about twenty-two years old, he escaped all the way to Canada. En route he discovered to his disillusionment that most northern whites were ill disposed to welcome him into free territory or to assist him on his way. In 1837 he returned to the United States which he left only once more, in 1851, in order to escape a warrant because he had aided a mob to rescue an imprisoned fugitive slave.

Loguen’s ecclesiastical career receives scant notice in this biography, though there is mention of his joining the African M. E. Church (p. 374), the name which Zion Methodists in the period shared with the Allenite denomination. From the early 1840’s he served parishes and was a presiding elder in western New York. After he refused election as bishop in 1864, the Zion General Conference chose him again four years later. He died after five years’ service in the episcopacy.

The autobiography of William Henry Heard is even more disappointing because the author offered such a brief sketch of his life which he arranged topically rather than chronologically. The volume numbers less than a hundred pages of actual text, but Professor Toppin’s introduction to the reprint edition fortunately fills in some of the omissions.

Born in 1850, Heard was the son of slaves who lived on adjoining plantations. With his mother and her other children he was sold twice to different masters before he became an orphan at the age of nine. From that time until his freedom in 1865 he worked on his master’s farm. In the early post-war years Heard obtained some common school education which enabled him, in turn, to do primary school teaching. After he moved to South Carolina, he won a scholarship to the state university which the reconstruction legislature had integrated. While he was a student, he served as a member of the House of Representatives until the counter-revolution of 1876 returned southern Democrats to power.

As a slave Heard had attended the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in Elberton, Georgia, but his religious convictions were not satisfactorily resolved until he experienced a profound conversion in 1879. The next year he entered the ministry of the A. M. E. Church, serving appointments in the South and in Pennsylvania. In 1895 President Grover Cleveland appointed Heard to the diplomatic service in Liberia where he also was responsible for a missionary conference of the A. M. E. Church. Four years later he returned to the United States, holding pastorates and executive posts in the denomination until his election as bishop in 1908. His first eight years in
the episcopacy was another missionary post in West Africa, but his remaining twenty-one years as bishop were spent in this country. He died in 1937, shortly after attending the Faith and Order Conference of the World Council of Churches in Edinburgh.

Bishop Daniel A. Payne's *Recollections of Seventy Years* is a more complete life story than those of Loguen's and Heard's, but it is also an inadequate account of the remarkable career of the most distinguished black churchman of last century. In 1888, when Payne was seventy-seven years old, a compiler, Mrs. Sarah Scarborough, and an editor, Charles Spencer Smith, extracted the highlights of his life from diaries and two volumes of hand-written reminiscences. These sources have apparently been lost or destroyed, but there are sufficient materials for the scholarly biography which Payne deserves.

Though he was born to free parents in Charleston, South Carolina in 1811, Payne was an orphan nine years later, left in the keeping of a grand-aunt. Despite social restrictions against educating Negroes he managed to go to school while working for a shoe-merchant, as a carpenter and as a tailor. Surrounded by religious influences from birth, Payne became a member on probation in the Cumberland Methodist Episcopal Church at age fifteen. Three years later his conversion took place, after which he felt a special commission to get more thorough training in order to teach his people. In 1829, he opened a school for free black children which he continued for five years until legislative proscription against educating Negroes intervened. Payne's disappointment over the closing of his school was poignantly expressed in a poem which he composed, "The Mournful Lute, or the Preceptor's Farewell" (pp. 29-34).

Several ministers in Charleston, including a Methodist, William Capers, encouraged Payne to go North where his talents could be of greater benefit to his people. In May, 1835 he left his native state to which he did not return until the end of the Civil War, thirty years later. Searching for an opportunity to extend his education, Payne met some leading black citizens in New York, one of whom was Peter Williams, Jr., an Episcopal rector whose father had been the famous sexton at John Street Church and a founder of the Zion Methodist movement. Finally Payne made contact with white Lutherans who offered him a newly established scholarship to attend their seminary at Gettysburg. Though he did not complete his degree, Payne's theological training was sufficient to obtain ordination in 1837 from the Franckean Synod in New York, a body of abolitionist churchmen. For six years Payne did occasional preaching and taught school while considering whether to transfer into the ministry of the A. M. E. Church. In 1843 he took the step and inaugurated a career of more than a half-century of service in that denomination.

The autobiography, like his history of the church (see below), contained Payne's commentaries on incidents, persons and developments that reflected his disposition on several issues in church life. From the first he labored against considerable opposition to improve
he educational standards of the African Methodist ministry and to regiment discipline and liturgy more carefully. After twenty years Payne led his church to purchase a school for Negroes which white Methodists in Ohio had begun, becoming in the process the first black president of an American college, Wilberforce University. Largely through his efforts an organized conference course of study for young ministers was launched. He enthusiastically supported the initial publishing ventures of the church, writing for the early, short-lived periodicals — The African Methodist Episcopal Church Magazine (1841-1848), The Christian Herald (1848-?) and the Repository of Religion and Literature, and of Science and Art (1858-1864?) — and for the Christian Recorder which began in 1852, faltered later, but was resumed in 1861 to continue thereafter.

Much of Payne's ecclesiastical work, particularly after 1856 when he was elected bishop, involved the expansion of the A. M. E. Church throughout the North and West, into Canada and, after the Civil War, in the South. Because of his denominational and academic responsibilities he was not, therefore, a prominent figure in the antislavery movement or in political reconstruction, but he was more active and outspoken than the autobiography indicates. His pen and voice were employed in a number of social reforms, and the manner in which he carried himself, even though he was a small man, became living testimony against the caste system that only occasionally confronted him directly.

Like Payne, Levi Jenkins Coppin was born as a free black, and raised on the eastern shore of Maryland. His autobiography, published initially just after the first world war, is especially fascinating for what it portrays of the profoundly human, often amusing, always interesting way of life for blacks in the slaveholding state that had the largest free Negro population before the Civil War. Coppin's title, Inwritten History, intended to pay tribute to the countless anonymous black men and women who withstood slavery and caste with dignity.

There are few comparable antebellum accounts of black religious life such as that in Coppin's home community, Cecilton. Like other free Negroes in slave states his family and neighbors formally belonged to white churches, but increasingly in the pre-war decade they held services and class meetings independently in a rude log hut which they called Old Friendship. After the war the little congregation united with the A. M. E. Church and new contact with the outside world opened up for young Coppin.

In 1869, when he was not yet twenty-one years old, Coppin left his home town to go to Philadelphia, and soon thereafter to Wilmington, Delaware, where he spent most of the next eight years. During the time he came under the influence of several notable preachers in the A. M. E. Church, including Bishop Payne and Theophilus G. Steward. He worked on several jobs and at improving his education, and he was active, particularly due to his musical interests, in local churches. In 1877, partly as the result of the tragic death of his young wife and
infant son, Coppin decided to become a minister. During the next ten years he served churches in Philadelphia, including historic Mother Bethel, and in Baltimore. He managed to continue his education in the Episcopal divinity school in Philadelphia from which he graduated in 1887. That same year he remarried. His bride, Fanny M. Jackson, had graduated from Oberlin and had earned the reputation as an outstanding black woman educator. In 1888 Coppin became the second editor of the *A. M. E. Church Review* which had become under Benjamin Tucker Tanner a first-rate denominational journal. Throughout his editorship, which ended in 1896, he collected a large library, especially of black authors and of official records of black churches and institutions. The collection, along with a similar library brought together by A. M. E. Bishop B. W. Arnett, is now housed at Wilberforce University.

In 1896 Coppin was an unsuccessful candidate for the episcopacy. Afterwards he returned to the pastorate, serving again the Mother Bethel Church. The General Conference of 1900 chose Coppin as bishop and assigned him to South Africa for the next four years. The autobiography includes some of his observations on African life which he wrote about more fully in other of his published works. The fifteen years between his return from Africa and the completion of his life story were spent in episcopal supervision over several conferences, mostly in the South.

Other biographical sources in Afro-American Methodism which are currently available are listed at the end of this essay. No publisher has yet reprinted the autobiographies of Lucius H. Holsey, bishop in the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and of Alexander Walters, a Zion Methodist bishop and civil rights advocate. Both volumes would be useful additions to any library of black history or of Negro Methodism.

**Black Methodist Denominational History**


Publishers have been even more selective in reprinting denominational histories. Only the valuable two-volume A. M. E. history, done by Bishops Payne and Smith, is in print. No one has undertaken the republication of rare items like James W. Hood's *One Hundred Years of the African M. E. Zion Church* or of Charles H. Phillips'
The History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America (the third edition of 1925 is the most comprehensive).

At the A. M. E. General Conference of 1848 Payne was appointed historiographer of the church, and he spent most of two years, 1850-1852, traveling throughout the connection trying to locate local church records and annual conference minutes. Throughout the rest of his life Payne collected significant documents for the church, but only in his later years did he have the leisure to sift through his findings and begin to compile the history. By that time he had more sources to draw upon and a longer story to tell so that only one volume, covering the years from 1816 to 1856, appeared before his death.

Like the better denominational histories in the last century the value of Payne's volume lies in the inclusion of the full texts of many reports and contributions to church literature which are no longer extant. For most of the volume he traced the expansion of the church chronologically, inserting along the way biographical sketches of men who bore the burdens of itinerant life as well as those who achieved some fame as bishops and editors. In the final hundred pages Payne went beyond the defined dates of the volume to bring the developments in education and missions up to the time of composition.

Thirty years passed before Smith, who had edited Payne's volume, was given the opportunity, in lieu of regular episcopal duties, to update the denomination's history. As Payne had done, Smith wove into his manuscript the texts of important church actions, but he went further, adding an appendix of nearly one hundred and fifty pages which includes the Journals of the General Conference for 1844 and 1860, in full, and 1864 and 1868, in part. The appendix also contains the minutes of the Missouri and Louisiana conferences for 1865 and of the South Carolina conference for the years 1865-1867 and the charter for St. James' Church in New Orleans (1848).

The general pattern of Smith's history was similar to what Payne had done. He sketched chronologically the work of the church at annual and general conference levels, but he imposed a scheme of periodization to interpret specific emphases in various eras from 1787 to 1922. Smith especially focused on the formation of the mission conferences in Africa, inserting important documentation on the refusal of South African authorities to permit Bishop W. T. Vernon to come into the country in 1921. One chapter dealt with five attempts at organic union between the A. M. E. and the Zion churches and with the creation of the Tri-Council of Bishops from these two and the C. M. E. denomination. Another chapter offered a valuable summary of the various departments and institutions in the A. M. E. Church from their origins down to the time of writing.

The histories of Payne and Smith and accounts of the other Negro Methodist bodies which have not been reprinted incorporate representative official acts condemning slavery and racism in America. Social protest has been a part of the Afro-American Methodist tradi-
tion from the beginning, and it has not been limited to formal positions of church bodies.

**Afro-American Methodist Protest Literature**

Porter, Dorothy, ed. *Negro Protest Pamphlets*. New York: Arno Press, 1969. $7.00 hardcover; $1.95 paperback. This collection includes:


In 1969 Mrs. Dorothy Porter, Curator of the Moorland-Spingarn Collection of Afro-American materials at Howard University, edited and published six representative pamphlets of antebellum black protest literature, four of which were written by individuals associated with Negro Methodism. The first selection, the *Narrative* by Jones and Allen, is more familiar to students of black history, appearing as it does in many anthologies, though mostly in extracted form. In Mrs. Porter's edition the pamphlet appears as the original, including the peculiarities of late eighteenth century printing.

Both Jones and Allen had been local preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, but they led a walkout from old St. George's Church in Philadelphia in 1787 following a controversy over the seating of blacks. Each launched independent black churches. Jones founded St. Thomas' African Protestant Episcopal Church and Allen established the Bethel society, which became the mother church for the A. M. E. denomination.

The main section of the *Narrative* is a refutation of Matthew Carey's attack upon Philadelphia's blacks for having overcharged for their services as nurses and for having looted the possessions of the dead during the epidemic of yellow fever in 1793. Jones and Allen explained their roles in the crisis, lauded the courage and sacrifices of their black co-workers and pointed out that the profiteering which took place in isolated instances had no color line.
The pamphlet also contains short addresses to slaveholders, to the people of color and to whites who advocated antislavery—all apparently written by Allen. His antislavery argument appealed to reason and was based on the biblical account of the Exodus, which, to Allen, made “God himself . . . the first pleader of the cause of slaves” (p. 20). To slaves Allen spoke of his own earlier bondage and urged that they prepare for their freedom. He warned free blacks that their conduct ought to be exemplary so as not to strengthen “the hands of the enemies of our colour” (p. 23).

Of the selections in Mrs. Porter’s compendium none is more rare than Daniel Coker’s Dialogue. The leading African Methodist in Baltimore, Coker assisted in the formation of the new A. M. E. denomination in 1816. Later he migrated to Africa. His treatise is an exchange between a Virginia slaveholder and himself. Coker began by arguing for legislation to facilitate legal emancipation. He showed how the system of slavery had become ingrained in American life so that even though the foreign slave trade had officially ended two years before, the “equally cruel” domestic traffic in black bondsmen was thriving. Many of the discourses depended on the biblical argument which the Virginian made for slavery. Coker refuted the application of biblical texts to defend American bondage, claiming that slavery was an unjust system which was “contrary to the spirit and nature of the Christian religion” (p. 25) and which deprived black men of “their natural rights to freedom.” (p. 6).

Coker disarmed his opponent when he declared that there were no dangers in emancipating the slaves. Whatever ignorance or immorality that appeared among them, he contended, was mostly the result of their condition. The preacher agreed with the slaveholder that amalgamation of the races was not desirable, but he placed responsibility for the increasing number of mulattoes upon the whites, which accounted for the practice in some instances of fathers having their own children for slaves. Finally, Coker pleaded with the Virginian to treat his slaves as he did his children, if they refused the offer of emancipation, and to provide in a will for their freedom at his death. At the end of his pamphlet Coker added lists of black preachers and churches and of “the descendants of the African race, who have given proofs of talents.”

The short address by William Hamilton in 1834 illustrates the oratorical skill of this abolitionist who had been a leading layman in Zion Methodism in New York twenty years before. On special occasions in the free Negro community in New York City Hamilton was the speaker, so that three of his addresses (in 1809, in 1815 and in 1827) had already been published. As the context for this address indicates he had been one of the instigators of the colored convention movement, begun four years earlier to develop black solidarity and to combat racial discrimination. In this speech he decried racial caste generally, but his frontal attack was against the American Colonization Society. He charged colonizationalists with having excited the white population with fears of insurrection and amalgamation, with having prevented...
the establishment of schools for blacks and with having lobbied for the
expatriation of free Negroes in state legislatures and in congress. As he
built to an eloquent climax, Hamilton encouraged his audience to keep
before them the vision of a free society in which “tyranny, cruelty,
prejudice and slavery [would] be cast down to the lowest depths of
oblivion.” (p. 7).

The Treatise by Hosea Easton was a most remarkable critique of the
racial problem of antebellum America. The pastor of an A. M. E. Zion
church in Hartford, Connecticut, Easton published his pamphlet to
raise funds so that his congregation could replace their building which
had been destroyed by fire. His analysis first dealt with the environ-
mental effects of slavery upon the intellectual capacities of black men.
He contrasted the culture of black civilizations in Africa with the “in-
tellectual and physical inferiority of the slave population” (p. 22) in
America. “The slave system is an unnatural cause,” he wrote, “and has
produced its unnatural effects, as displayed in the deformity of two
and a half millions of beings, who have been under its soul-and-body-
destroying influence, lineally, for near three hundred years . . . .”
(p. 24) Then Easton argued that the principle of slavery was “the true
cause” of “the malignant prejudice of the whites against the blacks”
(p. 38) in northern society, evidenced in restricted public accommoda-
tions, segregated education, political discriminaton and “nigger pews”
in white churches. He concluded the essay with an appeal to the
conscience of white America, claiming for his own “colored people” the
same inalienable rights of all citizens.

The last example of social protest literature from a Negro Methodist
comes more than a half century later at the time when legal segrega-
tion was the dominant pattern of race relations. Bishop W. J. Gaines of
the A. M. E. church in Georgia, an ex-slave, presented his views on the
“Negro question” in a volume published in 1897. Black bondage had
ended, but the racism which undergirded the system of slavery per-
sisted. Much of Gaines’ book was occupied in describing American
slavery and its overthrow and the results of emancipation. He showed
the extent freedmen had accumulated property and wealth and he
outlined the development of Negro education, the extension of the
Negro church and changes in black family life.

The bishop’s perspective was moderate. He asked only for “simple
justice” within American society for Negro citizens. He accepted the
cultural superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization and denied that “social
equality” was desired by black Americans. On the question of the
ballot and on the need for civil rights protection Gaines did speak out
and he tried to promote racial pride. He did not dodge the contro-
versial question of amalgamation and intermarriage. In the end his
hope was projected to a time when race prejudice would pass away and
the capacities of the “Afro-Anglo-Saxon” to contribute to human
civilization be generally acknowledged.
Conclusion

The above survey is evidence that no black or white churchman, no historian of American religion or of the black experience in our time has any excuse for ignoring the social and religious significance of the black Methodist tradition. The meaning of Afro-American Methodism for our era and for the future, of course, does not just emerge ex nihilo from reading history. Critical analysis and sober reflection are pre-requisites for those who would cultivate an appreciation for those black people called Methodists and how they have enriched our common and separate Christian heritage.

Additional Sources for Afro-American Methodist History

Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, Massachusetts 01867.


Penn, I. Garland and J. W. E. Bowen, eds. The United Negro: His Problems and His Progress... Containing the Addresses and Proceedings of the Negro Young People's Christian and Educational Congress, held August 6-11, 1902. Atlanta, 1902. 600 pp. $27.75.

Smith, Amanda. An Autobiography. The Story of the Lord's Dealings with Mrs. Amanda Smith the Colored Evangelist... (1893). 506 pp. $20.00. The famous black woman preacher was well known in all branches of Methodism, but she belonged to the A. M. E. Church.


Whitman, Alberty A. Idyl of the South, an Epic Poem in Two Parts (1901). $5.00.

———. Not a Man and Yet a Man (1877). $10.00.
———. Twasinta's Seminoles, or Rape of Florida. $5.00. Whitman was a minister in the A. M. E. church.


Delany, Martin R. The Condition, Elevation, Emigration of the Colored People of the United States (1852). 215 pp. $6.50 hardcover; $2.45 paperback.

Fortune, Timothy Thomas. Black and White: Land, Labor and Politics in the South (1884). 310 pp. $9.00 hardcover; $3.25 paperback.

Penn I. Garland. The Afro-American Press and Its Editors (1891). 549 pp. $18.00. Both the introduction to the original edition and Ernest Kaiser's brief preface to this reprint misleadingly identify Penn as a member of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. He was, in fact, an outstanding churchman in the Methodist Episcopal tradition.
Proceedings of the National Negro Conference, 1909. New York May 31 and June 1 (1909). 229 pp. $7.50. This volume includes an address by Zion Methodist Bishop Alexander Walters.


Simmons, William J. Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising (1887). 1138 pp. $39.50. This dictionary biography of black Americans contains a number of entries on Afro-American Methodist churchmen.

Steward, T. G. The Colored Regulars in the United States Army (1904). 344 pp. $10.50. Steward was an A. M. E. minister and chaplain in the army.


Wright, Richard R., Jr. The Negro in Pennsylvania: A Study in Economic History (1912). 250 pp. $7.00. This volume was A. M. E. Bishop Wright’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania.


Bradley, David H., Sr., Box 146, Bedford, Pa. 15522.


Interdenominational Theological Center Library, Mr. Wilson Flemister, Librarian. 673 Beckwith St., S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314.

Microfilm of the following Afro-American Methodist related periodicals are available:

Voice of the Negro, vols. 1-4 (1904-1907). One reel, $20.00. J.W.E. Bowen was an editor of this journal.


Voice of the People, Feb. 1, 1901-Feb. 1, 1904. One reel, $20.00 Though this paper was not a religious periodical, Bishop Turner included much church news in it.

Negro Universities Press, 51 Riverside Avenue, Westpoint, Conn. 06880.


Kletzing, Henry F. and William Henry Crogman. Progress of a Race; or, the Remarkable Advancement of the Afro-American, from the bondage of slavery, ignorance, and poverty, to the freedom of citizenship, intelligence, affluence, honor, and trust. Atlanta, 1897. 663 pp. $24.75. Crogman was on the faculty at Clark University in Atlanta.

Penn, I. G. and J. W. E. Bowen, eds. The United Negro Atlanta, 1902. 600 pp. $27.75.

The Possibilities of the Negro in Symposium. Atlanta, 1904. 165 pp. $8.50. Bishop H. M. Turner and C. M. E. Bishop L. H. Holsey were contributors to this volume.

Voice of the Negro, Atlanta and Chicago, 1904-1908. Hardcover reprint $190.00 for the set. (Available on film from I.T.C. Library above)


Articles of Association of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of
Philadelphia in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1799. 21 pp. $3.00. The articles are signed by Richard Allen in behalf of Bethel Church, Philadelphia.

Constitution of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for Improving their condition in the United States; for Purchasing Lands; and for the Establishment of a Settlement in Upper Canada. Also the Proceedings of the Convention, with their address to The Free Persons of Colour in the United States. Philadelphia, 1831. 12 pp. $3.00. The constitution and address have been attributed to Bishop Richard Allen.


Miller, William. A Sermon on the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Delivered at the African Church, New York on the First of January, 1810. New York, 1810. 16 pp. $3.00. Miller was at various times a minister in both the A. M. E. and the A. M. E. Zion churches.

Walls, William Jacob, (Bishop), 4736 South Martin Luther King Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615.