A HISTORY OF THE NEGRO CHURCH IN NEW YORK CITY TO 1914

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
IN
The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, N.Y.
March, 1958

TO MY BELOVED MOTHER

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE,

JANUARY 19, 1958

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INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem:

The purpose of this thesis is to show how the Negro Church developed ideas of the Christian Religion; also to consider the development of the Negro Churches; and to study the integration of the Negro church into the religious life of New York City.

The objective of this thesis then is to give consideration to the founding, growth and expansion of the Negro Church from its inception about 1600 through its various stages of development until World War I (1914).

B. Delimitation of the Problem:

This study is primarily, concerned with the Negro Church as it developed on the Isle of Manhattan. At first the churches were located on the lower part of Manhattan. Later, Negroes migrated northward and many churches moved from its location downtown near the waterfront uptown to Washington Square. A colony of Negroes made a settlement in a more favorable residential location in mid-Manhattan. Some churches established branches there and finally moved to Harlem, when further migrations began to the northern section of the Island. The study is considered from 1600-1914.

C. Method and Source of Data:

The following sources of data are used. The gathering of materials through research, such as: census, and church reports, original and historical secondary documents, such as those available in the New York Historical Society Library and Schomburg Collections of the New York Public Library, West 135th Street. This data is treated by the usual processes of historical analysis and exposition.

CHAPTER II

THE INCEPTION, FOUNDING, AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO CHURCH UP TO CIVIL WAR (1600-1863)

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Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the basic elements in the religious life of the African Negro which were carried over into his American slavery experience and which contributed to the founding and early development of a distinctive Negro Church in New York City.

Our objective then is to show how the infusing of the Christian ideas into the religion which the slaves possessed was a gradual process. However, it is to be shown how rapidly he developed in Christian education in spite of limitations. It is to be noted how the Negro and his church became an integral part of the church life in New York City.

A. The Inception of the Negro Church (1600-1750)

1. The Early Beginnings of Religious Life Among Negroes

Christianity came to Africa about the 4th century when Christians were forced to find new homes caused by the dissolution of the Roman Empire. According to Dubois, Christians, both Latin and Greek "filtered through Africa." This migration was followed by an invasion of Germanic people in 429 A.D.[1] Africa contributed to the

1. William, E. B. Dubois, "The Negro," p. 17.

universality of Christianity. Tertullian and Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius and St. Augustine were leading Christian churchmen who were natives of Africa. Thousands of "Black Christians" were included in the bishoprics of the pope and patriarch of Alexandria. However, in the 7th century the Mohammedans invaded North Africa and converted large masses of natives to Islam. Dubois states that the African religious elements of God, spirits, native worship, and witchcraft found some expression in America. The African religion according to Dubois tended toward polytheism and monotheism. It was charactized as a universal animism, chiefly approaching monotheism, but did not receive its motivation from either Christianity or Islam.[1]

Voodism is a remnant of the African fetish rites that mark the African religious worship. This rite was carried over into American slave life and was termed "obe worship" or voodism.[2]

The African "root doctor" was a skillful and crafty priest who had vast powers in African as well as American life. His life on the plantation was not much affected by the slave system. Hence, he continued to practice witchcraft as a religious phenomena. Moreover, the Negro priest was a respected authority in matters pertaining to religion and medicine. Furthermore, he was the prophet, the pastor, and social reformer of an oppressed people. Dubois succinctly makes this observation that "from such beginnings arose and spread with

1. William, E. B. Dubois, "The Negro," pp. 124-129.
2. Ibid., pp. 188-189.

marvelous rapidity the Negro church, the first distinctively American social institution.[1]

It took two centuries before the gradual Christianizing process became effective. The church developed with a simple Calvinistic creed, but with a noticeable affinity to the traditions of the past.[2]

The modern slave traffic goes back to the Mohammedan conquest in Africa, where the conquerer seized the conquered natives for use in the harems, the army and as servants. As a result African slaves were carried to Asia in large numbers. However, in Mohammenan countries, African slaves were converted to Islam and were considered in fact a brother of the faith. Spaniards brought African slaves to Europe in the 14th century and the Portugese continued the trade in the early fifteenth century. For 50 years the Spanish conducted a monoply in the slave traffic. Slaves were taken at first to Europe and then to Spanish possessions in America. As early as 1501 slavery was in existence in the New World. The American trade grew rapidly and passed into the control of different European countries. The slave trade was continued from the hands of the Portugese, by the Dutch, the French and the English. England supplied the colonies between 1698-1707 with 25,000 yearly. When England gained monopoly of the Spanish trade for 30 years, the number increased to 30,000 and before the Revolutionary War, according to Dubois, it reached as high as 50 to 100,000 a year.[3]

1. William, E. B. Dubois, "The Negro," p. 188.
2. Ibid., p. 189.
3. Dubois, op. cit., pp. 145-147.

Hence, from 1450 to 1850, the evil traffic of slave trading was conducted in America with a small portion of the slaves sold into slavery in New York.

The voyage across the ocean was a nightmare. The living and the dead slept together in small dingy-like quarters chained together. Sickness, disease, and filth, were the common lot of these slaves. All slaves who would bring no price on the auction block because of disability acquired en voyage were thrown to the sharks. About half of them perished en route to America. Living under these undesirable and inhuman circumstances prompted the slaves to find a release from their suffering by chanting their sorrow in songs which later developed in America as the Negro spirituals. The slaves actually were forced to sing in order to offset the tenseness and gloominess of their surroundings.

2. Slavery in New York and its effect on the Religious Life of the City.

Brawley points out that slavery began in New York under Dutch rule and was continued by the English.[1] Slavery was introduced about the year 1650 by the Dutch West India Company to New Netherlands. Many of the slaves were given opportunities to develop small farms and the produce was shared with the Company. There was granted some freedom for this special activity. However, their children continued to be subjugated to the slave system. In August, 1664, the English fleet defeated the Dutch fleet and New Amsterdam became New York. One of the first steps of the English protectorate was to establish laws affecting the status of slaves. The Code of English Laws enacted that "no Christian shall be kept in bond

1. Benjamin Brawley, "A Short History of the American Negro," pp.7-8.

slavery, villeinage or captivity except who shall be judged thereunto by authority or such as willingly had sold or shall sell themselves." This Code of Laws created a desire among the English and Dutch not to Christianize the slaves. Similar action had been taken in Massachusetts and with comparable results. The newspapers of New York in the year 1730 carried the following announcement.[1]

> The New York Gazette, September 21, 1730, "To be sold at Benjamin D. Harriette's house, one negro man, name Supio, a cooper, about 22 years old; and one ditto named Muster, a house carpenter and ploughman, and fit for country work, about 26 years old." The October 12, 1730 paper carried this notice. "To be sold on reasonable terms, a likely Negro girl, about 18 years of age - a likely Negro boy, about 16 years of age, both born in this city. They can speak good English and Dutch, and are bred up to all sorts of housework. And also a Negro man. Inquire at the Post Office, New York."

In 1740-41 the famous Negro plot under Governor Clarke's administration was discovered. About 800 Negro slaves in the city were supposed to have been conspiring to burn the city and murder their masters. The first instance of such intentions was the burning of King's Chapel on March 18, 1741. At first, it was considered an accident. But as soon as the rumor of the slaves plot was revealed they were accused of burning the church. Many of them were arrested and placed in dungeons to await trial and punishment. It is believed that a conspiracy was planned but that the conspiracy was not necessarily linked with the burning of the church. Nevertheless, many innocent slaves were arrested and treated cruelly. Two slaves were burned at the stake on May 30, 1741. Some were hung and their bodies rest in the "Negro Burying Ground" near City Hall Place.[2]

1. Benjamin Brawley, "A Short History of The American Negro," p. 8.
2. Robert Carter, "History Of The Evangelical Churches in New York," pp.71-76.

The American slave codes at first were really labor codes based on an attempt to reestablish in America, the waning feudalism of Europe. The laborers were mainly black and were held for life. There was no sacred marriage, nor family ties, nor civil rights for families. Only salvation could make a slave a free agent according to canon law. They could not see each other, no more than 2 or 3 could assemble together at the same time, except in the presence of some white person. For slight crimes they were "burnt in the hand" which was a common mode of punishment. For major crimes they were "burnt at the stake." Carter suggests that there were many instances of this kind on record.[1]

Although slavery was a profitable enterprise, liberal forces began to crusade against the slave system. John Wesley, Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, William Wilberforce, Pitt & Fox all championed the cause of the abolition of slavery. Finally the slave trade was abolished in 1807. In 1833, England freed her slaves. In America the Quakers were most vigilant in this cause of libery for those held in bondage. The Quakers suffered under the domineering and tyrranical rule of Peter Stuyvesant. But the Quaker was the first American to make to the fact that the Negro was a man; a man with a soul.[2]

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont through the efforts of the abolitionists had prohibited slavery.[3] Abolition of slavery in New York was in sight. In 1787, the Presbyerian Synod of New York

1. Robert Carter, "History Of The Evangelical Churches In New York," p. 73.
2. Frank S. Mead, "See These Banners Go," p. 190.
3. Benjamin Brawley: op. cit., p. 159.

and Pennsylvania had advocated education and emancipation for the Negro slaves. Other denominations took similar action.[1] Finally, according to Dubois, gradual emancipation began in New York in 1799.[2] By the year 1825, abolition of slavery in New York had become a fact.

3. Summary

Negroes were brought from Africa to America to help build the American economy. They proved to be valuable chattel, for the forced labor production brought profitable returns on the European market. The Negro retained most of his African religious life. Hence, the Christianizing of the slaves was a gradual process, since the slave was not anxious to renounce his own religion for a new one. The main reason for the retardation was based upon a reluctance of slave owners to convert their slaves to Christianity. A converted slave would automatically become a freed man. However, the moral conscience of Europe and America was deeply stirred to abolish this evil traffic and system. Finally, through the efforts of Christian statesmen and religious leaders slavery was gradually abolished on the continent and later abolished in New England and New York. However, the church life for Negroes became increasingly difficult in New York. For now the question of equality of person and equal participation in religious rites became a paramount problem for non-white Christians.

1. Frank S. Mead: op. cit., p. 159.
2. William, E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 193.

B. The Founding of the Negro Church (1750-1825).

1. The First Organized School for Negroes in New York City.

The Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in London in 1701 to do missionary work among the heathen, especially the Indians and the Negroes. Its function was to prepare communicats for the church by giving them a proper understanding of church doctrine and the relation of man to God. The Society had branches in Virginia, New York, Maryland and the cities of Boston and Philadelphia.

There was in New York a special provision for the employment of 16 clergymen and 13 lay teachers to work among the free Indians and colored slaves. Elias Neau, an elder in the French church accepted the Society's assignment and organized a catechizing school for Negro slaves in 1701. Elias Neau was formerly a French Hugenot. He had been imprisoned in France because of his faith and had come to New York as a trader. He had great concern for the conversion of the blacks. After a series of conferences with Anglican church leaders Mr. Neau was able to obtain a license to work among the slaves from the Governor. He resigned his position in the French Church, and conformed to the Anglican Church.[1]

His work began with house to house visitation until he could secure a permanent place for instruction. Mr. Neau's work was so successful that the Society highly commended him as " a most zealous

1. Carter G. Woodson, "History of the Negro Church," pp. 5-11.

and prudent servant of Christ in proselyting the Negroes to the Christian religion."

Neau's school was temporary closed in 1712, because of the Negro riot. However, when it was ascertained that those connected with the school were not involved in the riot, the city permitted him to reopen it. State and city official wrote to the Society about Neau's good work among the Indians and slaves and other heathens in these parts.

Elias Neau departed this life in the year 1722, but his work was continued by able men like Huddlestone, Whitmore, Colgan, Auchmutty and Charlton. The good work done in New York extended into other parts of the colony; such as upstate New York and New England.[1] Hence, missionary work among Indians and Negroes flourished in Greater New York and New England. This missionary advance consisted mainly of religious education of converts.

2. The Birth of Separate Churches for Negroes.

The Methodists were perhaps one of the latest groups to become establish in North America. George Whitfield raised the first voice of Methodism after he had left Georgia and moved up the Atlantic coast holding preaching missions wherever he could gather a hearing. When John Wesley in 1769, challenged his preachers at a conference in Leeds to accept a call from brethren in New York to come over to help them, there were converts of Whitfield who wanted to establish a Methodist Church in New York.[2] Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman

1. Carter G. Woodson, "History of the Negro Church," pp. 12-14.
2. Frank S. Mead, "See These Banners Go," pp. 220.

accepted the call from New York. However, the first Methodists to settle in New York were not from England but from Ireland. These settlers came in 1760. More Irish came to New York later, among them, a scrappy young carpenter names Philip Embury, who was an exhorter in the church. Another was Barbara Heck, a cousin of Philip Embury. Brother Embury preached to the poor, the broken-hearted, the dejected, the institutionalized. This was the growing of Methodism in New York. Soon the old store room which served as a chapel was too small, so they moved to a rigging loft on Williams Street.

So when Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman arrived in New York there was a small circuit of prayer meetings scattered about from New York to Maryland. There was no worthwhile church building, no trained minister, nor organization. These Methodists were determined to find a place among the more established churches of New York. Methodism recruited the dissatisfied people of Calvinism and Anglicanism. Finally, the rapid growth was so stupendous that Barbara Heck, cousin of Philip Embury, launched the first building project in New York in 1768 and gave to the Methodists of New York its first church edifice. She prayed and solicited funds until she erected the chapel on John Street, known as Old John Street Methodist Chapel. This church is the shrine of Methodism in America.[1]

The Methodist Church was born a few years before the American Revolution and subsequent Declaration of Independence in 1776. An era heralded to be of political, religious, social and economic freedom for the colonies. Further, there was much said about the equality of the person.

1. Frank S. Mead: op. cit. p. 221.

In Robert Carter's book, "A Familiar Conversational History Of The Evangelical Church In New York, " we find the amount of Negroes who were attached to some church.

TABLE I

NEGRO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN 1797

CHURCH	MEMBERS
Dutch	9
Presbyterian	12
Episcopalian	150
Methodist	140
Scotch Presbyterian	1
German Lutheran	2
Pilmore's Christ Church	10
Independent	5
Moravian	2
TOTAL - 9	331

Total Negroes in New York in 1797 - 2,000 persons.

However in 1796, the colored members of the Methodist Churches in the City of New York desired to hold meetings together to exercise their spiritual gifts and thereby become more useful to each other, obtained permission from Bishop Asbury to hold meetings during times when no

regular service was being held. A house was hired on Cross Street between Mulberry and Orange Street for such purposes.[1] The leader of this movement was Peter Williams. He withdrew from the Old John Street Methodist Episcopal Church which had helped him to purchase his freedom because he refused to be segregated.

Three years later this congregation built a church on the corner of Church and Leonard Street and opened in September, 1800, known as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. There were three colored preachers and one exhorter attached to the Methodist Churches in New York City. Their names were Abraham Thompson, James Scott, and Thomas Miller, and William Miller, the exhorter. The next year a charter was procured with Peter Williams, Frances Jacobs and James Varick among its first members. Varick later became its first bishop.

There were four varieties of the Colored Methodist Churches in New York City. They were "The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church," which we have mentioned; "The African Methodist Episcopal Church," "The Asbury African Methodist Episcopal Church," and "The African Methodist Union. Actually, there are no real differences between the four bodies in doctrines, disciplines, and practices. It is interesting that instead of these bodies merging so that they might be strengthened in union they remained for the most part independent and survived.

Thomas Simpkins, a trustee of the Zion Church withdrew his membership and undertook to establish a new church. He convinced

1. Jonathan Greenleaf, "History of the Churches in New York," pp. 320-322.

William Miller, a deacon in the Zion Church, to go along with him. Together they furnished the leadership for a congregation which came out of the Zion Church. They obtained a site on Elizabeth Street for religious services and named the new congregation the Asbury Church. Furthermore, this congregation did not completely sever its relationship with the Methodist Church, but later returned to the Mother Church.[1]

In the year 1826, a group of seven persons formed a church known as the Methodist African Union. They met in a small room on Seventh Avenue near 18th Street. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Isaac Barney, men of high repute were the local preachers. They worshipped here for nine years when a serious fire consumed the building where they were housed. Consequently their house of worship was a temporary loft over a stable on Sixth Avenue near Fourth Street, where they met for four or five years. Finally, they were able to erect a brick building which housed a rapidly growing congregation.[2] The Secession of Negro Methodists from white connections was in progress in other places. In Philadelphia, Richard Allen with a large number of Negroes had withdrawn from the St. George Methodist Episcopal Church. They organized a congregation known as the Bethel Church. Later they developed missions in other parts of the Atlantic Coast and formed a church movement known as the "African Methodist Episcopal Church." Richard Allen, who had been ordained an Elder by Bishop Asbury, and elected Bishop of this new organization, sought to increase the membership of his church by making

1. Carter G. Woodson: op. cit., p. 69.
2. Jonathan Greenleaf: op. cit., p. 328.

inroads in New York City. With the help of William Lambert a former Zionite, secured a school house which was purchased on Mott Street and renovated it into a church. On July 20, 1820, an official society of African Methodists was formed. [1] The Reverend Henry Harden became its pastor.

Simultaneously, African Baptists were trying to withdraw from their white bodies to form a church of their own. There were no records of Negro Baptists before the Revolutionary War. There was no church before the year 1809. The Negro members of the First Baptist Church on Gold Street withdrew from the church because of some unchristian practises. They began to separate from the white church in 1807. They finally succeeded in 1809, when 18 members organized a house of worship on Anthony Street near West Broadway. The First Baptist Church provided supply ministers, the Reverend Jonathan Van Velson and the Reverend Drake Wilson. However, their first full-time pastor came in 1824, when the Reverend Benjamin Paul became their minister. The church survived embarrassing situations. For instance, their church was sold in auction over their heads. However, the church managed to survive and was known as the Abyssinian Baptist Church. [2]

The Episcopal Church did not attract Negroes in great numbers like the free evangelical churches. It was only in a few large cities that the Episcopal Church attracted colored members. Sometime between

1. Jonathan Greenleaf: op. cit., p. 70.
2. Ibid., pp. 240-241.

1796 and 1810, Negroes held special services in Trinity Episcopal Church, permission being granted by the Bishop. Later, because of their rapid growth they were forced to worship in a colored public school on Williams Street. The worshippers became fully organize as an Episcopal Church in 1816 as "St. Philip's Church." The church was the 10th Episcopal Parish in New York City. St. Philip's was incorporated in 1820. Peter Williams, son of the Zionite, was the first Negro to be ordained as a priest in the Episcopal Church and served as its first rector in 1826.[1]

Mr. Samuel E. Cornish, a colored preacher, performed missionary work among the colored population of the city in 1821, and held worship services in a house on Rose Street. In January 13, 1822, the church with 24 members became an organized Presbyterian Mission. Mr. Cornish became its first pastor. The church grew rapidly and it was encouraged to erect a church building. In 1824, a brick building was erected on Elm Street at a cost of $14,000. Unfortunately, they were not able to meet this heavy financial burden and they were forced to sell the building. The church now worshipped in a room on Sullivan Street, and remained there for three years. Mr. Cornish was forced to retire because of ill health. He was replaced by Mr. Theodore S. Wright, a licentiate, educated at the Seminary at Princeton. He was later ordained and remained with the church for several years. Incidentally, he was the

1. Carter G. Woodson: op. cit., p. 82.

first Negro graduate of Princeton Seminary. The church was able to purchase a church building at a cost of $13,000. [1]

There seems to have been no attempt by Catholics to organize a Negro Church nor does there seem to be any record of Negro communicants in white churches. But we do know that the Catholics exerted great influences on the Negro problem. It is interesting to note that as a result of the "Negro Plot" of 1740-41, among those who were executed was Rev. Father John Ury, a priest who was publicly hanged on August 1, 1741. [2]

3. Problems for Negroes.

The major concern which developed as a problem for Negroes was the double standards set up by white Christians for Negro Christians. The work of the missionaries and missionary agencies found rich and fertile harvest among the blacks. However, when they discovered that practicing white Christians had not included them on equal basis in their religious services, the Negro converts became confused, frustrated and angered. Prior to the American Revolution the attitude of the American Colony toward the evangelization of slaves was quite liberal and paternal. Subsequently, colonists did very little to advance the cause of the conversion and enlightenment of the Negroes. Hence, freedmen took the initiative in separating themselves from the established institutions in order that they might satisfy their own religious conviction in a more wholesome atmosphere. The cruelty and

1. Carter G. Woodson: op. cit., pp. 152-154.
2. Ibid., p. 331.

the evils of slavery were fresh in their minds. Opportunities for economic development, since the emancipation of slavery in New York, were not widespread. They were with meager preparation, constantly confronted with competition from European immigrants who were trying to find a new life in New York. Consequently, Negro Christians looked to the church for sympathy, counsel and hope in order that they might cope with the multiple and complex problems which confronted them.

4. Summary

The eighteenth century was called the century of "the enlightenment" with its belief in the natural equality of man. This was the century of political independence of the colonies and the gradual emancipation of slavery in New York. In the early years of this century, missionary societies were active converting Negro slaves and Indians to Christianity with amazing success in New York. They also provided for the early education in religion of many of these converts. However, the attitude of white Christians changed toward the black freedmen. Negroes were forced to organize their own churches amidst a climate of confusion and suspicion.

After the War of Independence, the Christian churches favored a position of inferiority for their colored members. The colored members were generally not satisfied with the position given them in the white churches and did not think of themselves as second class members. Had not the War of the Revolution been fought to establish freedom in the United States rather than just to bring to the colonies their political

freedom? Hence, the last quarter of the century was a period of general unrest among Negroes. Colored members withdrew from white churches, not primarily because they wanted a church led by colored people, but rather in protest against segregation and repression. They wanted freedom of thought and action. The quest for freedom of worship led them to set up their own organizations. They accepted voluntary segregation for the purpose of greater freedom. Their organizationswere established within the framework of a democratic government, whether it was episcopal or congregational in form. There were weaknesses in these new institutions in that adequate preparation was not made for the education of their ministry. Neither was there any adequate provision for religious education of their children as well as adults.

In some instances, financial resourceswere quite limited. But in spite of opposition and their own inadequacies, the churches survived. With reason and religion, they vainly fought the doubt, suspicion and distrust of colored people dissemenated by the slave regime. The Negro church was the only organized protest of colored people against subordinary human freedom to economic advancement.

C. The Early Development of the Negro Church (1800-1863)

1. Growth in Numbers and Organizations.

In 1797, there were nine white congregations that had from one to 150 members. There were two congregations with over 100 colored members. One congregation with one Negro member; two with two members; one with five; one with nine; one with ten; and one with twelve. The two denominations that contained the largest number of Negroes were the

were the Episcopalian and the Methodist churches.[1] In 1839, although we have no exact figure as to membership, there is available a list of African churches in the city which showed four Methodists, two Baptists and two Episcopalians.[2]

LIST OF AFRICAN CHURCHES IN NEW YORK CITY
IN 1839

Abyssinian Baptist Church, in Anthony Street

Asbury Methodist in Elizabeth Street

Methodist, in Second Street

Methodist African Union, in Fifteenth Street

St. Philip's Episcopal, in Centre Street

Zion, Baptist, in Spring Street

Zion, Methodist, Church Street

Protestant Episcopal, Grand Street

The Negro Methodist churches led the way for the establishing of mission churches in various parts of the Manhattan Island. In 1843, the Zionites erected a small brick building in Harlem and called it "Little Zion" and another branch was establish on twenty-second Street.[3] It seems that wherever a colony of Negroes was formed the

1. Robert Carter: op. cit., p. 77.
2. Ibid., p. 217.
3. Jonathan Greenleaf: op. cit., pp. 322-323.

Zionites were there to organize a church. The African Methodists, the Richard Allen group was also missionary minded. They established a branch in Harlem in about 1843.[1]

The missionary minded Baptists organized another colored Baptist Church in 1832. This church developed into a large communion and was greatly blessed with respectable leadership.

The experiment of Colored Reformed Dutch Church which was organized in 1826 did not work out satisfactorily. For two years, organized meetings were held under the leadership of Mr. Mark Jordan, a licensed colored preacher. However, he was forced to resign his license and the church became extinct.

In the year 1840, an additional Episcopal church of colored people was organized during the missionary labors of the Rev. Isaiah G. De Grasse, a colored preacher. Rev. De Grasse was unable to continue functioning as a pastor because of ill health. The congregation of St. Matthews ceased to meet. This church was later reorganized in 1845 with a small membership.

In less than 50 years, Negro Methodists had grown from 100 to 2,445 persons with 15 Negro churches. Negro Baptists during the same period had increased from no members in 1797 to 897 members in 1845 and two churches. Presbyterians in 23 years had developed a membership of 413 communicants with one church building. Likewise, the Congregationalists who were late starting gained about 25 members in

1. Jonathan Greenleaf: op. cit., p. 327.

one year of formation. The Episcopal Churches in 36 years had 320 communicants and 2 churches. Hence, there were in New York in 1845, 4,100 Negro church members and 21 known Negro congregations.

TABLE II

NEGRO CHURCHES IN NEW YORK IN 1845 [1]

CHURCH	DATE FORMED	COMMUNICANTS
METHODIST:		
Zion	1801	1,196
Little Zion	1843	66
Twenty-Second Street	(1843)	14
Asbury	1813	70
Bethel Church (AME)	1820	736
Harlem Branch	1843	13
African Union	1826	350
Total 15 Churches		2,445 Members
BAPTISTS:		
Abyssinian	1809	451
Zion	1832	446
Total 2 Churches		897 Members
PRESBYTERIANS:		
Colored Presbyterians	1822	413
EPISCOPALIANS:		
St. Philip's	1809	300
Church of The Messiah	1845	20
St. Matthew's once formed, but became extinct in 1840.		
CONGREGATIONAL:		
Colored Congregational	1845	25
GRAND TOTAL: 21 Churches -		4,100 Members.

1. Jonathan Greenleaf: op. cit., pp. 110-369.

2. Broadening Concerns.

During the first years of their separation the African Methodists in New York had the cooperation of the whites and the funds necessary for the construction of their building and the maintenance of their ministers came from that source. Subsequently, however, the desire for independence among Negroes became such an obsession that they became self-sustaining. Further, the desire for separate worship had created a determination on the part of Negroes for "thorough separation from the white Methodists" because of variance of views regarding church policy in respect to the race question.

African Methodists felt they should control their own affairs. Previously, white Methodists preachers had been supply pastors of these congregations with the Negro preachers acting as assistant pastors. Hence, the white Methodists were notified of the intentions of the Colored Methodists to severe completely organizational relationships with the white church.

The Zionites were somewhat reluctant to actually take this step since there had been a workable arrangement with the white Methodists. Some members had hopes of someday returning to the parent body or joining the Allenites.

On August 11, 1820, an official meeting was called to determine the future state of the church.[1] The questions proposed were:

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 72.

(1) "Shall we return to the white people?" The answer was negative.
(2) "Shall we join Bishop Allen?" The answer was also negative. Therefore, they took the necessary steps to establish their own church government.

In spite of this action, they sought to have their ordination and consecration through two branches of the Christian church. They were refused by both the Episcopalian Bishop and the Methodist Annual Conference. Finally, they were forced to ordain their own deacons and elders.

The Zionites became an aggressive missionary minded organization. They sent missionaries into Long Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania to organize mission work. With the leadership of such intelligent and consecrated leaders as James Varick, George Collins, Charles Anderson, and Christopher Rush, they adopted the doctrines and disciplines of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America. They "elected a number of elders, and finally organized in 1821 a national body of which James Varick became the first Bishop in 1822." [1]

The complete separation of Negro Baptists was deemed a necessity during the first quarter of the 19th century because of discrimination against free Negroes. Woodson said, in reference to Negro Baptists in New York, that "the desire for independence and a more congenial atmosphere so obsessed them that they sought to form an organization of their own." The First Baptist Church was so satisfied with the

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 73.

capabilities and qualifications of Brother Thomas Paul as a pastor that they dismissed with honorable letters 16 of their colored members to form a new church on July 5, 1809. Large crowds assembled to worship and many were added to the membership, "upon profession of their faith in Jesus Christ." Brother Paul's work was not completed in New York. He resigned from the church several years later to become a missionary to Haiti.[1]

The Presbyterians were most cordial to Negroes. However, the organization and form of worship of Presbyterians did not appeal to Negroes. Perhaps, the undisciplined and emotional nature of the Negro at this time would not be swallowed up in as Bishop Allen called it, "a cold intellectual ritual." He believed that "by blending together the emotional and intellectual, the minds of Negroes could be better developed along religious lines."

The Episcopal Church was fortunate to have Peter Williams, Jr., a man of training and reputation as a Negro priest. However, the church attitude toward the Negro was similar to that of poor whites.[2] Peter Williams was not permitted to speak vociferously in pleading the cause of his people. The denomination silenced him with a decree "that he should preach merely the gospel without interfering with the political affairs . . . "

The census of 1830 shows that there were 14,083 free Negroes in New York City. The total number in the state was 44,870. Although

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., pp. 78-79.
2. Ibid., p. 81.

New York was the last of the Northern States to free its slaves, yet, it became a stronghold for the abolition of slavery in the country. Moreover, it was an important station in the underground railroad. As a result, New York City became the chief center of free Negroes. The first Negro newspaper in the nation was organized in New York City in 1827 and named the "Freedom Journal." It was established for the purpose of fighting slavery to the end and secure American citizenship for Negroes. As a matter of fact, New York became the most favorable field for the organs of agitation and propaganda.

There were 12 Negro newspaper publishers in New York State during this period and 8 of them were published in the city. Publishers and editors of these papers were men of learning and ability. Many of them were churchmen interested in the status of Negroes in America.

John R. Russworn, founder and editor of "Freedom Journal," graduate of Bowdoin College, was the first Negro to graduate from a college in the United States. Dr. James McCune Smith, who edited one of these papers published in New York City, was educated at the University of Glasgow. Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, who edited the "Clarion" of Troy, was pastor of a white church. He also delivered on February 12, 1865, a memorial address on the adoption by Congress of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. [1]

Rev. Ringold Ward, who edited the "Impartial Citizen," Syracuse,

1. James Weldon Johnson, "Black Manhattan," pp. 13-16.

was a marvelous orator and for years the pastor of a white Congregational Church at Courtlandville. These two ministers were by far the most famous of the clergymen-editor in New York. They were in constant contact with events and co-workers in the city and worked closely in conjunction with and not separated from them. The most famous editor and newspaper of this period was Frederick Douglas who founded and edited the "North Star" at Rochester.

The chief reason for the intelligent and aggressive action of New York Negroes and for their position of leadership during the period between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars lay in education. The work done by the Society for the Propogation of the Faith in Foreign Parts founded in London which undertook the religious training of the slaves in New York City since 1704 was now productive. The instruction was primarily religious, but a number of slaves gained a basic education. Similar missionary efforts down to the Revolution was carried on.

The Quakers contributed a great deal to the betterment of their slaves. They set their slaves free and made provisions for the education of Negro youths. Further, their freed slaveswere given property in the Town of Harrison in Westchester, County.

Formal education among Negroes was conducted by the establishing of free schools by the Manumission Society, in 1787. In 1797-1800, the small grants for education of Negroes were made by the city. In 1801, the State Legislature appropriated $1,567.78.[1] This occurred several

1. James Weldon Johnson: op. cit., p. 23.

years before there were free schools for white children. By 1834, there were seven of these African free schools. Also, several colored men and women had been installed among the teachers. "The schools were well conducted and instruction was quite thorough," according to Johnson. Consequently, we find in New York a body of trained people prepared to give leadership in this difficult period of their history.

During this struggle, the Negro churches gave a major portion of leadership and incentive for better conditions for Negroes. They provided platforms for leaders, and places of assembly for the people.[1] The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which permitted slaves to be returned who had run away from their master through the Underground Railroad was not popular among Negroes. A Negro slave by the name of Hamlet who had run away to New York had been returned to his owner in Baltimore. This situation necessitated a mass meeting of protest in New York. A handbill passed out to an aroused colored population in the city read:[2]

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL!

THE PARTING SLAVE!

FREE MEN TO BE MADE SLAVES!

LET EVERY COLORED MAN AND WOMAN ATTEND THE GREAT MASS MEETING
TO BE HELD IN ZION CHURCH
CHURCH STREET, CORNER OF LEONARD,
ON TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 2, 1850

For your LIBERTY, your FIRESIDE, is in DANGER of being INVADED!
Devote this night to the question of your duty in the crisis.
Should we RESIST the PROPOSITION? Shall we DEFEND LIBERTIES?
Shall we be FREEMEN OR SLAVES?

By Order Of The Committee of Thirteen.

1. James Weldon Johnson: op. cit., p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 16.

Zion Church was filled to capacity some 1500 persons attending. $800.00 was raised. The first one hundred was given by a colored man name Isaac Hollenbeck. Hamlet's freedom was purchased. And he was brought back to a rejoicing populace. William Lambert, an outstanding African Methodist is reputed, between 1829-1862, to have aided the escape of 30,000 slaves. [1]

Religion inspired the hope of the realization of the National Abolition of Slavery. Negroes sought not only physical freedom but religious development blossoming into evangelistic endeavors which later led to the establishment of educational institutions.

3. The Picture By 1860.

About this time, there were 15,000 Negroes in New York City and 54,000 in New York State. [2] Many slaves had escaped from the South through the Underground Railroad and found refuge in New York.

This period found the Zionites who had developed a large national denomination burying the differences of seniority among Bishops which had caused a schism in the national church.

The Presbyterian church which had been so cordial and sympathetic to Negroes in New York but had compromised to keep the national organization together, took great issue in 1857 against the Fugitive Slave Law. This position so offended the Southern Presbyterian Church that they withdrew and in another year established a Southern Church.

The Methodist and the Baptist Church had divided on the issue

1. William E. Dubois: op. cit., p. 200.
2. James Weldon Johnson: op. cit., p. 23.

of slavery on a national level.[1] Hence, these schisms led to a great deal of tensions among northern and southern members of the Evangelical Christian denominations. However, white Christian churches in New York were giving leadership to the North in Christian race relations.

Rev. Charles Bennett Ray, a New Englander, educated in Wesleyan Academy in Massachusetts, and Wesleyan University in Connecticut, was ordained a Congregational minister. For 20 years, he was pastor of the Bethesda Church on Grand Street, near the Centre Market, in New York City. He worked closely with white philanthropists who were interested in the abolition of slavery. He cooperated with Plymouth Church in Brooklyn and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher in assisting many slaves to freedom. He was a shining light which kept the case of the Negro slave before the world and hastened the dawn of freedom.[2]

Among the several Presbyterian ministers of color, who received the sympathy and cooperation of white Christians in the cause of the abolition of slavery was Reverend Henry Highland Garnett of New York. During the period of 1850-1860, he was one of the most eloquent debater, writer and preacher of the evangelical type. He never failed to fill the largest hall. He was trained in Oneida Institute in New York City, pastored the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York City, visited England and was President of a college in Pittsburg.

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 115.
2. Ibid., pp. 152-153.

Meanwhile the record of Baptists in New York show that this year the 20 year old Northern Negro Baptist Convention met in New York. At its inception in 1840, it also met in New York with the Reverend Sampson White of Brooklyn preaching the introductory sermon.[1] The Reverend William Spelman of New York City was president of the meeting held in New York City in 1860. This was the only organization of Negro Baptists during this period. The 19th convention report shows that there were 13 leading churches as members covering the geographical area from New Bedford, Massachusetts to Baltimore, Maryland. New York City was represented with two churches; The Abyssinian Church, Manhattan, and Concord Church of Brooklyn.[2] The Convention was organized "to propagate the gospel of Jesus Christ . . . supplanting vacant churches when requested; and by planting and building up churches whenever a favorable opportunity offers."

The New York District of the African Methodist Church has shown a phenomenal growth since its founding in New York City in 1820. There were at least 38 churches in New York State, more than 17 pastors; and an annual income of more than $3,000 dollars.[3]

It was this year 1860, that Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. Lincoln was no ranting abolitionist; he disliked slavery but like peace and union. Indeed many abolitionists in New York were suspicious of him. But Lincoln was a Republican and had run on a Republican Platform, which was anti-slavery and therefore objectionable

1. Lewis G. Jordan: "Negro Baptist History," p. 334.
2. Ibid., pp. 76-77.
3. Daniel A. Payne: "History of the AME Church," p. 416.

to the South. After his election the southern states turned one after another toward secession from the Union.

4. Summary

This period from 1800-1863 shows the development of the Negro church from a dependent church to a completely independent organization among Negro denominations. There were a few congregations in New York who were members of white denominations. The phenomenal growth of the African Methodists and Baptists made them the leading denominations championing the cause of freedom for Negroes, both locally and nationally. These African denominations sent missionaries and organized missions throughout Metropolitan New York, and in the Eastern and Middle States. However, the education of the New York freedmen was largely due to work of the Quakers, the Society for the Propogation of the Faith in Foreign Parts and other similar missionary-minded organization. The election of Abraham Lincoln seemingly dealt a death blow to the pro-slavery movement.

CHAPTER III

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGRO CHURCH FROM THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION UNTIL WORLD WAR I (1863-1914)

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Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to show how the Negro churches in New York developed in conjunction with the growth of their denominations. Included in this study will be the Negro ministry, education, civil rights, integration and religion.

A. The Emancipation Proclamation.

During the intervening years of the Civil War, the churches in New York, as well as in other northern territories, were concerned mainly with the nation's internal conflict. They were waiting anxiously for the final outcome of this conflict.

Notwithstanding, Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York, pastored by the Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, conducted a special program in the church basement on December 13, 1861 to raise funds for the freedmen at Fortress Monroe. Also, a hugh box of clothing was collected at the program to be sent to assist the freedmen.[1] Later, Shiloh Church was conducting a special meeting in the interest of Mrs. Elizabeth Keckley, President of the Contraband Relief Association which assisted fugitives coming to Washington.[2]

1. Benjamin Quarles, "The Negro In The Civil War," p. 128.
2. Ibid., p. 133.

Moreover, there were white clergymen in the New York area who had sincere and intense interest in the fight against slavery, such as George B. Cheever, pastor of the Church of the Puritans, and Henry Ward Beecher at Plymouth Church in nearby Brooklyn. Dr. Cheever said to his congregation on one occasion, . . . "fight against slavery until Hell freezes and then continue the battle on ice."[1]

The first major step taken by President Lincoln toward the Emancipation of slaves throught the nation was the signing of the bill which contained the District of Columbia Emancipation Act. This Act freed some 3,000 slaves. Bishop David A. Payne of the African Methodist Episcopal Church helped the President considerable in arriving at this decision. Two days prior to the actual signing, Bishop Payne had an audience with the President and there presented bluntly the deep concern and interest of Negro people towards the President's signing a bill that would free many of their people from serfdom in Washington. Negroes in Washington and outside of Washington were jubilant over the District of Columbia Emancipation Act of April 16, 1862.[2]

At 5:00 A.M. on the same day the bill was signed, Negroes in New York City joined in the celebration with a public prayer meeting at Shiloh Presbyterian Church. At 3:00 P.M. at flag-raising ceremony was hold with the Reverend Henry Highland Garnett as the main speaker. In the evening a mass meeting was held in Cooper Union Hall with groups coming from Brooklyn, Harlem, Astoria, Jamaica, Flushing, Tarrytown, Sing Sing, Troy,

1. Benjamin Quarles: op. cit., p. 133.
2. Ibid., pp. 139-146.

Newark, Paterson and Jersey City. Among the speakers were Rev. Henry H. Garnett and Dr. George Cheever, the latter bringing greetings and congratulations.

Agitation for the complete emancipation of slavery continued in the nation, and on September 22, 1862, the President issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation "declaring forever free the slaves in those States, or parts of States, which had not laid down their arms by January 1, 1863."[1] This proclamation was not completely satisfactory to the Negroes nor to the abolitionists, but all felt it was a further step in the right direction.

The Reverend Henry Highland Garnett, after he had read the temporary proclamation of the President, immediately called a mass meeting against the advice of some of his close conservative associates. The meeting was scheduled for September 29th at Shiloh Church, corner of Hammond and Prince Streets in New York. Garnett was the principal speaker appearing with R. H. Cane of Bethel Church, Robert Hamilton, editor of the "Anglo-African Newspaper," among others, participated in the celebration.[2]

A few months later, the Attorney-General, Edwin W. Bates handed down an opinion that the Negro was a citizen of the United States. Negroes were heartened by this opinion. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. The heart of the proclamation set forth that all persons held as slaves were and subsequently would be

1. Benjamin Quarles: op. cit., p. 161.
2. Ibid., p. 164.

free, and their freedom would be maintained by the full powers of the Executive government of the United States.[1]

Celebrations in New York were thwarted and short-lived when it was discovered that the enlistment of Negro troops was being delayed by Governor Horatio Seymour. Garnett called a Mass meeting on November 16, 1863, for the purpose of planning the necessary steps to get Negro volunteers into the armed services. A committee was organized which appealed directly to the President for assistance in this matter. Finally, Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, granted authorization for the recruiting of colored troops and credited them to the State in which they lived.[2]

Other disheartening experiences to Negroes in New York were the famous New York riots of July, 1863. Quarles calls them "the bloodiest race riots in the annals of American social pathology."[3] Mr. Quarles felt that the outbursts and riots were a demonstration of the fear and resentment engendered by the upward climb of the Negro. For four days white rioters committed acts of violence toward Negro men and women, and even sacked and burned a home for colored orphans which had been founded by Quakers. They destroyed business establishments that hired Negroes, burnt churches and killed known Negro sympathizers. The Mayor, George Opydyke, felt the impact of this reign of terror. His house was stripped of all its furniture.

1. Benjamin Quarles: op. cit., p. 170.
2. Ibid., p. 190.
3. Ibid., p. 235.

After the riots, business men and white church congregations rallied to the relief of the Negro citizens. They raised money, solicited gifts of clothing and supplied free legal assistance to Negroes. A committee of colored pastors which included Henry H. Garnett, Charles B. Ray, John Cary, Clinton Leward and John Peterson, visited and investigated families in need and made proper referrals to relief agencies.[1] Five weeks later, the Negro clergy gave expressions of appreciation on behalf of the colored citizens of New York, to the merchants committee which had generously assisted them in "rolling back the tide of violence."[2]

B. Denominational Development.

Emancipation for the Negro was a costly experiment, but a necessary one. In spite of its many regressions in New York, the Negro church continued to show growth and development.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, which was founded in 1796 in New York City, celebrated its 68th year in 1864. The church grew from one small chapel to an institution with 49 church buildings in New York State in 1864. However, the missionary zeal to carry the building of the Kingdom of God beyond New York was quite slow during the period of great pioneering. Churches became members of the denomination by application and they were not established by Zionites. The denomination sent missionaries to strategic and potential areas to build missions after 1820, but sufficient funds were not available to make any substantial

1. Benjamin Quarles: op. cit., pp. 241-245.
2. Ibid., p. 246.

developments. Nevertheless, the Zionites showed real progress in the development of their work. The following statistics were reported to the General Conference in 1864. The Statistical table is as follows. [1]

TABLE III

Conferences	Elders	Deacons	Preachers	Church Buildings	Organizations	Members	Sunday School Members
New York	36	6	6	49	8	4,484	2,760
New England	15	4	3	13	4	1,201	8,000
Philadelphia	17	3	6	24	9	2,688	12,000
Allegheny	13	-	1	21	5	936	8,000
Genesee	7	-	1	16	8	784	14,000
Baltimore	7	-	1	6	3	955	4,000
North Carolina	2	3	1	3	1	2,654	1,414
Totals	97	16	19	132	38	13,702	50,174 *

* There were 131 Church Sunday Schools in these 132 Churches.

The major item of interdenominational interest in the General Conference of 1864 was the proposed movement for union between the A.M.E. and the A.M.E. Zion churches. Prior to the General Conference, the Superintendents (highest officers of the denomination) had been strongly urged to suggest

1. David Henry Bradley,Sr., "A History Of The AME Zion Church," p.146.

action in their quadrennial message.[1] It was finally agreed at the Conference that each denomination would contribute nine of its members, along with its Superintendents and Board of Bishops to a committee which would meet and lay plans for a convention of duly elected individuals.

The convention would prepare the conditions of unification to be submitted to the annual conferences for final ratification. A great deal of deliberation and concession went into the preparations for organic union with the AME church. The Convention met and decided upon the new name of the consolidation, The United African Methodist Episcopal Church. However, another meeting was requested by the AME delegation. The request was granted. The AME delegates at the said assembled meeting made a request that final consummation of union be put off for four years, until the next General Conference, the reason for the request being that they would need this period to prepare their people for the change. This was the closest point that organic union was ever to reach. For, by 1868, the Zion Church was looking forward to union with the Methodist Episcopal Church.[2]

In May, 1868, the Twelfth General Conference convened in Washington, D.C. The question of union with the A.M.E. church was tabled indefinitely. The matter of union with the Mother Methodist Episcopal Church (North) rested with the Mother Church after preliminary action had been taken by the Zion Church.[3] Also, at this Conference the official

1. David Henry Bradley, Sr., op. cit., p. 147.
2. Ibid., p. 152.
3. Ibid., p. 155.

title that of Bishop, was given each Superintendent of the church.

After the Civil War the great area for missionary work lay in the South. The church used available funds to send missionaries to develop the work in the South. Hence, by the end of the decade the growth had been phenomenal. The following table shows the growth in ten years.[1]

TABLE IV

THE GROWTH OF THE A.M.E.ZION CHURCH DURING A DECADE

Year	Conferences	Ministers Elders-Deacons Preachers	Organizations	Church Buildings	Value	Member-Ship	States
1860	5	82 - 15 - 8	85	64	$248,000	4,600	11
1870	17	760 - 142 - 143	840	795	$1,271,000	125,000	20

There were several acts of national importance, hitherto unmentioned, which affected the status of Negroes in New York during the decade of 1860-1870. On March 1863, Congress passed the first conscription law in the nation's history. This action tended to delay full integration of Negroes in New York life, for the draft headquarters was mobbed by antagonists. However, through the help of the colored ministers of the city, a full

1. David Henry Bradley, Sr., op. cit., pp. 158-163

regiment of volunteers was organized in Jan. 27, 1864. [1]

On Nov. 18, 1864, Lincoln was reelected President of the United States. In less than a year, on April 15, 1865, the President died. A few months later, on December 18, 1865, the 13th Amendment abolished slavery everywhere in the United States. Three years later, on July 27, 1868, the 14th Amendment was ratified, protecting Negroes civil rights. Finally, Negro suffrage was granted on March 30, 1870 by the 15th Amendment. These acts of Congress permitted Negro denominations of the North to evangelize and to educate the colored population of the South. Prior to the Civil War they had been prohibited from any such work in many of the deep Southern States.

Nevertheless, after the withdrawal of the Zion Church, there was no colored Methodist Church in New York until the founding of St. Mark's in 1871. [2] The colored Methodists had belonged to the white churches, and since the practice of designation of race in reporting members had been abolished in 1813, no exacting record of the colored members was available. A previous effort had been made by the New York City Mission and Church Extension Society to establish a colored congregation in the city. However, this experiment did not prove successful and any further project was abandoned.

In 1871, the New York Annual Conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church was held in the city at the Mother Church. During the conference a

1. W. E. B. Dubois, "Black Reconstruction," p. 97.
2. George W. Hodges, "Touchstones of Methodism," p. 15.

heated controversy developed between presiding Bishop James W. Hood and Rev. William Butler, pastor of the Mother Church. This resulted in the resignation of Rev. Butler from the Zion connection.[1] He later applied to the Methodist Episcopal Church for the purpose of organizing a Negro Methodist Episcopal Mission in New York City. Rev. Butler was employed by the City Mission and given a three year contract calling for the development of a church. He organized a Mission soon thereafter in Washington Hall, Broadway between 37th and 38th Street.

By January, 1873, friends of St. Mark's had raised $16,000 to be used for securing a permanent church. Subsequently, St. Mark's occupied its new home on West 35th Street during the next 16 years. She moved several times to adequately accomodate the growing membership from West 35th Street to a church in 48th Street in 1889, and later to 53rd Street. St. Mark's later became the citadel of the colored Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City.

After the Civil War, the masses of Negroes were attracted, not to the Methodist Church, but to the Baptist. The freedom element contributed immeasureably to this rapid growth of the Baptist Churches. Woodson said that every man (in a Baptist Church) was to be equal to every other man and no power without had the authority to interfere. Consequently, the great masses of freed Negroes were attracted to the Baptist churches. These newly organized churches were to be found mostly in the reconstructed states.

1. George W. Hodges: op. cit., p. 16.

Prior to this, the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York had called the Reverend William Spelman to its pulpit in 1856. The church remained under the pastorate of Rev. Spelman for 30 years. The Abyssinian Church outgrew its place of worship on Thompson Street and moved to Waverly Place. It is said that at one time there were 1600 members in the Waverly Place Church.

Most of the Baptist Churches in New York and Brooklyn were members of the American Baptist Missionary Convention. This organization consisted of Baptists in the New England and Middle States; it had been founded in 1840. Its first convention was held in New York.[2] Later, the American Baptist Missionary Convention joined with the Northwestern and Southern Baptist conventions to form in 1866, the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention.[3]

The Reverend William Spelman, pastor of the Abyssinian Church, was the President of the Old American Baptist Missionary Convention in 1860. In 1870, the Board of Managers of the Consolidated Convention had 9 out of the 12 members from Brooklyn, New York, and 3 of its officers also from Brooklyn. The fifth annual meeting was held at Concord Street Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York, on Oct. 12, 1871.

The annual report of mission work was as follows:[4] "Thirteen missionaries have been employed who have preached 2,562 sermons, baptized 1,492 persons, collected for missions purposes $25,240.00, travelled 16,703 miles, organized 6 churches, and ordained 30 men to the ministry."

1. Tarry, "Writers Project," "Negroes in New York," Vol. 25, p. 94.
2. Lewis G. Jordan, "Negro Baptist History," pp. 334-335.
3. Carter G. Woodson: op. cit., p. 178.
4. Lewis G. Jordon: op. cit., p. 280.

However, the Consolidated Convention did not prove to be as successful as its founders had hoped. Its operation was primarily in the south and it tended to decline. Hence, the northern churches in 1875 formed another organization known as the New England Missionary Convention.[1]

In 1880, a national body was founded to do mission work in foreign lands. According to Woodson, the national convention was organized in 1880 out of protest against the attitude of certain whites toward Negroes. It has since continued as a separate body, having a publishing house of its own rather than patronize the American Baptist Publication Society. Finally, all of the facets of the church, national and international, merged into one unified organization in 1886, the National Baptist Convention.[2]

The Protestant Episcopal Church was the only denomination that did not divide north and south over the slavery question. In New York City, prior to the Civil War, the Episcopalian did very little to arouse sympathy for the slave problem. Alexander Crummell, a native New Yorker, aspired for the priesthood of the Episcopal Church. After he had studied at a Quaker School and Oneida Institute, he applied for admission at General Theological Seminary in New York in 1831. It refused to accept him solely on the basis of race.[3] He was forced to go to Boston and, with the help of Bishop Griswold, began his preparation

1. Carter G. Woodson: op. cit., p. 178.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

for the Episcopal priesthood. The wardens of St. Philip's Episcopal Church invited Rev. Alexander Crummell to accept the rectorship of that church several years later on October 17, 1862. He gave his final answer on April 10, 1863.[1] He had been a missionary to Liberia in the intervening years and chose to remain in Africa.

Meanwhile, St. Philip's engaged the Reverend Samuel D. Denison and the Reverend H. S. Richardson, to serve the church on a temporary basis. The draft riots of July, 1863 suspended services at St. Philip's for a time due to necessity to protect parishioners and the poor physical condition of the church caused by the riot. The Federal government paid $333.33 as rental for occupancy of the church with Federal troops. The city granted $1,000.00 for the repair of the damages.[2]

In October 1, 1864, the terms of Rev. Denison's agreement had expired and a contract was renewed for four years. In 1868, the Reverend B. F. DeCosta took charge of the services of the church. St. Philip's at this time became interested in the work of a mission in Clinton Arch, and it became an adopted mission of the church. Several years later St. Philip's moved its parish to Mulberry Street, and held a formal service on May 30, 1866. Later, the Centre Street Church was occupied by an Italian congregation.[3]

However, in 1883, a conference was held in New York City of the colored clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church to consider the state

1. B. F. DeCosta, "Three Score and Ten," p. 38.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
3. Ibid., p. 44.

of the church among the colored people of the country.[1] The chairman of the Provisional Committee who called the conference was the Reverend John Peterson of St. Philip's Church, New York City. Among the priests attending was the Reverend Alexander Crummell, Rector, St. Luke's Church, Washington, D. C. and the Reverend P. A. Morgan, of St. Augustine, Brooklyn. The Provisional Committee reported on the first day of the three day session, that 42 colored clergymen of the United States had been invited, four responded negatively and only three failed to respond.[2] There was also a delegation of lay representatives. The report of a special committee to draft a statement which would be presented to the whole church was adopted. It included the following:[3]

(1) The whole system of the church be taught to the recently emancipated slaves. This would include extraordinary effort to erect churches throughout the South.
(2) A larger number of colored priests and deacons be included in the ministry of the church to serve the colored people.
(3) The erection of Episcopal work in the large urban centers should be first and also parish schools to be included in this program.
(4) Gratitude of the great interest of the conference of Southern Dioceses held in Sewanee in July, in the work among the colored people.
(5) A large appropriation of funds ($50,000) to be spent to develop work among the colored people, and also parochial schools.
(6) The establishing of industrial schools for colored girls in rural areas.

Simultaneously a woman's auxiliary to the Convocation was also held in the city, under the supervision of the Provisional Committee. Two

1. "Proceedings Of The First Convocation Of Colored Clergy Of The Episcopal Church," p. 3.
2. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
3. Ibid., p. 7.

auxiliary branches were organized in New York and in Newark.[1]

Another denomination which took special interest in developing the work among the colored people after the Civil War was the Presbyterian. In New York City, one of the most prominent Negro Presbyterians was the Reverend Henry H. Garnett, pastor of the Shiloh Presbyterian Church. It was Rev. Garnett's many years of brilliant leadership at Shiloh Church and his work for the abolition of slavery in the nation that brought the Presbyterian Church into focus among Negroes in New York, since, Negroes were generally attracted to the Methodist or Baptist Churches. The Presbyterian Church in the North, gave a great deal of its attention to missionary work among southern Negroes before the close of the Civil War.

As early as 1864, the General Assembly (Old School) appointed two committees to begin work among Negroes.[2] Their work was confined to the contraband camps and hospitals due to military restrictions. In May, 1865, these two committees were united at a meeting of the General Assembly and formed "The General Assembly's Committee on Freedmen."[3]

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Committee of Home Mission (New School) was conducting a similar work among Negroes emanating from headquarters in New York. This work lasted for only two years before the two assemblies united in 1870, and a new committee was formed on June 10, 1870 in Pittsburg. This new committee continued work without interruption for

1. "Proceedings Of The First Convocation Of The Colored Clergy Of The Protestant Episcopal Church," p.24.
2. W. E. B. Dubois, "The Negro Church," p. 142.
3. Ibid., p. 143.

twelve years. In 1882, the committee became an incorporated body under the name of "The Board of Missions For Freedmen Of The Presbyterian Church in The United States Of America." The scope of work developed by the board was large and thorough. The board accepted the responsibility of training teachers and ministers; building churches, school houses, seminaries, academies, colleges and dormitories, as well as caring for their maintenance.

This program was very effective for by the turn of the century 11,000 colored young people had been trained in their institution of learning, 350 churches and missions had been organized, and 21,000 members enrolled. The church property was valued at $350,000. The school properties valued at $500,000. Also there was an investment fund of $100,000 for use in this work. The total assets were almost a million dollars. It is quite probable that 50,000 persons were proselyted by ministers and a church school enrollment of 400,000 pupils during this period. The day schools total enrollment was 250,000.

The work of the Congregationalists in New York did not develop into a large enterprise. Negroes in the north were not attracted to this denomination in large numbers. Although they had a great deal of respect for the liberality of the church's attitude and policy on the slavery question. The denomination was as zealous in the work of preparing the Negro for citizenship and church life as they had been in their pursuit of the abolition of slavery.

Furthermore, the American Missionary Association was the agency

of the denomination to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ wherever it had an opportunity. The founding of this agency was in 1846. In 1861, the American Missionary Association founded the first day school for freedmen in the South. [1] After the Emancipation Proclamation, the Missionary Association rapidly extended its work to include Negro fugitives who had reached the Union lines.

In 1865, the National Council of Congregational Churches met in Boston. The Council recommended to the churches to raise $250,000 for the work among freedmen. Monies received for this work ran from $47,828 in 1861 to $253,045 in 1866, and $420,769 in 1870. [2]

One of the corresponding secretaries of the American Missionary Association wrote: [3] "The Congregational churches aided by the American Missionary Association, are both few and small in comparison with the great number of Negro churches, but I am happy to say that they are experiencing rapid growth and development."

The Roman Catholic Mission among the colored people in New York has developed very slowly. The Catholic Church in America took no official position in the slave controversy. Hence, it is quite possible that Negroes were not attracted to the church for this reason. A report of the mission work done among Catholic Negroes issued January, 1915 shows that there were two colored churches in New York City and a home for children in Rye, New York. [4] It was estimated that there were

1. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 147.
2. Ibid.,
3. Ibid., p. 148
4. C. G. Herbermann, "Historical Records & Studies," p. 118.

95,000 Negroes in the five boroughs of New York City. Of this number there were only 3,000 Catholics.[1] The headquarters of the Catholic Board for Mission Work among the colored people was located in New York City. The Right Reverend Msgr. John E. Burke was the Director-General.

Moreover, one of the Catholic priests who was quite friendly toward Negroes was Father Thomas Farrell, rector of St. Joseph's Church, New York City. At his death in 1880, he left by will $5,000 in bonds to found a church for the colored Catholics of New York.[2] An old Universalist Church was found on Bleecker Street and was converted into the first church for Colored Catholics. The church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Benedict the Moor, Negro Catholic Patron Saint, on November 18, 1883. The Reverend John Burke was made the first pastor of the new congregation. He continued as pastor of St. Benedict until 1907 when, he became Director-General of the colored work in the United States.

In 1912 another colored Catholic work began in Harlem at St. Mark's The Evangelist Church on West 138th Street. This church became the headquarters for work among the colored population in that section of Harlem.[3]

According to Dubois, in 1890, the Negro Protestant organizations in New York State numbered 110; church edifices , 94; halls and storefronts, 17; church property valued $1,023,750; and total membership 17,216.[4]

1. C. G. Herbermann: op. cit., p. 118.
2. Ibid., p. 122.
3. Ibid., pp. 122-123.
4. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 39.

The largest single block was the independent Negro Methodist with a membership in the State of 9,842.[1]

Mary W. Ovington in her book reports[2] that at the turn of the century there were 28 Negro churches in Manhattan and Brooklyn in addition to a number of missions. Some of the annual budgets ran as high as $16,000. The big three denominations in New York were the Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopalian. Prominent churches among the Negro Methodist group were Mother A.M.E. Zion Church and the Bethel A.M.E. Church. Among the Baptist group, there were the Abyssinian Baptist Church and the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church which was 23 years old and had a membership of nearly 3,000.

There were five colored Episcopal churches in the city which included St. Philip's church which had recently moved into a new parish house at West 134th Street and St. Cyprian's Mission located on 66th Street on the fringe of the San Juan Hill district, a negro settlement. Also, there was St. David's Church in the Bronx, which had a fresh air vacation home at White Plains in the neighborhood of the church.

The United States census reported by Ovington lists 90 colored clergymen in New York in 1900.[3]

Summary

The Emancipation Act of the District of Columbia of April 16, 1862 was the first major step toward the National Emancipation of

1. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., pp. 43-48.
2. Mary W. Ovington, "Half A Man," pp. 116-120.
3. Ibid., p. 121.

slaves in the United States. On September 22, 1862, the President issued a preliminary proclamation of Emancipation "declaring forever free the slaves in those states, or parts of states, which had not laid down their arms by January 1, 1863. Moreover, the recognition of freed Negroes as citizens was another step toward justice and equality for Negroes in the United States.

Finally, on January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. Shiloh Presbyterian Church during this period was the center of numerous mass meetings and celebrations.

Following the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, the Negro Church was beset with many problems including the bloody race riots of that same year. Prominent Negro independent churches in New York City during this period were: Bethel AME Church, Manhattan, and Bridge St. AME Church, Brooklyn; Mother AME Zion Church; Abyssinian and Mt. Olivet Baptist Churches, and Concord Street Church, Brooklyn. Outstanding Negro churches who remained with white denominations were: Shiloh Presbyterian Church, St. Mark's Methodist Church, St. Benedict the Moor Catholic Church and St. Mark's The Evangelist, and St. Philip's Episcopal Church, St. Augustine, Brooklyn, and St. David's, Bronx.

However, according to Ovington there were more than 28 churches in Manhattan and Brooklyn, in addition to a number of missions during this period. Also, there were more than 90 members of the clergy in New York City. The Negro population in the city in 1915, was estimated at 95,000.

C. The Negro Ministry.

Carter Woodson, Negro historian points out that after the Civil War, the Negro minister who could not read nor write became an exception to the rule, because he ceased to get a hearing. [1] In fact, as a result of the post civil war efforts in education, the tone of worship in the Negro Church had very much changed as early as 1875 and decidely so by 1885. [2]

The founding of theological schools contributed to the better preparedness of a larger number of Negro clergymen. Dubois presents a list of theological schools designed especially for Negroes after the Civil War. [3]

In the United States, the following theological schools were founded especially for Negroes:

Atlanta Baptist College, Atlanta, Ga. - Baptist - 1867.
Union University, Richmond, Va. - Baptist - 1867.
Biddle University, Charlotte, N.C. - Presbyterian - 1867.
Howard University, Washington, D.C. - non-sectarian - 1870.
Lincoln University, Penna. - Presbyterian - 1871.
Talladega, Talladega, Ala. - Congregational - 1872.
Stillman, Tuscaloosa, Ala. - Presbyterian - 1876.
Gammon, Atlanta, Ga. - Methodist Episcopal - 1883.
Braden, Nashville, Tenn. - Methodist Episcopal - 1889.
King Hall, Washington, D. C. - Protestant Episcopal - 1890.
Wilberforce, Wilberforce, Ohio - African Methodist Episcopal-1891.
Straight University, New Orleans, La. - Congregational -

The following table shows the scope of educational facilities and training program offered by some selected schools for Negro ministers. [4]

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 196.
2. Ibid.,
3. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 190.
4. Ibid., p. 191.

TABLE V

Selected Schools	Howard	Lincoln	Fisk	Union	Wilberforce	Gammon	Biddle	Stillman	King Hall
Length Of Course	3,4	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	3
Length Of Session	34	28	37	36	36	30	35	35	35
Teachers	* 4	- 3	2	5	2	5	≠ 2	2	2
Students	61	61	2	64	4	62	17	18	16
Students With AB & BS Degrees	1	38	0	-	-	6	13	0	0
Total Number Of Graduates	199	330	9	150	40	177	102	60	17
Prospective Graduates of 1903	7	16	0	-	-	12	2	4	1
Value Of Ground and Buildings	-	$36,000	$30,000	$300,000	$12,000	$100,000	$200,000	$10,000	$30,000
Endowment Fund	$45,000	144,000	4,033	74,000	-	562,096	$85,000	0	-
Total Income	4,261	-	-	6,000	3,731.89	20,000	-	2,500	-
Volumes In Library	1400	-	1,000	7,000	2,800	12,500	12,805	3,000	3,000

* 3 other assist partially
\- 5 others teach partially
≠ 2 others assist partially

There are 33 teachers in the program and 368 theological students; of these students 60 are college graduates. The total number of college graduates is 1,196 and 63 more graduated in 1903. The reported value of ground and buildings was $797,500 and the endowment amounted to $964,229 of which $562,096 belonged to one institution. The income reported partially amounted to $39,387.89. The libraries held 49,000 books.[1] Many of the pulpits in New York were occupied by men trained in these denominational schools. The following course offered at one school is typical of the courses offered in all the schools.[2]

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

Bachelor Of Divinity Course

First Year

First Term	Second Term
Biblical Introduction	Biblical Introduction
Hebrew Language	Hebrew Language
Greek Interpretation	Greek Interpretation
Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution	Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution
Vocal Music	Vocal Music

Second Year

First Term	Second Term
Church History	Church History
Hebrew Interpretation	Hebrew Interpretation
Greek Interpretation	Greek Interpretation
Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution	Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution
Vocal Music	Vocal Music

Third Year

First Term	Second Term
Biblical Introduction	Pastoral Duties
Homiletus and Church Polity	Theology and Ethics
Christian Theology	Electives
Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution	Sacred Rhetoric and Elocution

1. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 191.
2. Ibid., p. 194.

Negro ministers occupying pulpits in New York of Negro Churches in white denominations generally went to Northern schools.

The following table shows a partial picture of the theological schools in the north, particularly those in the metropolitan New York area: (1903) [1]

TABLE VI

INSTITUTIONS	NEGRO GRADUATES
Christian Biblical Institue, Standfordville, N. Y.	2
Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N.Y.	1
General Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y.	6
Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.	1
Hamilton Theological Seminary, Colgate University Hamilton, N. Y.	2
Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.	10
Newton Theological Seminary, Newton, Mass.	25
Boston University, School of Theology, Boston, Mass.	10
Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. Y.	Some
Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.	9
Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.	Some

Comments from the authorities of some of these theological seminaries concerning Negro theological students in comparison with white theological students are not very conclusive but are rather interesting. [2]

The question raised by Dubois is as follows: "How have your colored students compared with others in ability?" The responses were as follows:

1. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., p. 195.
2. Ibid., pp. 197-199.

Rochester Theological Seminary:
They are far below the average of our white students.

Princeton Theological Seminary:
Not unfavorably, although some of them have proved unable to pursue our course owing to lack of preliminary education.

General Theological Seminary:
They have been quite equal to the average white students in ability.

Yale Divinity School:
They have varied greatly. It has seemed to depend largely upon the school at which they were prepared.

Drew Theological Seminary:
They have maintained a good average.

Union Theological Seminary:
There is no one person living who knows all of the colored students who have attended this Seminary. Personally, I have known about six. Three of these were men of good ability, two of them above rather than below the medium line. Three others were below the average, two of them being distinctly inferior to the white low grade.

Another question proposed to these Seminaries was: "What has been their success in after life?"[1] The responses have been quite favorable.

Rochester Theological Seminary:
...The third succeded in graduating, and has been doing useful service from that time till now.

General Theological Seminary:
As a rule, quite as good as the white fellow students.

Union Theological Seminary:
One of our graduates took a church in New York and made a success of it despite heavy odds. He worked so hard however, that he undermined his health and died at an early age, respected and beloved by the members of the Presbytery with which he was connected. Most of the others I have not been able to trace. They have belonged to various denominations and I have not had the time to look them up specifically.

1. W. E. B. Dubois: op. cit., pp. 200-202.

Yale Divinity School:
Our regular graduates have been successful men.

Boston University, School of Theology:
Of the colored students who have graduated . . . Bowen, . . Fenderson, . . Ponton, are perhaps the most prominent . . Bloise is a strong preacher, (graduate Livingston College, School of the A.M.E. Zion connection) and . . Thomas who graduates tomorrow is a brilliant student.

Harvard University:
Harvard has three students. One excelled in philosophical studies. Two stood low. One of these "of high character and morals," the other was probable an impostor.

Ovington pointed out that by 1900, those clergymen who filled the pulpits (New York City) of well-established churches were trained in theological schools of good standing.[1] She continued that their duties required hard work and long hours. The average work day consisted of 14-17 hours, and that the average earnings were meagre compared to services rendered. However, the position of the minister was a commanding one which carried with it respect and responsibility.[2]

Most ministers were eloquent preachers. In the evangelical church imaginative play was handled quite effectively as the preacher used picturesque language to portray his thoughts to his people. The emphasis in their preaching was on the future life in heaven as a beautiful haven of rest from the rigors and injustice of this world.

Summary

The founding and establishing of institutions of learning in the South for Negroes proved an incentive to the Negro clergy to attend the number of theological schools that were provided by the various Negro

1. Mary White Ovington: op. cit., p. 122.
2. Ibid.

and white denominations.

In the north, many of the pastors of the well established churches were graduates of theological schools of the north and south. Although some of the students of the northern seminaries did not complete their studies, the majority were graduates and left favorable impressions.

Most of the ministers in New York were forced by necessity to put in long hours of work, and received meagre compensation for their professional service. However, the position of the Negro minister in the community as the titular head, brought with it respect and responsibility.

There were 12 theological schools founded for colored students preparing for the ministry. Three of the twelve were established by independent Negro denominations. Eight were founded by predominantly white denominations. Three of these, were founded by Presbyterians; two by Congregationalists; two by Methodist Episcopalians; one by Protestant Episcopalians; and one government sponsored in cooperation with several denominations.

In Greater New York there were eleven theological schools which had Negro students enrolled. All of them had at least one Negro graduate. There were five schools which had 6 or more graduates.

The comments of spokesmen for these seminaries indicated that white and Negro churches were progressing in their quest for a trained ministry.

D. Broadening Concerns.

1. Rise and Growth of Institution of Learning.

The necessity for the establishment of educational institutions as an integral part of the church's program was an accepted fact by the

leaders of the New York A.M.E. Zion ministers conference. They helped established Livingston College in 1881 with a few dozen students and a little over $1,000 available for carrying on the institution. The ministers conference solicited funds from its members and appealed to northern and southern whites for additional funds. The conference founded other educational institutions which included Atkinson College, Madisonville, Ky., Jones University, Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Lancaster High School, Lancaster, South Carolina; and Greenville High School, Greenville, Tenn. [1] These institutions were later conducted by local boards of education.

The emphasis then of the northern churches upon instruction rather than proselyting after the Civil War, was an important development. According to Woodson, the northern denominations wisely cooperated with one another regardless of sectarian lines to do whatever was needful whether or not the largest contributor to the success of the enterprise received credit for it. [2] Negro graduates from these schools were influenced by the denomination which provided their education, but quite frequently (e.g. Presbyterians) the denomination lost most of their graduates to other popular groups. Lincoln and Biddle Universities have graduated a large number of men who have become Methodists and Baptists. [3]

The Baptists also established their own schools. Shaw University at Raleigh, N. C. was founded in 1865; Roger Williams at Nashville and Morehouse at Atlanta in 1867; Leland at New Orleans and Benedict at Columbia, S.C. in 1871. The Free Will Baptists founded Storer College

1. AME Zion Quarterly Review, October, 1895, p. 3.
2. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 182.
3. Ibid.,

at Harper's Ferry in 1867.[1] The Methodist too, founded more schools for Negroes in the South. They established Walden at Nashville in 1865, Rust at Holly Springs in 1866, Claflin at Orangeburg in 1869, and Clark at Atlanta in 1870.[2] The Presbyterians established Biddle at Charlotte in 1867, further promoted the work at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania which was founded in 1854. The Episcopal Church established St. Augustine at Raleigh in 1867.[3]

The American Missionary Association an agency of the Congregational Church with headquarters in New York organized Avery Institute at Charleston, S.C., Ballard Normal School at Macon, Ga., and Washburn at Beaufort, North Carolina and Fisk at Nashville, Tenn. in 1866; Talladega in Alabama, Emerson in Mobile, Storrs at Atlanta, and Beach at Savannah in 1867; Hampton Institute in Virginia, Knox at Athens, Burwell at Selma, now at Florence; Ely Normal in Louisville in 1868; Straight University at New Orleans, Tougaloo in Mississippi; Le Mayne at Memphis, and Lincoln at Marion in Alabama in 1869; Dorchester Academy at McIntosh and Albany Normal in Georgia in 1870. The Congregationals shared in the founding of Howard University in Washington, D. C. which was chartered by the United States Government in 1867 with provision for the education of all regardless of race.[4]

The African Methodists had founded Wilberforce University in 1858, to minister to her northern constituency.[5] The A.M.E. Church extended

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 182.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 190.
4. Carter Woodson: loc. cit.
5. Ibid., p. 184.

its educational program in the south with the establishing of Allen University at Columbia in 1881; Morris Brown at Atlanta in 1885; and later other schools in Texas, Mississippi and Alabama.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York, [1] a cooperating agency provided 14 teachers and funds amounting to $400,000 and $250,000 in supplies. In 1864, there was established in New York "The African Civilization Society," who worked through the churches and schools and extended its work into the south. The Society is reported to have employed in 1868 some 168 teachers, instructing 8,000 students at an expense of $53,700. [2]

The American Freedmen's Aid Commission, a general agency in New York which provided the funds for some of these educational projects listed some distinguished Americans as officers and staff members. [3] This list included William Lloyd Garrison, famous abolitionist, vice-president, Frederick L. Olmstead, noted traveler, secretary; John G. Whittier, anti-slavery poet; Francis G. Shaw, abolitionist; and Henry Ward Beecher; also William Cullen Bryant, Phillips Brooks, and Edward L. Pierce. Chief Justice Chase became president of the first Union of the several relief societies and exerted much influence in the promotion of Christian education.

2. New Emphasis By Religious Leaders to Secure Civil and Social Rights for Negroes.

The fourth great New York riots involving the Negro occurred on

1. Carter Woodson: op. cit., p. 186.
2. Ibid., p. 190.
3. Ibid.

August 15, 1900.[1] A Negro woman was attacked by a plainclothes police officer on August 12th. Her husband, who had gone in a store at 41st Street and 8th Avenue, came out and when he saw his wife being assaulted, became enraged and accosted the officer. The subsequent exchange of assaults and battery cost the officer his life.

Consequently, on the evening of August 15th, a large mob of thousands saturated the area of 27th Street to 42nd Street on both sides of 8th Avenue, and attacked and beat Negroes wherever they were discovered.[2] This violent outbreak against Negro citizens caused Negro leaders both clergy and lay to review their civil state in the City of New York.

Furthermore, Johnson states that the status of the Negro as a citizen had been steadily declining for the last 25 years and at the opening of the twentieth century his civil state was in some respects worse than at the close of the Civil War. For instance, the war amendments passed to protect and enhance the Negro's status in America had been nullified and evaded in the South. There had been more than a thousand Negroes lynched without any protest from the great liberal forces in American life. There was in New York at this time a general feeling of apathy concerning the Negro's state in the city of New York.

City officials refused to call an investigation into the mob violence of August 15th. Finally, the colored citizens called a mass meeting at St. Mark's M.E. Church at West 53rd Street and the Citizens Protective League was organized.[3] The Reverend William H. Brooks was

1. James Weldon Johnson: op. cit., p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 127.
3. Ibid., p. 129.

elected president of the organization. The Citizens Protective League held a follow-up mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on September 12th to raise funds for the prosecution of police officers involved in the riot. The organization grew to about 5,000 members and retained a lawyer to prosecute police officers. An investigation was held, but no noticeable gain achieved.

Two years earlier, Bishop Alexander Walters of New York aroused by the outrages on Negroes called a meeting of regional leaders to discuss this problem.[1] Subsequent meetings were held and an organization known as the Afro-American Council was formed. Although, this organization's duration was a few years, it, like other similar groups pointed the way the Negro must go to obtain the privileges of citizenship. However, the Negro minister was giving courageous leadership to the solution of problems of great magnitude facing the Negro people in New York.

In 1910, the Negro population in all the boroughs of the city was 91,709.[2] In Manhattan alone, there was 60,534 persons of color.

3. Migration and Integration of Foreign Born Negroes into the Church.

Most of the Negroes migrating to New York were not from the rural south. Many of them came from cities and towns of the Atlantic Seaboard states. Others came from the West Indies to fill the need for labor manpower in New York. The British West Indies Negroes were highly literate and efficient.[3] They were also, business minded and sober

1. James Weldon Johnson: op. cit., p. 130.
2. Ibid., p. 144.
3. Ibid., p. 153.

in their thinking. There were a smaller number of Spanish and French speaking West Indians who helped make up the West Indian block. The West Indian's high degree of literacy was attributed to his sound English common school education.

The majority of British West Indians were members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American counterpart to the Anglican Church. A smaller number were members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. However, there were a few members of the Negro Baptist and Methodist Churches and found no difficulty in integrating in the life of their denomination.

4. Church gradually de-emphasizes the "other world" element.

During the development period following the Civil War and leading to World War I, there were no startling changes in the form of emotional and religious expression. Emotionalism, though less prevalent was a dominating factor in religious expression. There was maintenance, with some modification of firm religious beliefs.

The Negro churches lay greater stress than formerly upon practical religion. They tried to turn a fine frenzy into a determination for righteousness. For instance, Ovington cites[1] an experience in a New York Baptist Church, when during the sacred rite of baptism, the congregation became hysterical; ("happy" they would phrase it). There were cries of "Yes, Jesus" "We're Coming, Lord." The minister encouraged their actions with vociferous appeals of accord. Then in a moment, he would silence his congregation and called them to the consecration of labor. Faith without works was vain. Baptism was not the end, but only

1. Mary White Ovington: op. cit., p. 123.

the beginning of their salvation. "You all better work," he said, "if you are going to follow the Lord. Jesus worked in his carpenter shop until he was near thirty years old. Then one day he took off his apron and went down to the wilderness and John baptized Him."

5. Summary

The major interest during the decade following the war of both Negro and white denominations was educating the recently freed Negroes. Hence, 47 educational institutions were established. The Negro Baptist founded 6 schools; the A.M.E. Zion, 6; A.M.E., 5; the Methodist, 6; Episcopalian, 1; Presbyterians, 2; Congregationalists, 20; and government chartered, 1. Yet, in Manhattan borough, there were 60,534 Negroes in 1910 and the total city population was 91,709.

The Negro church provided leadership for the community seeking to protect itself from injustices and discrimination. Migrants came to New York from many parts of the country and outside of the country and became fully integrated in the religious life of the city. The Negro ministers urged the members of their congregation to manifest a practical religion in their religious experience.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The history of the Negro Church in New York has been one of separation, growth and development. Although there has been multiple handicaps and limitations, yet, the Negro church survived and developed into an institution that became the center of community life.

In the second chapter, there is presented a study of the inception, founding and early development of the church up to the Civil War (1600-1863). The purpose of the study was to discover exactly the basic religious life of the African Negro which was carried into his slavery experience in America and later in the development of a distinctive Negro church. By understanding the sentiment of the times and the African religious heritage, the writer wished to see whether the concept of freedom from oppression which was the accepted thinking of the colonist affected the desire of Negroes to separate from the white churches and develop a distinctive free Negro institution.

In order that the writer could get a full picture of the beginnings and early development of the Negro church, various elements were selected for study. These elements reveal the importance of missionary education as it affected the slave and the moral conscience of white Christians. The study revealed that Negroes withdrew from white churches in New York but some remained dependent as long as two decades, before completely separating from the Mother church. This separation brought with it multiple difficulties, but the church met

each problem adequately with whatever resources she had. The study further revealed that the Negro churches provided leadership for the struggle of the national abolition of slavery along with white Christians who were in sympathy with the cause.

The third chapter, presented a study of the later development of the Negro church from the Emancipation until World War I, (1863-1914). The purpose of this study was to show the development of Negro churches within or without their denominations. The writer wishes to see whether, the Emancipation Proclamation affected the Negro ministry and to what extent, if so, what progress, was made toward general education of the freedmen, protection of their rights as citizens and the development of their religion.

The study revealed that Negro Methodists attempted to merge into one consolidated church, in 1864, but it never fully developed beyond discussion by denominational leaders. Moreover, many of the white denomination being unable to make much progress among Negroes in the North turn their major attention to work among Negroes in the South. However, Negro Episcopalians requested more consideration and study of the Negro work in their church.

Furthermore, the study revealed that both in the North and South, the Negro minister was required to be better prepared to serve his constituents after the Civil War and the subsequent years that followed, than prior to the war. The rapid growth and expansion of institutions of learning in the South and supported by denominations

primarily in the North, contributed to the rapid development of the Negro people intellectually and religiously. Finally, the religious leaders spoke out against injustices and discrimination of Negro citizens, while the churches integrated foreign born Negroes into its church life. Moreover, the Negro church gradually developed a practical religion for use in the terrestial world.

The conclusions of the writer are that the Negro church provided leadership during the critical years of her history. She looked with pride to the Negro minister, whom she produced as the leading spokesman forthe Negro people in matters of religion, civil rights, political affairs, and in social and economic advancement. The Negro people looked to their church as the center for supplying of all the needs of the race. In most cases, the church did not fail to give leadership and protection to the basic aspirations of the colored people of the city.

The writer concludes that the element of Christian brotherhood is a significant part of this history. The concern of white Christians for the Christianizing and education of the Negro is an epoch in the history of the Negro church.

Finally, the writer concludes that the Negro churches in New York developed into aggressive, self-supporting and independent organizations and demonstrated their ability to govern themselves successfully. Since its founding in the first decade of the 19th century until the first World War, the Negro church has made rapid progress in its development as a respected religious institution.

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