

A HISTORY OF AFRO-ANGLICANISM IN THE UNITED STATES
For the Church of Nigeria North American Mission



by

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Bishop Felix Orji, OSB
CONNAM Coordinating Bishop
Church of Nigeria North American Mission
8402 Howell Sugarland Road
Houston, Texas 77083

Re: **BLACK AMERICAN HISTORY for THE CHURCH OF NIGERIA**

“An Introduction to the History of the Black Church For Nigerian-American Anglicans”

Dear Bishop Orji:

Greetings, Your Grace!

We in the African American community extend a very warm welcome to the Church of Nigeria!

It is my great honor to share with you this little treatise on *A History of Afro-Anglicanism in the United States for the Church of Nigeria North American Mission*. I am honored that you have asked me to share this history with the Nigerian American community.

As we have discussed, I hope that this treatise will help Nigerian-American Christians to better understand the history of the African American Church and of the historical origins of the current state of crisis that is within the Episcopal Church of the United States.

I would be remiss if I did not state that the Anglican churches in Africa, as represented by the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) movement, are the future of the Worldwide Anglican Communion. And as a representative of this orthodox Anglican movement in the United States, the Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM) represents a beacon of light and hope for American Anglicans.

The type of orthodox Christianity which CONNAM represents is sadly missing within the Episcopal Church of the United States. Unfortunately, most members of the Episcopal Church do not support orthodox Anglicanism. Unfortunately, I suspect, too, that CONNAM's orthodox, conservative position on same-sex marriage does not align with the predominant social and political views of African Americans.

However, I sincerely believe that CONNAM's conservative theological views represent the very best hope for all African American Christians on the North American continent. What CONNAM preaches and teaches is the pure Gospel; and CONNAM represents the very best remedy for the current problems that are plaguing the African American community—especially the problem of the decline of the African American family structure.

Indeed, it is my view that African slavery's first and primary technique was to destroy African virtue, morality, and family life, in order to be able to preserve the system of chattel slavery. The institution of African slavery removed black fathers from the black family and decimated the black home. The institution of African slavery, which established a form of African matriarchy along with a system of widespread concubinage of African women, almost destroyed the black home. Indeed, as W.E.B. Du Bois has written:

The red stain of bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race, meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity, but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers, threatening almost the obliteration of the Negro home.¹

For this reason, I believe sincerely that CONNAM's orthodox teachings on family, gender, and human sexuality are necessary to save the soul of the African American community in the United States.

And now I submit this treatise to your care and safe-keeping. Meanwhile, please know that I remain your

Fellow Servant in Christ!

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Doctor of Letters (Law & Religion)
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¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Souls of Black Folk" *Writings* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1986), p. 368.

TREATISE

***A HISTORY OF AFRO-ANGLICANISM IN THE UNITED STATES* For the Church of Nigeria North American Mission**

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PART ONE: Introduction

I. Of the Crisis of the Anglican Church in the United States of America in the Early Twenty-First Century

In 2003, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, while acting at its General Convention, decided to allow a gay activist named Rev. Gene Robinson to become a bishop and proclaimed that gay marital unions were part of the common life of Episcopal Church.² These two actions caused great weariness to many faithful Episcopalians and led to an “Anglican realignment,” the likes of which have never been seen before.³

In response to the Episcopal Church (U.S.A.) and the Anglican Church in Canada, several other Anglican provinces began doing missionary work in North America—including the Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM).⁴ At the same time, Archbishops from Rwanda, Singapore, Nigeria, Uganda, and other provinces within the “global South” of the Worldwide Anglican Communion started accepting American clergy and congregations.⁵ In 2008, the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON) was created, and in 2009, the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA) was founded. Both GAFCON and ACNA were created in response to the movement to legitimize same-sex marriage within the Episcopal Church (U.S.A). They were created in order to guard against heresy, apostasy, and the systematic exchanging biblical holiness for moral relativism and

² The Anglican Church in Canada reached a similar decision at its General Convention as well.

³ See, e.g., Rev. Thomas McKenzie, *The Anglican Way: A Guidebook* (Nashville, TN: Colony Catherine, Inc., 2014).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 230 – 232.

⁵ *Ibid.*

ungodliness. I understand that CONNAM is a part of GAFCON and works closely with ACNA.

And at this writing, it is safe to say that the future of the Anglican Church and “Afro-Anglicanism” is on the continent of Africa. As the late Rev. Thomas McKenzie has written, “If you are an Anglican in the world today, you are most likely African.”⁶ There are more Anglicans on the continent of Africa than in England, Australia and North America (Canada and the United States), combined.

Table 1. Anglicans on the Continent of Africa

| ANGLICANS IN AFRICA | NUMBER OF MEMBERS |
|---|---------------------|
| The Church of Nigeria | 18 million |
| Eglise Anglicans du Rwanda | 1 million |
| The Anglican Church of South Africa | 3.5 million |
| Province of the Episcopal Church of South Sudan | 3.5 million |
| Province of the Episcopal Church of Sudan | 1.1 million |
| The Church of the Province of Uganda | 11 million |
| The Church of the Province of West Africa | 1 million |
| The Anglican Church of Kenya | 5 million |
| Province de L’Eglise Anglicans Du Congo | 0.5 million |
| The Church of the Province of Central Africa | 0.6 million |
| TOTAL | 45.2 million |

While at the same time, the numbers of Anglicans in the United States today are precipitously declining. “The Episcopal Church [of the United States] has seen declining membership, to varying degrees, since the 1960s, when it counted 3.4 million members. As of 2019, it had about 1.8 million. Membership is down 17.4% over the last 10 years.”⁷

Table 2. Anglicans on the Continent of North America

| ANGLICANS IN NORTH AMERICA | TOTAL NUMBER |
|---|---|
| The Episcopal Church | 1.8 Million Only 4% of this 1.8 million (or only 68,000) of these Episcopalians are African American or of African descent |
| The Anglican Church of Canada | 0.4 million (390,000) |
| Anglican Church of North America (ACNA) | 0.13 members (130,000) |

⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2020/10/16/2019-parochial-reports-show-continued-decline-and-a-dire-future-for-the-episcopal-church/>

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| TOTAL | 2.33 million |
|-------|--------------|

It is quite possible that, given The Episcopal Church’s or the Anglican Church of Canada’s current theological position on human sexuality and same-sex marriage, that they have no serious interest in increasing their membership or in any sort of theological reform or revival. It is also quite disheartening that mighty nation of the size and influence of the United States, with some 332 million people, that only a very small fraction of these millions are member of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, especially given its historical importance and influence on Anglo-American law, culture, and society. We may deduce from this set of circumstances that Americans have almost uniformly repudiated the orthodox Anglican faith, especially as it was developed in 16th and 17th-century England, and as that orthodox Anglican faith is currently practiced in Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and in other parts of the African continent.

The numbers of African American Episcopalians have also precipitously declined as well, with less than a total of 70,000 black Episcopalians in the United States in 2022. In truth, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which has a total membership of about 2.5 million, is more theologically aligned with CONNAM than the black Episcopalians in the United States. Hence, the state of the orthodox Anglican faith in the United States is precarious and dismal. The Church of Nigeria North America Mission (CONNAM) thus stands as a great beacon of light and hope for conservative Anglicanism.

The Worldwide Anglican Communion, GAFCON, and ACNA have acknowledged the moral, spiritual, and cultural problems within the established Anglican churches within North America, particularly with respect to human sexuality, same-sex attraction, same-sex marriage, and homosexuality. Sadly, very few churches have connected the *decline in healthy heterosexual marriages* and the *rise in same-sex marriage* to the predominance of capitalism and materialism within Western societies. And very few of these churches have described same-sex marriage as a threat to Christian family values or to the plight of the African American family structure, and even fewer have rendered an honest critique of materialism, fetishism, and monopoly capitalism and their influence upon the poor.⁸

⁸ In my view, the orthodox Anglican churches of today ought to develop and reestablish its ecclesiastical jurisdiction over “commercial ethics” and to assert more influence public and economic policy, especially as they relate to the plight of developing nations, people of color, and the poor. Personally, I would recommend to Anglicans all over the

At the same time, the Episcopal Church of the United States has historically enjoyed direct ties to American business and political elites. To be sure, the Gospel is available to all classes of persons, but the “elite” culture of American Episcopalians has presented somewhat of a “stumbling block.” For this reason, the Episcopal Church has often been placed into a very precarious position in that it has been made to serve two masters. (Matthew 6:24 “*No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.*”) Due to its financial and political ties to liberal American elites, the Episcopal Church is unlikely to be reformed.

Thus, during the early 1980s and 90s when the United States Supreme Court, and the lower-level federal courts, began to decriminalize sodomy, other homosexual acts, and same-sex marriage, the Episcopal Church naturally fell in line with this prevailing trend within American jurisprudence, and it promptly reorganized its Christian theology in order to embrace this new secular jurisprudence on human sexuality. During the early 2000s, up to the year 2015, when the U.S. Supreme Court held in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, 576 U.S. 644 (2015) that no state can ban same-sex couples from attaining a marriage license, the Episcopal Church likewise evolved its understanding of the Sacred Scriptures in order to accommodate the most recent developments within American jurisprudence. To that extent, the Episcopal Church of the United States has continued to function, albeit unofficially, as the “state church” for the United States.

Hence, the Episcopal Church’s theology on love suddenly required tolerance and inclusiveness, even including the ordination of openly-gay priests and bishops who were in same-sex marriages.

Moreover, the American political establishment, including both of its two major political parties, conceptualized the plight of the LGTB community as being juridically and constitutionally *coextensive* with the plight of the African American

world a twentieth-century prophet and critic of American economics, the Canadian-born Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith. A few of his notable books include: *The Great Crash* (1955); *The Affluent Society* (1958); *The New Industrial State* (1967); *The Age of Uncertainty* (1977); *The Anatomy of Power* (1983); *A History of Economics* (1987) and *The Economics of Innocent Fraud* (2004).

community. The American bar and bench likewise couched their legal arguments and reasonings in these terms, and plaintiffs' lawyers, who advocated for LGTB rights, were able to successfully argue that discrimination against the LGTB community was no different than discrimination against African Americans. The implications of this legal argument are very significant for the Christian Church—and especially conservative churches such as the Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM), the Church of God in Christ (COGIC), the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA), the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), the new Global Methodist Church, and other similar churches which hold that marriage is between one man and one woman.

Conservative Christian Churches in the United have been suddenly thrust into a precarious position of potentially being sued under federal “civil rights” laws for discrimination against the LGTB Community. And such conservative Christian Churches in the United States are today treated being labelled religious institutions akin to 19th-century antebellum church that had once held African slaves and had once segregated and excluded African Americans from full membership and equal treatment. Again, this law-logic holds that the mistreatment and discrimination against gays and lesbians inside of the modern-day Christian Church is no different than mistreatment and discrimination against African Americans during the 18th-, 19th-, and early 20th centuries. But for GAFCON and like-minded conservative black Christians, I have no doubt but that the sort of law-logic would be more predominant amongst African American clergymen.

But as this treatise will clearly demonstrate, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States—which is canonically the sister province or diocese of the Church of England and the Church of Nigeria—and which had always been a very wealthy and prominent church, had always tolerated slavery and slave-holding by its clergymen since the 17th-century when slavery was allowed in colonial Virginia. The Episcopal Church in the United States had always been the mistress of rich and powerful slave-holders—a church that had always been ready and willing to change or to tailor its Gospel in order to suit the desires of its well-to-do churchmen. This was true during the early 1700s, and it is still true today. Unfortunately, the root cause of the Episcopal Church's tendencies—that is to say, its ties to great wealth and to powerful political interests—have seldom been designated as the root cause of its evolving theology. Suffice it to say, the Anglican Church or its sister Episcopal Church in the United States have historically supported slavery and segregation, and so even today it is not

inconceivable that it would promote a form of social and moral values that could devastate poor and working-class African American families.

But the problem is much more complicated than race and skin color. Inside of the Protestant Episcopal Church, there is a very large and powerful group of African American bishops, clergymen, and senior laity who are staunch supporters of liberal causes. These liberal African American churchmen also equate the plight of the LGTB community with the plight of the African American community. These liberal African American churchmen also strongly contend that the Episcopal Church should endorse same-sex marriages and the ordination of gay clergymen and bishops. These African American Episcopalians also see no difference between discrimination against the LGTB community and discrimination against the African American Community. And at this writing, the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States is Bishop Michael Curry; and, *seemingly*, he fully endorses this liberal viewpoint.

However, there is also a “silent” but sizeable minority of African American Episcopalians who simply do not endorse the liberal trends and liberal views of the Episcopal Church. In reality, these African American Episcopalians feel trapped. They belong to parishes that have been historically all-black, and they feel that they have no place to turn, except to exit their historic and traditional African American parishes or to join an Anglican church that is a part of the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA). But I see no reason why CONNAM, which is an African church denomination that is fully a part of the Worldwide Anglican Communion, could not serve as a *diocese of refuge* for these conservative African American Episcopalians and conservative African American Episcopal parishes.

II. Of Human Sexuality in Law and the Bible

Now if CONNAM is to have a positive impact by improving the lives of Nigerian Americans who live in the United States, as well as other African American Episcopalians, then CONNAM members (both clergy and laity) will need to focus much of its attention upon the plight of the African American family—the relationships between black fathers, black mothers, and black children. CONNAM will need to provide an African or Afro-centric theological perspective about African and African American life, so that Christian theology and practice can have a tangible impact upon black life in the United States. CONNAM will need to be aware of the critical fact that what is fundamentally at stake is the FAMILY STRUCTURE of the African American community and of

the declining role of African American fathers within a two-parent family-unit structure.

Today, the African church and the dozens of African American church denominations have become swallowed up whole by theological perspectives, experiences, worldviews, and agendas of predominantly-white church denominations—such as the Church of England, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, the Presbyterian Church (USA), and the United Methodist Church—which have promoted same-sex marriage and the ordination of gay clergy. These predominately white church denominations do not take the time to learn about the unique problems—past, present, and historical—of persons of African descent. And these predominantly-white churches often proceed upon the premise that the LGTB community is no different than the African American community, and that discrimination against the former is no different than discrimination against the later. Their conceptualization of “civil rights” is reduced to a form of “law-logic” that sees the LGTB community as being fundamentally no different than the entire African continent, to persons of African descent, or to the African American community in the United States!

This conceptualization of “civil rights” make *being an African* or *being an African American* tantamount to *being unnatural*—that is to say, being African or African American is like being without a divine warrant taken from the laws of divine Creation, or being without a God-given mandate from natural law, natural right, and the law of reason.

This conceptualization of “civil rights” refuses to recognize African or African American men as men, just like every other human male whom God has created; and it refuses to recognize African or African American women as women, just like every other human female whom God has created.

And, fundamentally, this conceptualization of “civil rights” deprecates the divine law that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.” (Acts 17:26). And so, by comparing Africans and African Americans to the LGTB community, the white Christian world, and the West in general, have essentially defaced the law of God.

Within Orthodox Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, homosexuality has been treated like leprosy, like an illness, and like an addiction. As such, homosexuality

was considered to be a form of human frailty, like many other forms of human frailties, which all races of men are susceptible to succumbing. A man can be white and a leper; or white and homosexual; or an Indian and a leper; or Indian and a homosexual; or Chinese and a leper; or Chinese and a homosexual; or African and a leper; or African and a homosexual, etc., etc. So that, *being a leper* or *being a homosexual* has no nexus whatsoever to *being a member of a particular race*. This is true not only in nature or in reason and logic, but the *Holy Bible* also clearly makes such a distinction.

According to the *Holy Bible*, no race of human beings was created inferior to any other race. (See, e.g., Acts 17: 26, God “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth...”). For this reason, the *Holy Bible* does not contemplate moral laws that apply to one race but not to another. Quite the contrary, the *Holy Bible* contemplates one, universal moral law that is applicable to all races, all nations, and for all times.

“And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the LORD am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine.”⁹

“... I am the LORD your God, which have separated you from other people.”¹⁰

“Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the LORD.”¹¹

“Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor.”¹²

“Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the LORD your God.”¹³

“Ye shall not therefore oppress one another; but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the LORD your God.”¹⁴

⁹Leviticus 20:26.

¹⁰ Leviticus 20:24.

¹¹ Leviticus 18:4.

¹² Leviticus 19:15.

¹³ Leviticus 24:22.

¹⁴ Leviticus 25:27.

And this is the same universal moral law which the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks,¹⁵ and the Romans discovered through reason and natural law. It is reflected in the writings of Aristotle:

Universal law is the law of Nature. For there really is, as every one to some extent divines, a natural justice and injustice that is binding on all men, even on those who have no association or covenant with each other.¹⁶

And this “universal moral law” is reflected in the writings of Cicero:

There is indeed a law, right reason, which is in accordance with nature; existing in all, unchangeable, eternal. Commanding us to do what is right, forbidding us to do what is wrong. It has dominion over good men, but possesses no influence over bad ones. No other law can be substituted for it, no part of it can be taken away, nor can it be abrogated altogether. Neither the people or the senate can absolve from it. It is not one thing at Rome, and another thing at Athens : one thing to-day, and another thing to-morrow; but it is eternal and immutable for all nations and for all time.¹⁷

And, clearly, we find this “universal moral law,” as expressed by Aristotle and Cicero, in the New Testament writings of St. Paul, to wit:

For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, *do by nature the things contained in the law*, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another;) In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel.¹⁸

¹⁵ “For Christians, the Messiah was the historical Jesus, who was also identified with the Logos of Greek philosophy...” Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 2007), p. 309; “It was this intellectual element in Plato’s religion that led Christians—notably the author of Saint John’s Gospel—to identify Christ with the Logos. Logos should be translated ‘reason’ in this connection.” Russell, *supra*, p. 289.

¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natural_law

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Romans 2: 13-15.

For the wrath of God *is revealed* from heaven against *all ungodliness* and *unrighteousness of men*, who hold the truth in unrighteousness;

Because that which may be known of God **is manifest in them**; for **God had shewed it unto them**.

For the **invisible things** of him from the creation of the world are **clearly seen**, being understood by **the things that are made**, even his eternal power and Godhead; **so that they are without excuse....**¹⁹

And, thus, applying this universal moral law to the continent of Africa, to men and women with “burnt faces,” to the darker-skinned races of human beings, there is not a single writing among the ancients—Christian or non-Christian—which reached a conclusion that there is a “separate moral law” that should be applied to African and African Americans, and a “separate moral law” that should be applied to Europeans or white Americans. No, they each and all reached the same conclusion: there is but one “universal moral law” that applies to all human beings.

Now the question of homosexuality, we know, has repeatedly been addressed within the texts of the Sacred Scriptures of a variety of religious faiths—all them have reached the same conclusion: homosexual acts represent deviant and sinful behavior.²⁰

The *Torah* discusses it, perhaps first, within the story of the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah within the Book of *Genesis*, Chapter 19: 5 “And they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night? Bring them out unto us, *that we may know them*.” This, I interpret to mean, that the men of Sodom wished to have sexual relations with the two men—the two angels—who were inside of Lot’s house. And *Genesis* 19: 24, states, “Then the LORD rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the LORD out of heaven.” Now I have heard some modern-day Episcopalians argue that this series of verses do not condemn homosexuality, but rather that it only condemned the *lack of hospitality* shown towards the two angels, relying on Jesus’s reference in Matthew 10:15 and Luke 10:11-12.²¹ But there is also Leviticus 18:22, stating

¹⁹ Romans 1: 17-20.

²⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality_and_religion

²¹ See, e.g., “Why did Jesus mention Sodom anyway?” <https://biblethumpingliberal.com/2020/03/26/so-why-did-jesus-mention-sodom-anyway/>

“Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind; it is abomination”; and there is Leviticus 10:13, stating, “If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination: they shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them.”²² There is also Jesus of Nazareth affirming the entire law of Moses in his “Sermon on the Mount,” Matthew 5:17, stating “Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil” – a passage which provides salvation even for gays and lesbians who repent of their sins and accept Christ as their savior. And, finally, there is St. Paul, who is a master interpreter of the Mosaic law, stating in Romans 1: 24-27:

²⁴ Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves:

²⁵ Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

²⁶ For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature:

²⁷ And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompence of their error which was meet.

Here, without question, St. Paul condemns homosexual acts as abomination and as a sin against God, as does St. Augustine of Hippo, in both the *Confessions*²³ and *The City of God*.²⁴ Hence, the clear mandate from God, as interpreted by the

²² But see, also, “Queer Bible Hermeneutics” <https://blog.smu.edu/ot8317/2016/05/11/leviticus-1822/>

²³ “Similarly, offenses against nature are everywhere and at all times to be held in detestation and should be punished. Such offenses, for example, were those of the Sodomites; and, even if all nations should commit them, they would all be judged guilty of the same crime by the divine law, which has not made men so that they should ever abuse one another in that way.” *Confessions* (New York, N.Y.: Barnes & Nobles Classics, 2017), p. 36. .

²⁴ “Concerning the effeminates.... These effeminates, no later than yesterday, were going through the streets and places of Carthage with anointed hair, whitened faces, relaxed bodies, and feminine gait, exacting from the people the means of maintaining the ignominious lives. Nothing has been said concerning them. Interpretation failed, reason blushed, speech was silent.... This abomination is not surpassed by the licentious deeds of Jupiter [i.e., Zues]... with so many avowed and public effeminates, has both defiled the earth and outraged heaven.” *The City of God* (New York, N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1950), pp. 232-233.

Christian Church throughout the millennia, has been that homosexual acts *are an abomination*.

But “being an African or an African American” has never been so interpreted as being *an abomination*—with the exception of the American slave codes that were adopted by most of the state legislatures of the American South. In the United States, the “American Negro Academy” was established in large measure to refute the negative, debilitating influences of the slave codes upon American psychology: as W.E.B. Du Bois has stated in his “Foreword” to *The World and Africa* (1946):

Since the rise of the sugar empire and the resultant cotton kingdom, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history, so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be truly written without reference to Negroid peoples.... If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue—that *black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow Asiatics*, and that history can easily prove this—then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work.

Indeed, this legacy of treating Africans as inherently inferior was deeply-rooted, in some circles, and particularly in the Western Hemisphere, upon various readings of the Sacred Scripture regarding the “curse of Ham” by Noah. (Genesis 9:25, “*And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*”) The thinking, then, was that Ham’s sons were dark-skinned men of African descent, whom God had condemned to perpetual and everlasting bondage.

So that today, many white Americans and white Christians, whether unwittingly or not, have equated this pseudo-scientific doctrine that reduced “being an African or an African American” to an abomination within the Biblical teaching. Furthermore, they have equated “being an African or African American” (i.e., the Hamitic curse) to the abomination of homosexual conduct that is also condemned in the Bible. This “Hamitic curse,” then, is this really and truly the foundation of equating the plight of Africans and African American to the plight of the LGBT community in the United States.

This insult to Africans and to African Americans, even to this day, is that liberal American political philosophy implicitly treats “civil rights” for African

Americans as though “civil rights” was nothing more than a *special provision* that requires Americans to accommodate diverse forms of disabilities, abominations, and inadequacies. Civil Rights made special exceptions for persons who not completely whole, completely natural, completely human—i.e., persons who are blind or lame or disabled or mentally-challenged or homosexual and gay or African or African American, etc.

Stated differently, the conventional wisdom amongst many racist white elites was that *being black* or *being African* was no different than being physically disabled—a person who is of African descent is inherently not quite whole, and not quite mature or human. Civil rights laws, therefore, are designed, at least in part, to lower moral, ethical, academic, professional, and social standards, so that persons of African descent can be accommodated. Civil rights laws, in essence, do nothing more than accommodate this unfortunate disability of skin discoloration of “being black” (i.e., being Africans and African Americans), thus interposing upon Christian theology and churches an unpleasant but necessary “special exception” to God’s curse upon the descendants of Ham. Civil rights laws that protect the rights of Africans or African Americans are therefore designed, at least in part, to undo what God has designed through natural law: the inherent inferiority of persons of African descent. Using that same logic, the racist white elites reasoned that the Holy Bible’s prohibition of homosexual conduct—as being a natural law of God—should likewise be abrogated, through the same civil rights laws that had been devised to ameliorate the plight of African American slaves following the end of the U.S. Civil War.

And so, in the United States, the constitutional law-logic of the United States Supreme Court and lower-level federal courts has decisively concluded: **if *being black* is no longer an abomination in American society, then why should *being gay* continue to be an abomination in American society.**

But make no mistake about it: this constitutional law-logic has become a sort of cancerous infestation inside of a large percentage of the African American Christian Church in particular, unwittingly interposing upon African American clergy and laity themselves, the fundamental assumptions drawn from the “Hamitic” curse; that is to say, that the unnatural deviancy of *homosexual conduct* is fundamentally no different than *being African* or *being an African American!* Without even questioning the corporate backers and sponsors of this pseudo

science, millions of African Americans have *unwittingly* accepted the “Hamitic” curse as their fundamental self-conceptualization of being black.

We must remember that the African American community is not completely orthodox or completely Christian. The powerful American media market has created “Black America, Inc.,” which is portrayed in social media and television. This “Black America, Inc.” is very rich, very influential, and decisively pro-LGTB, pro-gay, pro-abortion, pro-liberal human sexuality in scope.²⁵ In sum, “Black America, Inc.” will be in an adversarial relationship to the Church of Nigeria North American Mission. It is against these powerful forces that the CONNAM and its Gospel of Jesus Christ must compete for the souls of men and women within the United States.

III. Of the Crisis of the African American Family and Human Sexuality

The Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM) has also entered into the United States within a social context that deprecates the role of African American fathers both within the home and within society. And the most demonic aspects of this deprecation traces its roots to the history of African slavery on American soil. As W.E.B. Du Bois has written:

The red stain of bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of Negro women had stamped upon his race, meant not only the loss of ancient African chastity, but also the hereditary weight of a mass of corruption from white adulterers, threatening almost the obliteration of the Negro home.²⁶

Today, gender relations within the African American home are troublesome due in large measure to the economic, political, and social priorities of the United States.

First, the American constitutional and legal systems ignore African American history—as though African and African Americans have no distinct

²⁵ See, e.g., famous basketball player Magic Johnson commenting on his gay son’s role in a Walt Disney production. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=508243997326457&set=a.288220159328843> ; See, also, article “Niecy Nash and wife, Jessica Betts, are 1st same-sex couple on Essence cover The historic magazine cover comes a year and a half after the couple’s viral wedding announcement on social media.” https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/niecy-nash-wife-jessica-betts-are-1st-sex-couple-essence-cover-rcna17740?cid=sm_npd_nn_fb_blk&fbclid=IwAR3OQMWhYGMRVzwZgq_J6_d-kIwkXGaOmgIX76EoEOj2qNjdhrTxiqNjj4

²⁶ W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Souls of Black Folk” *Writings* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1986), p. 368.

history. Therefore, these systems do not afford any relief or remedies to Africans or African Americans that stem from their unique or historical traumas.

Second, as previously mentioned, “being African” or “being African American” has been viewed for several centuries as an “abomination” or as a “mental illness” or as a disease—the only remedy, then, for Africans and African Americans is for them to “be” something other than African or other than African American—to wit, “to be white.” This is manifest in terms of physical appearance, skin complexion, marriage partners, and even gaining acceptance into the more prestigious schools or colleges that will demonstrate their capacities for “being white—not black.” Although African Americans have made a valiant effort to move past what many people call the “slave mentality,” there are seriously powerful forces within both the larger American social structure, as well as within the African American community, which continue have a very powerful grip upon the psychology of the African American community.

The Black woman leader and the female-headed home, juxtaposed with mass incarceration of black men, have opened the door to several unforeseen problems, such as the catastrophic deterioration of African American family life. Therefore, the traditional Christian theology of the Church of Nigeria North American Mission—with its all-male clergy—is counter-cultural to the predominant ideology that has come to characterize twenty-first century “Black America, Inc.” The predominant view of “Black America, Inc.” is both secular and unchristian—it is oriented largely around materialism and jobs, not the universal and eternal moral values that are premised upon a “Higher Law” of God. Indeed, “Black America, Inc.” is really a media market—entertainment, professional athletes, musicians, super-successful black business leaders—that co-exist alongside mass black poverty, crime, incarceration, and the steady break-up of the African American family structure. And while this letter will not permit sufficient space to cover all of the details of the most glaring problem facing African American family life, it will suffice for me to direct you to the following Wikipedia article, “African-American family structure,” which starts off with the following:

The family structure of African Americans has long been a matter of national public policy interest. A 1965 report by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, known as *The Moynihan Report*, examined the link between black poverty and family structure. It hypothesized that the

destruction of the black nuclear family structure would hinder further progress toward economic and political equality.

When Moynihan wrote in 1965 on the coming destruction of the black family, the out-of-wedlock birth rate was 25% among black people. In 1991, 68% of black children were born outside of marriage (where 'marriage' is defined with a government-issued license). In 2011, 72% of black babies were born to unmarried mothers, while the 2018 National Vital Statistics Report provides a figure of 69.4 percent for this condition.²⁷

And, next, I direct you to Senator Robert F. Kennedy's report of August 15, 1966, in which he said:

"We know the importance of strong families to development; we know that financial security is important for family stability and that there is strength in the father's earning power. But in dealing with Negro families, we have too often penalized them for staying together. As Richard Cloward has said: 'Men for whom there are no jobs will nevertheless mate like other men, but they are not so likely to marry. Our society has preferred to deal with the resulting female-headed families not by putting the men to work but by placing the unwed mothers and children on public welfare—substituting check-writing machines for male wage-earners. By this means we have robbed men of manhood, women of husbands, and children of fathers. To create a stable monogamous family, we need to provide men (especially Negro men) with the opportunity to be men, and that involves enabling them to perform occupationally.'"

Statement before U.S. Congressional Sub-Committee Hearing, August 15, 1966.

The above-referenced criticisms of making comparisons of "being African or African American" to "being gay," may likewise be applied to modern-day comparisons of "economic opportunity" for African American men with "economic opportunity" for African American women. In the United States, the political, economic, and social movement, particularly within the university and in elite circles, is to promote "gender equality" within the African American

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African-American_family_structure

community by making economic opportunities, jobs, and salaries for African American women to be the same as economic opportunities for African American men. The laws of nature, reason, and of the Holy Bible—which have traditionally and historically imposed upon men and fathers to play distinct roles—have thus come under vicious assault within American society.²⁸

The obvious and glaring problem, however, is that the more economically powerful white community of employers, educators, lenders, and capitalists systematically elevate African American women above African American men, particularly in so-called white-collar industries such as finance, insurance, law, etc., with only a few exceptions. Gender roles within the African American community have become blurred. African American women have been made the so-called bread winners in many circumstances. And, thus, the traditional all-male leadership structures of several of the Black Churches in the United States—such as the CONNAM and the Church of God in Christ (COGIC)—have likewise come under assault. And these social and economic trends have decimated African American family life in the United States.

The CONNAM will likely, at some point, feel the same pressures upon the Nigerian-American families. White employers will inevitably entice Nigerian-American women, while simultaneously deprecating the talents, knowledge and skills of Nigerian-American men—thus throwing the whole machinery of Nigerian-American family-formation, family-building, and family-nurturing into discord, within the United States. This is the new slavery! It is my prayer that CONNAM will observe trends in the wider African American community and take heed to the wisdom of sound doctrine within the Sacred Scriptures!

IV. Of the Subordination of Church and State to Divine Providence

The orthodox African and African American churches are the only institutions which can save the soul of the United States of America, and I pray that CONNAM becomes a partner in this effort. Orthodox Christianity is viewed today as the “white man’s religion,” while at the same time “being African” and “being African American” are viewed as being an abomination. Under this scheme, the only way forward for the United States is for African and African American

²⁸ On the African continent, in countries such as Nigeria, this vicious assault does exist, but not to the degree as in the United States.

Christians to set the record straight about the universal truths of the Christian religion.

There was a time when the Anglican Church was so thoroughly sewn into the public administration of law and policy that we could rightfully say that England and the United States were fundamentally Christian nations. In England, for instance, the bishops within the Church of England were made members of the House of Lords, and the “law of Christ” reigned supreme, at least in theory, over the entire realm. Even the Protestant Reformers Martin Luther, John Calvin, and even John Wesley did not deviate from this fundamental conceptualization of the relationship of the Church to the secular State.

While both the Church and the State were to remain separate, they were both governed by the Providence of God. So states the American *Declaration of Independence*, in clear and unequivocal terms: “And for the support of this Declaration, **with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence**, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.”

Do African or African American bishops know anything about the “divine Providence” of God?

Does “divine Providence” govern the success or the failures of Africans and African Americans?

Do some white people’s false conceptualizations of “being African or African American” dispel or obliterate the eternal laws of nature or of divine Providence?

I do not see how the Black Church in the United States can function, and discharge the Great Commission (Matthew 28: 19-20), without helping to lead the entire nation back to the fundamental premises that is stated in the American Declaration of Independence—that divine Providence is still the foundation of civil government. This was the true meaning of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s *Letter from the Birmingham City Jail* (1963), and it was originally the foundation of the church-led American civil rights movements of the 1950s and 60s.

Therefore, I have written for the Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM) the following brief history of the Anglican Church in the United States in order to put the current American crisis into a proper historical perspective. This is a brief survey of the History of the Black Church in the United States.

PART TWO: The History

I. Of Our African Roots: “Of the Faith of Our Fathers”²⁹

Dim face of Beauty haunting all the world,
Fair face of Beauty all too fair to see,
Where the lost stars adown the heavens are hurled,—
There, there alone for thee
May white peace be.
Beauty, sad face of Beauty, Mystery, Wonder,
What are these dreams to foolish babbling men
Who cry with little noises 'neath the thunder
Of Ages ground to sand,
To a little sand.³⁰

The history of the founding of the original thirteen American colonies is deeply-rooted in religious freedom on the one hand, and commercial freedom or economic opportunity on the other. Thus, the two major forces which drove the 16th-century Age of Discovery in England was economic competition with Portugal, Spain, and France, and the forces of the Protestant Reformation which infiltrated England. The North American continent provided a perfect platform for both commercial freedom and religious tolerance. It is for this reason that the Church of England (i.e., the “Anglican Church”) did not take the same shape or form on American soil that it took in the mother country of England. The political, social, and economic forces—which included vested economic interests in the *transatlantic African slave trade*— became predominant in the North American colonies and were decisively opposed to the establishment of a powerful Church of England on American soil.

What many Africans and CONNAM members may not recognize is the devastating impact of the transatlantic slave trade upon the global image of Africans in North America and the United States. Slavery essentially removed

²⁹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter 10, “Of the Faith of Our Fathers.”

African history from any serious consideration or discussion among white Americans and Europeans, as W.E.B. Du Bois reminds us:

Since the rise of the sugar empire and the resultant cotton kingdom, there has been consistent effort to rationalize Negro slavery by omitting Africa from world history, so that today it is almost universally assumed that history can be truly written without reference to Negroid peoples.³¹

The “Black Church” predates all other African institutions on American soil; it predates even the black family; and the black preacher was from the first the natural leader of New World Africans on the slave plantations.³² As W.E.B. Du Bois reminds us:

[W]e must realize that no such institution as the Negro church could rear itself without definite historical foundations. These foundations we can find if we remember that the social history of the Negro did not start in America. He was brought from a definite social environment,— the polygamous clan life under the headship of the chief and the potent influence of the priest. His religion was nature-worship, with profound belief in invisible surrounding influences, good and bad, and his worship was through incantation and sacrifice. The first rude change in this life was the slave ship and the West Indian sugar-fields.... It was a terrific social revolution, and yet some traces were retained of the former group life, and the chief remaining institution was the Priest or Medicine-man.³³

Thus contrived on slave plantations, the Black Church was not “Anglican” or “Catholic” or “Orthodox,” and its preachers were unlettered. Its liturgy was unstructured, and its music was “[s]prung from the African forests, where its counterpart can still be heard, it was adapted, changed, and intensified by the tragic soul-life of the slave, until, under the stress of law and whip, it became the one true expression of a people’s sorrow, despair, and hope.”³⁴ Thus, “[t]hree things

³¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York, N.Y.: International Publishers, 2015), p. vii.

³² See, generally, W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Souls of Black Folk,” *Writings* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1986), pp. 493 – 505.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

characterized this religion of the slave,” writes Du Bois, “—the Preacher, the Music, and the Frenzy.”³⁵

But especially characteristic of the African American church was “the Frenzy or ‘Shouting,’ when the Spirit of the Lord passed by, and, seizing the devotee, made him mad with supernatural joy, was the last essential of Negro religion and the one more devoutly believed in than all the rest.... And so firm a hold did it have on the Negro, that many generations firmly believed that without it this visible manifestation of the God there could be no true communion with the Invisible.”³⁶ Because of this essential character of the Black Church, a formalized “High-Church” liturgy, such as reflected in *The Book of Common Prayer*, did not, as a rule, attract African Americans. Even the white Baptists and white Methodists did not impose white-standards upon their black converts, but instead black Baptists and black Methodists incorporated their “Frenzy” and “Shouting” into the their church services. Today, these distinct characteristics of African American spiritual worship are basically the same, even in their more socially and economically prominent churches where the pastors hold doctorate degrees. The Anglican Church’s “liturgy of the Word” and the “liturgy of the Eucharist,” within the context of serving a black American congregation that has historically been disciplined by Pentecostal music and Pentecostal spirit, must accommodate this Pentecostal tendency within the African American religious life.

Following emancipation in 1865, the African American churches developed, and African American pastors became “the most powerful Negro rulers in the world.”³⁷ As a consequence, from the period 1865 to 1965, especially during the time of official racial segregation in the United States, the African American church became the most important centre of black life in the United States. Today, this is no longer the case, but the Black Church is still an important symbol of culture and leadership within the African American community. CONNAM has an opportunity, through Pan-African Christianity, to add to this culture and leadership.

II. Of Wealth and the Anglican Church in colonial British North America

From the period 1603, when the first American colony was founded, to the year 1776, when America declared its independence from England, no English or

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 494-495.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 496.

Anglican bishop was ever sent to the American colonies in order to establish a permanent diocese. Even though the colonies of Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Maryland, New York, and Georgia had established the Anglican Church as their “official” church, they all uniformly opposed having the assignment of an Anglican bishop within their respective colonies. The reason is that an Anglican bishop was closely affiliated with the civil authority of the British crown. Instead, the Anglican Churches within the colonies were administered by powerful, prominent laymen, such as planters, lawyers, and government officials who served as church wardens on vestry boards. These vestry boards retained the power to recommend local clergy for official assignments and to pay their lodging, salaries, etc. For this reason, during the entire colonial history of North America, from the period 1603 through 1787, not a single Anglican bishop was ever assigned there. All of the Anglican clergymen were more or less appointed and governed by wealthy and powerful Anglican laymen—men such as General George Washington (1732 - 1799) who served on the vestry in two parishes in Virginia.

Table 3. The Vestry System in the Anglican Church in North America

| The Anglican Church in Colonial British North America- 1780s-1800 |
|--|
| <p><u>Supreme Governor:</u> General Convention (House of Bishops and House of Delegates (Clerical and Laity)</p> <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 10px auto;"/> <p>NOTE: the changes made to the governing structure of the Protestant Episcopal Church reflected a slight version of “presbyterian” ecclesiastical government.</p> |
| <p><u>General Church Management:</u></p> <p><u>Vestry System:</u> (A governing board of lay churchmen):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planters, etc. • Merchants, etc. • Lawyers, etc. <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 10px auto;"/> <p>NOTE: This same class (i.e., <i>Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers</i>) was predominant amongst the signers of the <i>Declaration of Independence</i> (1776) and at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They were “latitudinarian Anglicans” and “Whig” patriots.</p> |
| <p><u>Parish-Level Church:</u></p> |

- Parish Priests
- Vicars
- Curates, etc.

The Bishop of London, however, retained technical authority over all of the Anglican churches within the North American colonies. However, due to the distance between England and North America, his authority and leadership was precarious, if not altogether non-existent. This meant that the senior Anglican leadership within the Church of England, from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York on down to lower-level Anglican bishops, lost their ecclesiastical control and influence over North America's Anglican Churches. As a result, the orthodox Christian faith, at least from an Anglican perspective, was severely weakened from the beginning of the founding of the English-speaking colonies.

III. Of the Impact of Wealth and Social Class upon the Anglican Church's Doctrine and Discipline in colonial British North America

As the Anglican Church within the North American colonies were administered by powerful and wealthy laymen who comprised the parish vestries, the Anglican parish priests were largely dependent upon them. American Anglicanism thus became markedly distinct from English Anglicanism. For example, in England, the Church of England was fully implemented by an Upper House of Bishops, most of whom sat as "Lords Spiritual" in the House of Lords. English priests were highly-trained clergymen—typically graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. In England, the parishes, archdeacons, chancellors, and bishops administered a battery of ecclesiastical courts that were on par with the secular common law courts. But in the North American colonies, there was nothing that replicated this elaborate ecclesiastical system. Not only were there no bishops on American soil, but there was no elaborate educational, training, or support system for America's Anglican clergymen.³⁸ For this reason, American Anglican clergymen, who were the sons of wealthy American planters and merchants, preached a Gospel that was pro-American, pro-slavery, and reflected American social attitudes.

³⁸ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been founded around the year 1701 largely in order to help teach and train American Anglican clergymen.

One example of this tendency of American Anglican clergymen to tailor the Christian Gospel to the social and political desires of local American subjects can be seen regarding the question of manumission of African slaves who had been baptized.

Initially, the Anglican Church and its teachings posed a troublesome challenge to the institution of African slavery.³⁹ During the early 1600s, the widely held view within the Anglican Church was that English common law prohibited the enslavement of “Negroes, Moors, Mulattoes or Indians” who had already been converted to Christianity.

For this reason, the first twenty Africans who arrived in colonial Virginia in 1619 were Christians and thus they were treated as “indentured servants,” not as slaves.

The colonial Virginia legislature codified the view of English common law in 1670, stating “Negroes, Moors, Mollatoes or Indians” who had converted to Christianity, could serve as indentured servants and for “noe longer time then the English or other christians are to serve....”

Thus, at least initially, in colonial America, persons who were already Christianized could not be made slaves.

Whether baptism of non-Christianized Africans, Indians, etc., could bestow freedom upon them remained an open question. Economic motivations soon prompted colonial legislatures to petition the Bishop of London for his viewpoint, but that question went unanswered, possibly due to the uncertain nature of the bishop’s authority over the colonies.

Virginia enacted a law in September 1667, titled “ACT III. An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage.” In other words, this law overturned established Roman Catholic and Anglican doctrine that a Christian could not be enslaved, and that baptism entitled a slave to manumission.

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By 1706, similar laws were adopted by at least five other colonies: Maryland,⁴⁰ South Carolina,⁴¹ North Carolina, New York, and New Jersey.

Thus, by the early 1700s, the powerful economic interests of American slave-holders had largely prevailed upon the Church of England and the Anglican churches in British colonial North America to *change orthodox Christian teachings* about human brotherhood, slavery, and freedom, in order to accommodate the economic interests of wealthy merchants, planters, and slave-holders.

By the year 1727, the Bishop of London finally adopted this policy on denying manumissions for newly-baptized African slaves as the official policy for the Anglican Church in North America. “In 1727 the bishop of London wrote to the English colonies urging baptism of the slaves. In his letter, he separated the temporal and spiritual worlds:

Christianity, and the embracing of the Gospel, does not make the least Alteration in Civil Property...; but in all these Respects, it continues Persons just in the same State as it found them. The Freedom which Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan...; but as to their outward Condition whatever that was before, whether bond or free, their being baptized, and becoming Christians, makes no manner of Change... [indeed baptizing] lays [the enslaved] under stronger Obligations so to perform those Duties with the greatest Diligence and Fidelity.”⁴²

Even the famous case *Somerset v Stewart* (1772) 98 ER 499, which declared that *enslaved Africans who were brought to England must be set free*, still affirmed the rule that the baptism of African slaves throughout the British colonies, including both the West Indies and North America, did not bestow upon the baptized slave the legal right to the manumission from slavery.

Thus, for the remainder of the 1700s until slavery was finally abolished in the British colonies and the United States, in 1833 and 1865, respectively, the

⁴⁰ “An early law of Maryland, (Act of 1715 chapt. 44, sec. 23,) and a similar one in South Carolina, (in 1711,) permits the baptism of slaves, but carefully provides that ‘such baptism shall not be construed to effect the emancipation of any slave.’ This arose from a contrary apprehension growing out of ancient usages in England, and the opinion of some jurists that Christians could not be lawfully enslaved.” Rev. William Goodell.

⁴¹ Id.

⁴² Dwight N. Hopkins, *Black Theology- Essays on Global Perspectives* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017), p. ___.

Church of England and its Anglican affiliates throughout North America and the West Indies did not teach that practicing Christians who were English or American civil magistrates, or that practicing Christians who were English and American slave-holders, had a moral or ethical duty to liberate their slaves.

IV. Of the Resistance of Puritan Colonial New England to Anglicanism and the Church of England (1620 – 1776)

The Anglican Church was largely unwelcomed in “Puritan” colonial New England, which included the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island. The name “Puritan” was used to describe these colonies because they were settled by men and women who had been Dissenters, Separatists, and Non-Conformers within the Church of England. They had been persecuted by the High-Church Anglicans. They disagreed with many of the Catholic liturgical practices and theological doctrines that were still present within the Church of England. In colonial New England, they applied the political and theological views of theologian John Calvin to their local and regional governmental structures. They largely established “congregational” churches, which were local, autonomous, and independent churches that were governed by presbyters and elders—no bishops. During the period 1620 to 1700, the New Englanders endeavored to build a strict Bible-based society, where there was no separation of church and state, and the family unit remained the foundation of the social order.

During this period, the English Civil War (1642 to 1651) had been a military contest between these same Puritans and the High-Church Anglicans. The American Puritans supported Oliver Cromwell and Roundhead Army against King Charles I and the Cavalier Royalist Army. This meant that from the beginning, colonial Puritan New England served as a safe haven for men and women who wished to break away from the Church of England and from the High-Church Anglicans.

By the 1700s, colonial New England became the breeding ground for American revolutionary thinking as well. During the early 1700s, the Puritans of the earlier years were dying off, and they were more and more being replaced with Yankees, Whigs, and Patriots who sought every sort of political reason to undermine the Church of England, King George II and his grandson King George III. These were the leaders of the American Revolution.

This third generation of New Englanders were also more cosmopolitan and less religious than their grandparents. Many of them becoming Unitarians, instead of remaining as traditional Calvinists. All of them, however, continued to oppose the Church of England and the King of England. These New Englanders were wealthy and well educated, and they established several of North America's leading seminaries and colleges, including Harvard College, Yale College, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton).

This does not mean that there were no Anglicans in New England. There were: most Anglicans who lived in New England lived in Boston. But perhaps the most influential Patriotic area of colonial British North America, New England categorically rejected Anglicanism. Instead, from the period 1620 to 1776 when the American Revolution was started, colonial New England tended to promote Congregational Churches, Presbyterian Churches, and Baptist Churches. New Englanders were opposed to the idea of having Anglican bishops take up residence in their region, because Anglican bishops were senior officials of the British crown who did not allow for the freedom of religion or tolerance of other church denominations. To the New Englander, the Anglican worldview of church and state, where the Anglican church was the predominant official church of the realm, was inconsistent with their idea of American freedom. It is for this reason that the Church of England failed to establish any churches in colonial New England.

V. Of African Slavery and the Anglican Church in the Southern Colonies of British North America- 1603 to 1800

In the southern colonies of Virginia, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, the Anglican Church achieved its greatest successes. These colonies officially recognized the Anglican Church as the official-state church. But it is very unfortunate, however, that African slavery was early and largely instituted in those same colonies; and the Anglican Church was willing to permit its members to hold slaves while simultaneously remaining in good standing within the Anglican Church. It is thus safe to say that, in the southern part of the British North American colonies, the Anglican Church was a "pro-slavery church" and its clergymen tended to tolerate, if not altogether endorse, the institution of African slavery.

The Anglican Church in these southern colonies was not open to the common man—white or black. Instead, only the elite families held church membership. These families purchased pews inside of local Anglican churches;

and these pews could only be occupied by their family members or particular guests. These elite families were almost always the owners of large plantations and almost all of them owned slaves. They also dominated the local vestries in the parishes; and these vestries selected and supervised the local Anglican clergy. It is likely for this reason that local Anglican clergy did not, as a rule, speak out against the institution of slavery. The Anglican Church was, in the South, dominated by slave-holders. The Anglican Church in Virginia founded one great southern college during the 1700s: the College of William and Mary.

The final southern colony that established the Anglican Church was Maryland. Maryland had been originally founded as a Roman Catholic safe-haven, but later it was over-taken by the Anglicans who made the Anglican Church the official state religion of that colony. Like all of the other southern colonies, Maryland tolerated and promoted the institution of African slavery. Therefore, the Anglican Church in Maryland allowed its churchmen to own slaves without fear of becoming excommunicated from the church.

Delaware followed closely behind Maryland and it permitted slavery to flourish. However, Delaware was not officially an “Anglican” colony, as it had no established church. I mention Delaware only because it is the “sister” state of Maryland, and both states shared similar views and policies on race and slavery. Both Delaware and Maryland were heavily influenced by their northern neighbors, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, and both Delaware and Maryland had always had a strong anti-slavery population within their borders. For instance, following the American Revolution, Delaware’s governor, became an active Methodist and manumitted all of his slaves, allowing them to work on his plantations as free laborers. He also continued to promote anti-slavery legislation in Delaware. Nevertheless, Delaware continued to permit slavery and to promote white supremacy,⁴³ notwithstanding the fact that it was a border state with a large number of progressive, anti-slavery citizens. Hence, this duplicitous attitude toward slavery also characterized the citizens in Maryland as well.

⁴³ “Delaware prides itself on being “The First State” for ratifying the Constitution before any other, but it was among the last to ratify the 13th Amendment outlawing slavery, waiting **until February 1901**, more than 35 years after the end of the Civil War.” <https://why.org/articles/juneteenth-did-not-mean-freedom-for-delaware-slaves/>

VI. Of African Slavery and the Anglican Church in the Northern Colonies of British North America- 1603 to 1800

The other American colonies where the Anglican Church flourished was New York. New York established the Anglican Church as its official church, but New York also had large Dutch, Calvinist, and Quaker populations as well. Therefore, the New York colony remained religiously diverse, and the Anglican Church was never able to establish a dominant presence in that colony. The Anglicans in New York founded King's College, which became Columbia University in the city of New York.

In Pennsylvania, religious freedom flourished. Its founder was the Quaker William Penn. The city of Philadelphia became the centre of its government, and there the Anglican Church attained a large following. In Philadelphia, the Anglican Church in the United States would establish its centre of ecclesiastical government following the American Revolution in 1781. During the late 1770s, the Anglican bishop of Philadelphia was a man named Dr. William White. Following the conclusion of the American Revolution (1775 – 1781), Bishop White proposed that the American Anglicans organize a new Anglican church, which they would call “The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.” Between 1787 and 1790, the American Anglicans from all of the thirteen states sent delegates—both laymen and clergy—to Philadelphia for the purpose of drafting and ratifying a new charter for this Episcopal Church of the United States.

The Episcopal Church of the United States adopted a revised *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* and a revised *Book of Common Prayer*. It should be noted that, while the Church of England's *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* explicitly acknowledged that the civil magistrate is a vicegerent of God, the Episcopal Church's *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* never made the same acknowledgement, but simply states that church and state must remain as separate entities, and that the church must abide the laws of the state. In other words, in the United States, the Episcopal Church's *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* does not explicitly state that American civil magistrates are “God's ministers” or that they are vicegerents of God. (This subtle distinction may explain why in the United States, the Episcopal Church does not officially advise the civil magistrate and plays no official role in the Congress.)

Bishop William White and at least one other Anglican bishop were sent to London, England, where they were officially consecrated as Anglican bishops

within the communion of the Church of England. A third American bishop received consecration from the Scottish Anglican Church. This preserved the Apostolic line of succession for the American bishops, who were then authorized to consecrate other bishops. The city of Philadelphia thus became the official headquarters of the Episcopal Church of the United States.

Finally, the colony of New Jersey was lodged in between both Pennsylvania and New York. New Jersey did not establish any denomination but, like both Pennsylvania and New York, New Jersey remained open to all religions and established religious freedom. In New Jersey, the influential Presbyterian College of New Jersey was founded at Princeton. The Presbyterians who founded this college were progressive Calvinists who zealously opposed the church-state structure whereby the Anglican Church was predominant and curtailed other denominations. For this reason, the colony of New Jersey was similar to the New England colonies which had been founded to provide a safe-haven for dissenters within the Church of England.

VII. Of Religion and Denominational Diversity in British North America- 1603 to 1800

In the American colonies, there was from the beginning a proliferation of various church denominations that were staunchly opposed to the established Church of England. These denominations included the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Quakers, and other independent sects. In Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhodes Island, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the Anglican Church was not established as the official church in those colonies.

And in those colonies where the Anglican Church was officially-established, even in the colony of New York, the institution of African slavery flourished. Hence, in colonial British North America and, later, in the new United States of America, the Anglican church did not officially prohibit slave-holding or the systematic subordination of America's African population. It was perfectly canonical to hold African slaves and remain in good standing as members within the Anglican Church.

Table 4. “Established Churches in 13 Original American Colonies”⁴⁴

| Colony | Protestant Denomination | Established Church-Years of Operation | Duration of Support for Established Church |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| Virginia | Anglican/ Church of England | 1606 - 1830 | 244 years (Slavery permitted) |
| Massachusetts | Puritan/ Congregational Church | 1629 - 1833 | 204 years |
| New Hampshire | Puritan/ Congregational Church | 1639 - 1877 | 238 years |
| Rhode Island | Puritan/ Congregational Church/Baptist Church/Non-Denominational/ Protestant Christian Faith | 1643 - 1842 | 199 years |
| Connecticut | Puritan/ Congregational Church | 1639 - 1818 | 179 years |
| Delaware | Non-Denominational/ Protestant Christian Faith | 1637 - 1792 | 155 years |
| Maryland | Anglican/ Church of England | 1632 - 1833 | 204 years (Slavery permitted) |
| New York | Anglican/ Church of England | 1614 - 1846 | 225 years (Slavery permitted; ended in 1799 with “gradual” emancipation law) |
| Georgia | Anglican/ Church of England | 1663 - 1798 | 135 years (Slavery permitted after 1753) |
| North Carolina | Anglican/ Church of England | 1663 - 1875 | 212 years (Slavery permitted) |
| South Carolina | Anglican/ Church of England | 1663 - 1868 | 205 years (Slavery permitted) |

⁴⁴ “The Church of England was designated the established church in Virginia in 1609, in New York in 1693, in Maryland in 1702, in South Carolina in 1706, in North Carolina in 1730, and in Georgia in 1758.”
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Episcopal_Church_\(United_States\)#Governance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Episcopal_Church_(United_States)#Governance)

| | | | |
|--------------|--|-------------|-----------|
| Pennsylvania | Non-Denominational/ Protestant Christian Faith | 1681 - 1790 | 109 years |
| New Jersey | Non-Denominational/ Protestant Christian Faith | 1702 - 1844 | 142 years |

It is for this reason, that the Anglican Church did not recruit large numbers of African American members. The Anglican Church in the new United States was dominated by the slave-holding planter class.

VIII. Of Progressive Anglicans and the Rise of African American Methodism- 1700 to 1800

The Church of England during the 18th-century was perhaps the greatest church in the world, second only in numbers to the Roman Catholic Church. During the early 1700s, the House of Hanover and the Whig Party took complete control over the House of Bishops, and subordinated the Church of England to the British Empire, to commerce, and to the transatlantic slave trade. At the same time, the Church of England continued to produce superb Christians and outstanding theologians and laypersons who exemplified the best of the Christian faith. These men and women remained honest at heart and retained their integrity. As a rule, they did not compromise with or tolerate the wickedness of slave-holding or the African slave trade, and they promoted abolitionism.

Why are the lives of Anglicans such as Bilby Porteous, William White, and John Wesley important for the Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM)?

First, I believe that these Anglicans are testaments to the true Christian faith that is represented in true, authentic, and orthodox Anglicanism. This true Christian faith holds firmly to the belief that God “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth” (Acts 17:26). The lives of Porteous, White, and Wesley, for instance, illustrate what true Anglicanism is really all about— true Anglicanism is about the grace of God being universally accessible to all human beings regardless of race or color or nationality or sex. It is for this reason, that the true, authentic Anglican faith, which illuminated the lives of hundreds of thousands of Anglicans, opposed the transatlantic slave-trade,

African slavery in North America, colonialism on the African continent, and apartheid in South Africa.

As an established Anglican Church that is of African descent in North America, CONNAM should endeavor to carry the mantle of great anti-racists, anti-slavery Anglicans such as Porteous, White, and Wesley as it fulfills its great ministry in North America. And in fulfilling this role, CONNAM will not only be carrying out the Great Commission (Matt. 28: 19-20), but it will also be carrying out the African American church's great tradition of preaching the gospel to the poor; of healing the broken hearted; of leavening the oppressed; and of liberating the captives who live on American soil (Luke 4:18).

A. Bishop Beilby Porteous (1731 to 1809)

One of dozens of examples of progressive Anglicans is Bishop Beilby Porteous: “Beilby Porteus (or Porteous; 8 May 1731 – 13 May 1809), successively Bishop of Chester and of London, was a Church of England reformer and a leading abolitionist in England. He was the first Anglican in a position of authority to seriously challenge the Church's position on slavery.” Bishop Porteous was instrumental in insisting that all human beings were created by God as brothers and are equal before God. He opposed African slavery and became a powerful anti-slavery advocate amongst the influential British elites. You may click on the following link for his full biography: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beilby_Porteus

B. Bishop William White (1748 to 1836)

Another example is Bishop William White of Philadelphia: “William White (April 4, 1748 N.S. – July 17, 1836) was the first and fourth Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church of the United States (1789; 1795–1836), the first bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania (1787–1836), and the second United States Senate Chaplain (appointed December 9, 1790). He also served as the first and fourth President of the House of Deputies for the General Convention of the Episcopal Church (1785, 1789).” Bishop William White was an American Anglican who lived in Philadelphia. He became the first president of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and ordained the Rev. Absalom Jones⁴⁵ as the first African American priest in the new Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Rev. Absalom Jones founded the Historic African Church of St. Thomas in

⁴⁵ You may learn more about Rev. Absalom Jones by clicking the following link: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Absalom_Jones

Philadelphia.⁴⁶ Today, Anglicans of African descent in the United States, who are also called “Black Episcopalians,” and who have organized the “Union of Black Episcopalians,” represent the first Anglicans of African descent in North America. You may click on the following link for his full biography:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_White_\(bishop_of_Pennsylvania\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_White_(bishop_of_Pennsylvania))

C. Reverend John Wesley (1703 to 1791)

And the final example of great Anglicans of the 18th-century is the Rev. John Wesley: “John Wesley (1703 – 2 March 1791) was an English cleric, theologian, and evangelist, who was a leader of a revival movement within the Church of England known as Methodism. The societies he founded became the dominant form of the independent Methodist movement that continues to this day.” The Rev. John Wesley, who I will discuss in more detail below, was not only opposed to slavery but also laid the foundation for Methodist Episcopal Church, from which came three all-black church denominations in the United States: African Methodist Episcopal Church⁴⁷, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church,⁴⁸ and Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.⁴⁹ You may click on the following link for his full biography: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Wesley

D. Anglicanism and The Rise of Methodism in the United States

The Church of Nigeria North American Mission (CONNAM) should also be aware of the role that the Methodist movement has had on the growth of Anglicanism in North America. By the time of the American Revolution, the *pro-slavery* American Episcopalians faced stiff competition from the new and up-and-coming *anti-slavery*.⁵⁰ Thus, the *anti-slavery* American Methodist movement placed great strain and pressure upon the *pro-slavery* American Episcopalians, and rightfully so. See, e.g., Table 5.

⁴⁶ You may learn more about the Historic African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas by clicking on the following link: <http://www.aecst.org/>

⁴⁷ <https://www.ame-church.com/>

⁴⁸ <https://amez.org/>

⁴⁹ <https://thecmechurch.org/>

⁵⁰ The American Methodists in the South, however, did not long remain an “anti-slavery” church. See, e.g., Lawrence, Brian D., “The relationship between the Methodist church, slavery and politics, 1784-1844” (2018). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2570.

Table 5. American Methodism surpasses the Episcopalians, 1776 - 1850⁵¹

| Denomination | 1776 | 1850 |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Anglican-Episcopalians | 53,089 | 95,110 |
| Methodists | 6,971 | 1,632,613 |

For one thing, the Methodist movement was much more egalitarian and, at least on the surface, it seemed to better represent the gospel of Jesus Christ. The Methodists appealed to all classes of society. It was also brutally honest in condemning slavery and slave-holding, and it welcomed African slaves to its membership. For this reason, the true spirit of the Church of England's Society for the Propagations of the Gospel in foreign parts was unofficially transferred from the Anglicans to the new Methodist movement.

E. African American Methodism Develops in Response to Systematic Racism and Slavery, 1787 to 1820

The new Protestant Episcopal Church soon became beholden to the growing slave power.⁵² Before long, the richer predominantly-white American Methodist churches, especially in the South, also became beholden to that same slave power.⁵³ Therefore, when the Constitutional Convention was being convened in Philadelphia in 1787, African Americans were developing a sense of self-

⁵¹ Newman, William M. and Peter L. Halvorson, *Atlas of American Religion: The Denominational Era, 1776-1990* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2000), pp. 73, 77, 80, 83.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 96 ("As Episcopalians hemorrhaged membership, republicanism proved to be bureaucratic and inefficient in responding to an unfolding crisis. Lackluster church governance from 1785 to 1820, along with economic uncertainty propelled the Episcopal Church in Virginia and South Carolina into a nadir. Starting in the 1820s, an expanding planter class in the throes of a cotton revolution altered the South's religious destiny. Resurgent Episcopal planters, flush with slave-produced cotton fortunes, had new financial resources to support their church's expansion. For many Episcopalians in the South it became obvious in the forty years prior to the Civil War, that cotton had a sacred power in that it enabled the contemporary fulfillment of Haggai's prophecy by restoring the "glory" to God's holy temples.)

⁵³ Lawrence, Brian D., "The relationship between the Methodist church, slavery and politics, 1784-1844" (2018). *Theses and Dissertations*, pp. 1-2 ("John Wesley set the tone early for the Methodist's attitude towards slavery, but his enthusiasm for the emancipation of slaves would not be fully replicated in the **American Methodist church**.... Spiritual equality among people was a fundamental belief in the early Methodist church, whether male, female, black or white. Methodists embraced Galatians 3:28 which says, "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Slavery was antithetical to both the political ideals of the new nation and the "soul liberty" of the Methodist church. While **British Methodists** proclaimed that slavery represented a fundamental lack of freedom and equality, **American Methodists** faltered on this issue.... Though slavery was condemned by **early American Methodists**, it would eventually become engrained into the church even after outcry from northern Methodists who advocated abolitionism in the 1830s....)

preservation, self-determination, racial consciousness, and a definite program to combat race prejudice and slavery, both within and without the church.

Fundamentally, the aims and aspirations of African Americans were deeply-rooted in the Christian religion. Racism and slavery were wrong, because they violated the “law of Christ,” which, in the minds of African Americans, was a “higher law” of God and, for that matter, the fundamental law of the land.

Just as British Methodism began as a “religious society,” so too did African Methodism begin as a separate “religious society”—and both movements arose from the need to bring the Gospel to the most marginalized citizens.

Just as the British Methodist movement retained the same theology of the Church of England, African Methodism retained the same theology of British Methodism—the only difference between them were matters of theological emphasis and cultural expression. But deeply-rooted in African Methodism, although hidden, is the whole history of the Church of England, of the influences of Richard Hooker’s *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), of the 17th-century Puritans movements, and of British Methodism.

In addition to asserting African self-consciousness through salvation and the Gospel of Jesus Christ, African Methodism seeks African and African American liberation through reaffirmation of the Christian foundations of Anglo-American constitutional law. African Methodism is deeply political.

F. The Free African Society founded in 1787 in Philadelphia

Now the spirit of racism—not brotherly love—had fomented in Philadelphia in 1787. One morning, at St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, while kneeling to pray in a gallery, Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and other black worshipers were pulled from their knees and directed to go to a segregated section of that church. Instead, the black group of parishioners completed their prayers, got up off of their knees, and left the St. George’s Methodist Episcopal Church, never again to return. At the time of this incident, Richard Allen had received his license to preach from Bishop Francis Asbury at the Christmas Conference in 1784. He had preached in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. Because of his prior experiences with racism among the whites, he had started to think of creating a separate meeting place for African Americans to worship. But when he mentioned his interest in creating a separate meeting place to white Methodist leaders, they discarded the proposal. Richard Allen had also

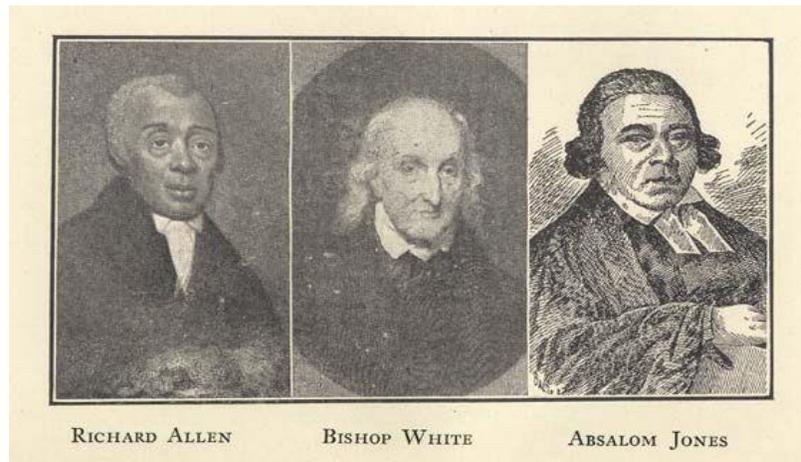
worked with Absalom Jones in launching a mutual aid society for benevolent purposes and “without regard to religious tenets.”⁵⁴ They named this mutual society the “Free African Society.”

The Free African Society assumed religious as well as secular functions, meeting initially in a rented storeroom. From 1788 to 1791 the society met at the Friends Free African School House, and there they began holding regular worship services in 1790. In the interim Allen and Jones began soliciting subscriptions to build a meeting house but with the intention of remaining under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. However, upon completing this ‘African Church,’ as Allen termed it, he was rebuffed first by the Methodist Church which refused to supply a minister, and then by the members of the society, the majority of whom voted to affiliate with the Church of England.... On July 17, 1794, the original building the Free African Society had erected was dedicated to St. Thomas’ African Episcopal Church and Absalom Jones, after being ordained the first black Protestant Episcopal priest, became the pastor.⁵⁵

It should be noted here that African Methodism (led by Rev. Richard Allen) had a close tie to the Anglican Church in Philadelphia, which was headed by Bishop William White, president of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. Bishop White had served as a mentor to both Rev. Absalom Jones (Episcopal/Anglican) and to Rev. Richard Allen (Methodist). Bishop White was also instrumental in helping Absalom Jones to become the first black Episcopal priest in the United States and in consecrating the predominantly-black church, St. Thomas Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

⁵⁴ Lincoln and Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience*, p. 51.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*



During the 1780s, when Richard Allen had converted to Methodism, the Methodist movement was still a part of Church of England—so technically Richard Allen was himself an Anglican who decided to remain within the Methodist Episcopal Church, due in large measure to his ministerial connections to Bishop Francis Asbury. “Richard Allen had first been asked to pastor St. Thomas’s, but insisting that he could ‘not be anything else but a Methodist’ he declined that honor. He was confident... that ‘no religious sect or denomination would suit the capacity of the colored people as well as the Methodist.’”⁵⁶

While Rev. Absalom Jones became the first black Anglican priest at the St. Thomas African Episcopal Church in 1787, Rev. Richard Allen “succeeded in having Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury dedicate the building he had purchased, and Bethel Church of Philadelphia, as it was named, became the mother church of what was to be a new denomination, the African Methodist Episcopal Church.”⁵⁷ As there were several societies of freed African Americans in the surrounding states of New Jersey, New York, Maryland, and Delaware, the A.M.E. denomination quickly spread into those regions, and Rev. Allen helped to organize those churches as well.⁵⁸

Closely affiliated with Richard Allen and the “Allenites” was a separate group of black Methodists from the state of New York. They, too, had encountered

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

similar discriminatory experiences in the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York. Like Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, they pulled out of the John Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City, in order to start their own, separate denomination in 1796. Their first church was built in 1800. For a while, the Black Methodists in New York was loosely-affiliated with Richard Allen's church, but the two groups of black Methodist could never reach common ground. By the year 1820, the black Methodists of New York officially voted to call themselves the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, in order to distinguish itself from the "Allenites."⁵⁹ In 1822, James Varick was elected its first bishop.⁶⁰ It became known as the "Freedom Church" because of its participation in the Underground Railroad, and because of its long list of abolitionist luminaries, such as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Rev. Jermain Louguen, Catherine Harris, Rev. Thomas James, and Frederick Douglass,⁶¹ "who was licensed as a local A.M.E. Zion preacher."⁶²

Thus, it can truly be said that both the A.M.E. Church and A.M.E. Zion Church best reflected the Wesleyan anti-slavery position than any other church within the Methodist family of denominational churches. For instance, "[t]he 'Mission and Purpose of the Church,' presented in the Discipline as a preface to the Wesleyan 'Articles of Religion,' declares that:

Each local church of the **African Methodist Episcopal Church** shall be engaged in carrying out the spirit of **the original Free African Society** out of which the A.M.E. Church evolved, that is, to seek out and save the lost and serve the needy through a continuing program of: (1) preaching the gospel, (2) feeding the hungry, (3) clothing the naked, (4) housing the homeless, (5) cheering the fallen, (6) providing jobs for the jobless, (7) administering to the needs of those in prisons, hospitals, nursing homes, asylums and mental institutions, senior

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Frederick Douglass had as a slave visited the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Baltimore. He had been long positively influenced by Methodist preachers and the Methodist Church. When he gained his freedom and lived in New Bedford, Massachusetts, he was determined to join a predominately-white Methodist Episcopal Church, and he joined the Elm Street Methodist Church. But when he observed blatant racial segregation and discrimination, even in the administration of the Sacraments, he refused to return. He then joined an AME Zion Methodist Church in New Bedford, which made him a class-leader and a local preacher. Douglass, however, was disappointed with the Zion Methodists' lack of willpower to fight against slavery and racism. For this reason, Douglass left the Zion Methodist Church and joined William Lloyd Garrison's Anti-Slavery Society. See, e.g., Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1995), pp. 359-363.

⁶² Ibid., p. 58.

citizens' homes, caring for the sick, the shut-in, the mentally and socially disturbed, and (8) encouraging thrift and economic advancement.⁶³

The African Methodist churches thus symbolized and carried out Methodism's original anti-slavery position,⁶⁴ as reflected in Wesley's *Thoughts Upon Slavery*,⁶⁵ which the predominantly-white, slave-holding Methodist Episcopal Church (South)⁶⁶ had, after 1844, officially rejected. Most significantly, the African Methodist churches fought to overturn the legal and constitutional foundations of American slavery that were established in the United States Constitution; and they stood in direct opposition to the settled pro-slavery views of Convention Delegate John Rutledge of South Carolina, and of many other pro-slavery delegates who attended the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

Bishop Asbury would also indirectly spread Methodism to West Africa when he ordained an African American named Rev. Daniel Coker (1780 -1846). Rev. Coker "was an African American of mixed race from Baltimore, Maryland; after he gained freedom from slavery, he became a Methodist minister. He wrote one of the few pamphlets published in the South that protested against slavery and supported abolition."⁶⁷ Rev. Coker was also an associate Bishop Richard Allen, because in 1816, Coker helped Allen and other black Methodists in founding the African Methodist Episcopal Church. "In 1820, Coker took his family and immigrated to the British colony of Sierra Leone, where he was the first Methodist missionary from a Western nation. There Coker founded the West Africa Methodist Church."⁶⁸

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁶⁴ The Methodist Church engaged in a valiant anti-slavery protest movement during the late 1780s. See, e.g., "The Long Road: Francis Asbury and George Washington," (October 1, 2015), <https://www.francisasburytriptych.com/francis-asbury-and-george-washington/>

For example, in 1785, Methodists superintendents Bishop Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke met personally with future President George Washington at his home at Mount Vernon. They both asked Gen. Washington to sign their abolition petition to be submitted to Virginia legislature. Gen. Washington stated that he shared their abolition sentiments but felt that it would not be appropriate for him to sign any petition, but that if the Virginia legislature brought the matter to the floor, then he would give his opinion on the subject.

⁶⁵ See Appendix A, "Notes on Rev. John Wesley's *Thoughts Upon Slavery* (1778)."

⁶⁶ See, "Methodist Episcopal Church- South" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodist_Episcopal_Church,_South

⁶⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Coker

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Lastly, there was a strong connection between the Anglican-Protestant Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church since the very founding of the United States. As previously stated, the Methodist movement was a “religious society” that grew out of the Church of England (or the Anglican Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States after 1787). The leading Anglican bishop in the United States was Bishop William White of Philadelphia. For a while, Methodist Bishop Thomas Coke had entertained the idea of rejoining or merging the Methodist Church with the Episcopal Church, but Bishop Asbury did not like that idea. Within the Free African Society, however, the Methodist-licensed preacher Absalom Jones decided to join the new Anglican Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1794, Rev. Jones and other black Episcopalians founded the Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. Bishop William White ordained Jones as a deacon in 1795 and as a priest or presbyter in 1802. As such, Rev. Absalom Jones became the first ordained African American Episcopal priest in the United States.

G. African Methodism, Slavery, and the U.S. Constitution

Throughout its history, African Methodism has remained a staunch supporter and defender of the United States Constitution. African Methodism has always sought to reaffirm the U.S. Constitution and its fundamental laws and values. Both the A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion Churches have continued to preach liberation and human rights through adherence to the general constitutional principles set forth in the American *Declaration of Independence* and in the “Preamble” to the *U.S. Constitution*.

Although most of the framers of these documents owned slaves, or were willing to accommodate slave-holders, African Methodism has insisted that the principles enunciated in America’s constitutional documents lead to universal freedom and justice for everyone. If we pry into the minds and thoughts of some of the early leading African Methodists, we find a theology and philosophy that is similar to Hooker’s *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), whereby the idea of natural religion, natural law, and natural justice were automatically read into man-made constitutional laws and statutes. Thus relying upon the “laws of nature” as well as the “law of Christ,”⁶⁹ African Methodism argued for the abolition of both slavery and racial discrimination. For instance, A.M.E. Bishop Alexander Payne (1811 – 1893) adopted the same natural-law conceptualization of Christian

⁶⁹ The fundamental “Law of Christ,” to wit, is to “love ye one another” (John 15:12); to do justice and judgement (Genesis 18:18-19; Proverbs 21: 1-3); to judge not according to appearance but to judge righteous judgments (John 7:24); and to do justice, judgment, and equity (Proverbs 1:2-3)

law and polity as set forth in Dr. Richard Hooker's *Of the Law of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594),⁷⁰ in that Bishop Payne believed that human laws were subordinate to God's natural moral laws. Since the institution of slavery violated God's natural moral laws, Payne argued that slavery must be abolished in principle and in practice. In a speech given in 1839, Payne said:

Slavery brutalizes man.... So it subverts the *moral government of God*. In view of the moral agency of man, God hath most wisely and graciously given him *a code of laws*, and *certain positive precepts*, to control and regulate moral actions. This *code of laws, and these positive precepts*, with the divine influence which they are naturally calculated to exert on the mind of man, constitutes his moral government.

Now, to nullify these laws—to weaken or destroy their legitimate influence on the human mind, or to hinder man from yielding universal and entire obedience to them is to subvert *the moral government of God*.

Now, *slavery nullifies these laws and precepts*—weakens and destroys their influence over the human mind, and hinders men from yielding universal and entire obedience to them; therefore slavery subverts the moral government of God....

In a word, *slavery tramples the laws of the living God under its unhallowed feet*—weakens and destroys the influence which those laws are calculated to exert over the mind of man, and constrains the oppressed to blaspheme the name of the Almighty.⁷¹

Was Bishop Payne's views merely "idealistic," given the socioeconomic and "racial" structural foundations of the United States?

From the very beginning of his early adulthood, the newly-freed Frederick Douglass, as a licensed A.M.E. Zion preacher living in New Bedford,

⁷⁰ See, e.g., "Frederick Douglass," *Standard Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, stating: "Douglass is an important American historical figure in the intellectual history of natural law."

⁷¹ <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1839-daniel-payne-slavery-brutalizes-man/> ("In June 1839, Rev. Daniel Payne delivered the oration at Fordsboro, New York, on the occasion of his ordination by the Franckean Synod of the Lutheran Church. The speech was delivered in support of a synodical report to end slavery in America. The speech helped persuade the synod leadership to support the report. Payne's speech appeared in the Lutheran Herald and Journal of the Fort Plain, N.Y., Franckean Synod 1:15 (August 1, 1839), 113-14. It is posted here with permission of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Abdel Ross Wentz Library, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.")

Massachusetts, certainly thought that *true Christian holiness* meant doing more in the field of abolitionism and petitioning for human rights. According to Douglass, from most accounts, the white American Methodists had by the early 1800s, within a generation of the Revolution of '76, completely forgotten about Wesley's, Asbury's, and Coke's anti-slavery position, and had begun to condone slavery.⁷² That is to say, many white Methodists, especially in the South, owned African American slaves and condoned slavery during the early 1800s.⁷³ But Douglass was spiritually perceptive enough to distinguish the "false Christianity" of the slaveholders from the true Christian faith—which he thought William Lloyd Garrison represented:

Seventeen years ago, few men possessed a more heavenly countenance than William Lloyd Garrison, and few men evinced a more genuine or a more exalted piety. The bible was his text book—held sacred, as the world of the Eternal Father—sinless perfection—complete submission to insults and injuries—literal obedience to the injunction, if smitten on one side to turn the other also. Not only was Sunday a Sabbath, but all days were Sabbaths, and to be kept holy. All sectarianism false and mischievous—the regenerated, throughout the world, members of one body, and the HEAD Christ Jesus. Prejudice against color was rebellion against God. Of all men beneath the sky, the slaves, because most neglected and despised, were nearest and

⁷² I note here especially that this mode of induction into the Christian faith, that is to say, to rely upon God's grace, has remained predominant in the African American faith tradition. For example, in his autobiography *Life and Times*, Frederick Douglass recalled his own conversion experience as follows: "Previously to my contemplation of the anti-slavery movement and its probable results, my mind had been seriously awakened to the subject of religion. I was not more than thirteen years old, when, in my loneliness and destitution, I longed for someone to whom I could go, as to a father and protector. The preaching of a **white Methodist minister, named Hanson**, was the means of causing me to feel that in God I had such a friend. He thought that all men, great and small, bond and free, were sinners in the sight of God: that they were by nature rebels against his government; and that they must repent of their sins, and be reconciled to God through Christ. I cannot say that I had a very distinct notion of what was required of me, but one thing I did know well: that I was wretched and had no means of making myself otherwise. I consulted a good colored man named Charles Lawson, and in tones of holy affection he told me to pray, and to 'cast all my care upon God.' This I sought to do; and though for weeks I was a poor, broken-hearted mourner, traveling through doubts and fears, I finally found my burden lightened, and my heart relieved. I loved all mankind, slaveholders not excepted, though I abhorred slavery more than ever. I saw the world in a new light, and my great concern was to have everybody converted. My desire to learn increased, and especially did I want a thorough acquaintance with the contents of the Bible. I have gathered scattered pages of the Bible from the filthy street-gutters, and washed and dried them, that in moments of leisure I might get a word or two of wisdom from them.... My mistress was still a professor of religion, and belonged to class. Her leader was no less a person than Rev. Beverly Waugh, the presiding elder, and afterwards one of the bishops of the **Methodist Episcopal church**.... I have written, or endeavored to write, copying from the Bible and the **Methodist hymn-book**...." *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1994), pp. 538-539, 542.

⁷³ Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1995), pp. 52-53, 299-300, 600.

dearest to his great heart. Those ministers who defended slavery from the bible, were of their ‘father the devil;’ and those churches which fellowship slaveholders as Christians, were synagogues of Satan, and our nation was a nation of liars.... ‘You are the man, the Moses, raised up by God, to deliver his modern Israel from bondage,’ was the spontaneous feeling of my heart....⁷⁴

And Douglass also had a similar understanding and admiration, at least in principle, of the Methodist theology and doctrine, having written:

I had read somewhere, in the Methodist Discipline, the following question and answer: ‘Question. What shall be done for the extirpation of slavery?’ ‘Answer. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church.’⁷⁵

The African Methodist Frederick Douglass would eventually conceptualize his own Christian calling “to preach the gospel”⁷⁶ as the very catalyst of his thoughts and strivings to become “a useful man in the world.”⁷⁷ Following the natural law traditions of the Western Church, as exemplified in Hooker’s *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), Frederick Douglass believed that Christianity was a republication of natural religion, and that the natural moral law of God⁷⁸ must be

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 36-363.

⁷⁵ Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America), p. 557.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 233.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ See, e.g., *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, “Frederick Douglass,” stating:

However, given the numerous religious references in his speeches and writings, and his drawing on the language of the King James Bible, and the rhetoric of manifest destiny, a primary source for his employment of the **idea of natural law** seems to be his adoption of the American Protestantism of the Second Great Awakening, with its democratic, republican, and generally independent spirit.

He believed that there were forces in operation, which must inevitably work the downfall of slavery:

“The arm of the Lord is not shortened,” and the doom of slavery is certain. I, therefore, leave off where I began, with hope. While drawing encouragement from the Declaration of Independence, the great principles it contains, and the genius of American Institutions, my spirit is also cheered by the obvious tendencies of the age. (1852b, FDLW v.2: 203)....

Douglass was not looking behind him; he was fully engaged at every moment since his emancipation working to bring an end to slavery. Moreover, his **view of natural law** led to his critique of American slavery, and undergirded his arguments for active resistance to slavery and his interpretation of the U.S. Constitution. It is also worth noting, that natural law theorists have not ceded the field; thus **Douglass is an important American historical figure in the intellectual history of natural law.**

read into the United States Constitution.⁷⁹ “I would invoke the spirit of patriotism,” said Douglass, “in the name of *the law of the living God, natural and revealed*, and in the full belief that ‘righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people.’”⁸⁰

Furthermore, Douglass and other abolitionists insisted, throughout the nineteenth century, that the United States Constitution was an “abolition” document—not a proslavery document. For example, Douglass argued that “the constitution of the United States not only contained **no guarantees in favor of slavery**, but, on the contrary, it is, in **its letter and spirit**, an **anti-slavery instrument, demanding the abolition of slavery** as a condition of its own existence, as **the supreme law of the land**.”⁸¹ Douglass and other abolitionists were inspired by the famous *Somerset* case (1772),⁸² and they believed that the laws of nature (i.e., natural religion) and the law of the Gospels (i.e. revealed religion)—as set forth in Rev. John Wesley’s *Thoughts Upon Slavery* (1778)—

See, also, Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies*, p. 429, stating:

“I would invoke the spirit of patriotism,” wrote Douglass, “in the name of **the law of the living God, natural and revealed**.... I warn the American people... I warn them that, strong, proud, and prosperous though we be, there is a power above us that can ‘bring down high looks...’ I would are the American people, and the American government, to be wise in their own day... that prouder and stronger governments than this have been shattered by the bolts of a just God....”

⁷⁹ See *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, “Frederick Douglass,” stating:

Although he initially acknowledges that the intentions of the framers was to allow slavery to continue in the states where it was established, he reported that he was convinced by Smith’s argument that the meaning of the document was not set by the intention of the framers but **by rules of legal interpretation** that focused on **natural law**. By the following year he even altered his position on the **framers’ intentions**: they meant **the U.S. Constitution to be an anti-slavery document**....

Douglass depended heavily on the *U.S. Declaration of Independence*, as well as the documented disagreements and *cross-purposes, of the founders*. He was guided by **his view of natural law**, and argued that **the general ideas of America’s founding documents**, as part of the **history of Western democracy and republicanism**, pointed toward an interpretation of the U.S. Constitution as an evolving document that could potentially be in tune with civilizational development.

⁸⁰ Douglass, *Autobiographies*, p. 429.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁸² For example, in England, the Case of *Somerset v. Stewart* (1772) 98 ER 499, (1772) 20 State Tr 1, (1772) Lofft 1 upheld the view that slavery was “odious” and could be justified by any “reasons, moral or political.” And in colonial British North America, successful court challenges to the institution of African slavery soon occurred in Vermont (1777), followed by Pennsylvania (1780), Massachusetts (1783) and Connecticut (1784).

joined forces to form the *fundamental law* of the United States Constitution and, as such, the institution of slavery was unconstitutional.

Prior to 1865, it had since become the settled opinion, among African Methodists, that the *United States Constitution* (1787) could be read and interpreted as being inherently an anti-slavery document, by virtue of its “**Preamble**,” which rendered the entire practice and institution of slavery “unconstitutional.” This view was expressed by Frederick Douglass, who was then an active member of the A.M.E. Church and a former local preacher in an A.M.E. Zion Church, where he writes:

My new circumstances compelled me to re-think the whole subject, and to study, with some care, not only the just and proper rules of legal interpretation, but the origin, design, nature, rights, powers, and duties of civil government, and also the relations which human beings sustain to it.

By such a course of thought and reading, I was conducted to the conclusion that the constitution of the United States—inaugurated ‘to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty’—could not well have been designed at the same time to maintain and perpetuate a system of rapine and murder like slavery; especially, as not one word can be found in the constitution to authorize such a belief.

Then, again, if the declared purposes of an instrument are to govern the meaning of all its parts and details, as they clearly should, the constitution of our country is our warrant for the abolition of slavery in every state in the American Union.⁸³

That “Preamble,” which Frederick Douglass references here, is in essence the “fundamental law” which serves as the foundation of the *United States Constitution*. As such, this “Preamble” to the United States Constitution is the “first principle” upon which American constitutional jurisprudence is based. When this “Preamble” is construed *constitutionally*, it reflects the “fundamental law” of the land; when construed *philosophically*, it represents natural justice; and when

⁸³ Frederick Douglass, *Autobiographies* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1995), pp. 392-393.

construed *theologically*, it represents the “law of Christ,”⁸⁴ or the “Golden Rule”⁸⁵ in all of its equitable manifestations.⁸⁶ This was, at least, the settled opinion of the Rev. Algernon Sidney Crapsey, an Anglican priest, who reached the same conclusion in his *Religion and Politics* (1905).⁸⁷ African Methodism has taken the same view as Rev. Crapsey’s, and, as previously mentioned in the “Introduction” to this paper, this view is substantially justified, notwithstanding the fact most of the framers of U.S. Constitution either owned slaves or compromised on the question of slavery or the slave trade.

Following the end of slavery in 1865, the A.M.E. Church, in furtherance of its conceptualization of itself as a haven of freedom and a sentinel for the weak and powerless, continued to bring God’s natural moral law of liberty to bear upon the American state and national governments. Whether unwittingly or not, the A.M.E. Church’s role carried out the essential function of the Church of England that was articulated in Hooker’s *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), which held that there is one natural moral law of God, which is the law of reason, and that both Church and State bore joint responsibility for implementing that same natural moral law.⁸⁸ Perhaps this is why A.M.E. Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1834 – 1915), who was the first African American elected to the Georgia state legislature, was so active in politics. In 1883, Bishop Turner spoke out vociferously against official racial discrimination, even criticizing, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court’s holding in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) which held that the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 was unconstitutional.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ The fundamental “Law of Christ,” to wit, is to “love ye one another” (John 15:12); to do justice and judgment (Genesis 18:18-19; Proverbs 21: 1-3); to judge not according to appearance but to judge righteous judgments (John 7:24); and to do justice, judgment, and equity (Proverbs 1:2-3).

⁸⁵ Matthew 7:12 (“Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.”)

⁸⁶ In other words, “Christianity is a republication of natural religion.” See, e.g., Matthew Tindall, *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730); William Warburton, *An Alliance of Church and State* (1736); Joseph Butler, *An Analogy of Religion*; and John Witherspoon, *Lectures on Moral Philosophy* (1770-90).

⁸⁷ Algernon Sidney Crapsey, *Religion and Politics* (New York, N.Y.: Thomas Whittaker, 1905), pp. 305-306.

⁸⁸ See this series, The Apostolate Papers, A History of the Anglican Church, Part XX, Paper No. 31 (“Apologetics of the Rev. Richard Hooker (1554- 1600)”).

⁸⁹ See, e.g., <https://docsouth.unc.edu/church/turnerbd/turner.html>, where A.M.E. Bishop Turner criticizes the United States Supreme Court’s holding in the *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883). Bishop Turner states:

The reason I have gone to the United States Supreme Court library at Washington, D. C., and procured a true and correct copy of the revolting decision, which declared the Civil Rights bill unconstitutional, and entails upon the colored people of the United States every species of indignities known to proscription, persecution and even death itself, and will culminate in their leaving the United States or occupying the status of free slaves, until extermination follows, is because the great mass of our people in this country, including black and white, appear to be so profoundly ignorant of the cruel, disgraceful and inhuman

Today, American Methodist churches almost uniformly acknowledge the Wesleyan heritage of social holiness and social justice, but given the fact that few of these churches still acknowledge that Rev. Wesley's theology was fundamentally an orthodox "Anglican" theology, they are also less likely to acknowledge that Methodism is the heritage of the Elizabethan-era political theory and theology of Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594), or of 17th-century Puritanism.

African Methodism, whose history tends to stop at the dates of their founding in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, has especially become oblivious to its deeper ecclesiastical roots within the Church of England. Indeed, as an heir of Puritanism, African Methodism as well as the larger Methodist movement were founded as an expression of "orthodox" Anglicanism—they are

condition of things affecting the colored race, and sustaining the brutal laws, which are degrading and goring their very lives out; I have met hundreds of persons, who, in their stupid ignorance, have attempted to justify the action of the Supreme Court in fettering the arms of justice and disgracing the nation by transforming it into a savage country. The world has never witnessed such barbarous laws entailed upon a free people as have grown out of the decision of the United States Supreme Court, issued October 15, 1883. For that decision alone authorized and now sustains all the unjust discriminations, proscriptions and robberies perpetrated by public carriers upon millions of the nation's most loyal defenders. It fathers all the "Jim-Crow cars" into which colored people are huddled and compelled to pay as much as the whites, who are given the finest accommodations. It has made the ballot of the black man a parody, his citizenship a nullity and his freedom a burlesque. It has ingendered the bitterest feeling between the whites and blacks, and resulted in the deaths of thousands, who would have been living and enjoying life today. And as long as the accompanying decision remains the verdict of the nation, it can never be accepted as a civil, much less a Christian, country.

The colored man or woman who can find contentment, menaced and shackled by such flagrant and stalking injustice as the Supreme Court has inflicted upon them, must be devoid of all manliness and those self-protecting instincts that prompt even animals to fight or run. If the negro as a race, intends to remain in this country, and does not combine, organize and put forth endeavors for a better condition of things here or leave it and search for a land more congenial, he is evidently of the lowest type of human existence, and slavery would be a more befitting sphere for the exercise of his dwarfed and servile powers than freedom. When colored people were forced into "Jim-Crow cars" and deprived of any right, which the whites enjoyed in the days of slavery, they were charged half fare. Now they have to pay for first-class fare, and in thousands of instances are compelled to accept half accommodations, but it is needless to enter into further detail, for the same principle or unprinciple runs throughout the entire series.

Therefore, I have compiled and published these documents upon the same for the information of my race everywhere, and their friends, that they may see their odious and direful surroundings, and ask themselves whether they can submit to them or not.

H. M. TURNER.

Atlanta, Ga., November 15, 1893.

not adherents of deism or of latitudinarian Anglicanism, which defined and shaped the 18th-century Protestant Episcopal Church.⁹⁰

It is my belief that the African Methodist churches within the United States are the natural allies of CONNAM, and that these churches ought to be “in full communion” with each other.

IX. Black Episcopalians in the United States, 1800 to Present

CONNAM has a real opportunity now to establish positive relationships with conservative Black Episcopalians who may wish to join CONNAM.

From the year 1800 to 1995, the Black Episcopalians produced leading Anglican theologians and clergymen. As previously mentioned, the first African parish within the Anglican Church in the United States was founded by the Rev. Absalom Jones in 1792 in Philadelphia.

Table 6. African American Episcopal Church Parishes in the United States

Historically Black Anglican Parishes Within the Protestant Episcopal (Anglican) Church *In Continuing Worship*

Alabama

| | | |
|---|------|-----------------------------------|
| Church of the Good Shepherd, Mobile ⁹¹ | 1854 | Diocese of the Central Gulf Coast |
| Church of the Good Shepherd, Montgomery ⁹² | 1900 | Diocese of Alabama |
| St. Mark's Church, Birmingham ⁹³ | 1891 | Diocese of Alabama |
| St. Andrew's, Tuskegee ⁹⁴ | 1950 | Diocese of Alabama |

⁹⁰ Here, I am speaking in terms of 18th-century ecclesiastical history. Twenty-first century churches may, or may not, reflect the same principles of their forefathers.

⁹¹ <https://diocal.org/sites/default/files/media/PDF%20Docs/GoodShepherdProfile.pdf>

⁹² <https://churchofthegoodshepherd.dioala.org/>

⁹³ <https://stmarks.dioala.org/>

⁹⁴ <https://standrewstuskegee.com/welcome>

| | | |
|--|-----------|-------------------------------|
| Arkansas | | |
| Christ Church, Forrest City ⁹⁵ | 1921 | Diocese of Arkansas |
| California | | |
| St. Augustine's Church, Oakland ⁹⁶ | 1911 | Diocese of California |
| St. Philip's, Los Angeles ⁹⁷ | 1945 | Diocese of Los Angeles |
| Colorado | | |
| Church of the Holy Redeemer, Denver ⁹⁸ | 1894 | Diocese of Colorado |
| Connecticut | | |
| St. Luke's Church, New Haven ⁹⁹ | 1844 | Diocese of Connecticut |
| St. Monica's Church, Hartford ¹⁰⁰ | * | Diocese of Connecticut |
| Delaware | | |
| Church of Saints Andrew and Matthew, Wilmington ¹⁰¹ | 1829/1846 | Diocese of Delaware |
| Florida | | |
| St. Agnes' Church, Miami ¹⁰² | 1896 | Diocese of Southeast Florida |
| St. Christopher's Church, Ft. Lauderdale ¹⁰³ | * | Diocese of Southeast Florida |
| St. Cyprian's Church, Pensacola ¹⁰⁴ | 1887 | Diocese of Central Gulf Coast |

⁹⁵ <http://christchurchforrestcity.org/>

⁹⁶ <http://www.staugepiscopal.org/>

⁹⁷ https://stphilips.ladiocese.org/digital_faith

⁹⁸ <https://www.holyredeemerdenver.org/>

⁹⁹ <https://www.stlukeschurchnewhaven.com/>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.stmonicashartford.org/>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.ssam.org/>

¹⁰² <https://www.stagneseepiscopalchurch.org/>

¹⁰³ <https://www.joinmychurch.com/churches/St-Christopher-s-Episcopal-Church-Fort-Lauderdale-Florida-United-States/61461>

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/stcypriansworship/>

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|---|------|------------------------------|
| St. John the Baptist Episcopal Church, Orlando ¹⁰⁵ | 1896 | Diocese of Central Florida |
| St. Michael and All Angels Church, Tallahassee ¹⁰⁶ | 1882 | Diocese of Florida |
| St. Peter's Church, Key West ¹⁰⁷ | 1866 | Diocese of Southeast Florida |
| St. Philip's Church, Jacksonville ¹⁰⁸ | 1872 | Diocese of Florida |
| Georgia | | |
| St. Athanasius' Church, Brunswick ¹⁰⁹ | * | Diocese of Georgia |
| St. Matthew's Church, Savannah ¹¹⁰ | * | Diocese of Georgia |
| St. Paul's Church, Atlanta ¹¹¹ | 1911 | Diocese of Atlanta |
| Illinois | | |
| St. Andrew's Church, Evanston ¹¹² | * | Diocese of Chicago |
| St. Edmund's Church, Chicago ¹¹³ | 1905 | Diocese of Chicago |
| St. Thomas Church, Chicago ¹¹⁴ | 1878 | Diocese of Chicago |
| Indiana | | |
| St. Augustine's Church, Gary ¹¹⁵ | 1927 | Diocese of Northern Indiana |
| St. Philip's Church, Indianapolis ¹¹⁶ | 1913 | Diocese of Indianapolis |
| Kentucky | | |

¹⁰⁵ <https://episcopalsaintjohn.com/>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.stmichaelandallangels.org/Home.aspx>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.stmichaelandallangels.org/Home.aspx>

¹⁰⁸ <https://stphilipsjax.org/>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.saintachurch.org/>

¹¹⁰ <https://www.stmattsav.org/contact>

¹¹¹ <https://stpaulsatl.org/>

¹¹² <https://standrews-pentecost-episcopal.org/history/>

¹¹³ <https://www.stedmundschicago.org/our-clergy.html>

¹¹⁴ <https://www.stthomaschicago.com/>

¹¹⁵ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Augustine%27s_Episcopal_Church_\(Gary,_Indiana\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Augustine%27s_Episcopal_Church_(Gary,_Indiana))

¹¹⁶ <https://www.stphilipsindy.org/>

| | | |
|--|------|--------------------------|
| Church of Our Merciful Savior, Louisville ¹¹⁷ | 1891 | Diocese of Kentucky |
| Louisiana | | |
| St. Luke's Church, New Orleans ¹¹⁸ | 1873 | Diocese of Louisiana |
| St. Michael's and All Angel's Church, Baton Rouge ¹¹⁹ | 1942 | Diocese of Louisiana |
| Maryland | | |
| St. James' Church, Baltimore ¹²⁰ | 1824 | Diocese of Maryland |
| Church of St. Katherine of Alexandria, Baltimore ¹²¹ | 1891 | Diocese of Maryland |
| St. Luke's Church, Baltimore ¹²² | 1879 | Diocese of Maryland |
| Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Baltimore ¹²³ | 1867 | Diocese of Maryland |
| St. Phillip's Church, Annapolis ¹²⁴ | 1871 | Diocese of Maryland |
| Massachusetts | | |
| Church of St. Augustine and St. Martin, Boston ¹²⁵ | 1885 | Diocese of Massachusetts |
| St. Bartholomew's Church, Cambridge ¹²⁶ | 1908 | Diocese of Massachusetts |
| St. Cyprian's Church, Roxbury ¹²⁷ | 1910 | Diocese of Massachusetts |
| St. John and St. James' Church, Roxbury ¹²⁸ | 1871 | Diocese of Massachusetts |
| Michigan | | |

¹¹⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Our_Merciful_Saviour_\(Louisville,_Kentucky\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_Our_Merciful_Saviour_(Louisville,_Kentucky))

¹¹⁸ <https://www.edola.org/church/st-lukes/>

¹¹⁹ <https://www.edola.org/church/st-michael-all-angels/>

¹²⁰ <https://stjamesonthesquare.org/>

¹²¹ <https://stkatherinebaltimore.org/>

¹²² [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Luke%27s_Church_\(Baltimore,_Maryland\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Luke%27s_Church_(Baltimore,_Maryland))

¹²³ <https://www.stmaryswalbrook.org/>

¹²⁴ <https://stphilipsannapolis.org/>

¹²⁵ <http://www.saintaugustinesaintmartin.org/>

¹²⁶ <https://stbartscambridge.org/>

¹²⁷ <http://stcyprians.org/community/>

¹²⁸ <https://stjohnstjameschurchroxbury.wordpress.com/>

| | | |
|---|-----------|-----------------------------|
| Church of the Messiah, Detroit ¹²⁹ | 1874 | Diocese of Michigan |
| St. Clement's Church, Inkster ¹³⁰ | 1936 | Diocese of Michigan |
| St. Cyprian's Church, Detroit ¹³¹ | 1919 | Diocese of Michigan |
| St. Matthew's and St. Joseph's Church, Detroit ¹³² | 1845 | Diocese of Michigan |
| St. Philip's Church, Grand Rapids ¹³³ | * | Diocese of Western Michigan |
| Minnesota | | |
| Holy Trinity Church, St. Paul ¹³⁴ | 1894/1903 | Diocese of Minnesota |
| Mississippi | | |
| St. Mark's, Jackson ¹³⁵ | [1883] | Diocese of Mississippi |
| St. Bernard's, Okolona ¹³⁶ | * | Diocese of Mississippi |
| Missouri | | |
| All Saints Church, St. Louis ¹³⁷ | 1874 | Diocese of Missouri |
| St. Augustine's Church, Kansas City ¹³⁸ | 1911 | Diocese of West Missouri |
| Nebraska | | |
| Church of the Resurrection, Omaha ¹³⁹ | 1882 | Diocese of Nebraska |
| New Jersey | | |

¹²⁹ <http://churchofthemessiahdetroit.org/>

¹³⁰

¹³¹ <https://www.facebook.com/StClementInkster/>

¹³² <https://www.facebook.com/SMSJDetroit/>

¹³³ <https://stphilipsgr.com/>

¹³⁴ <https://www.holytrinitygnv.org/>

¹³⁵ <https://stmarksjackson.dioms.org/>

¹³⁶ https://stbernards.dioms.org/digital_faith/dfcfiles?alphabetical=true

¹³⁷ <https://allsaintsascension.com/>

¹³⁸ <https://staugustineskc.diowestmo.org/>

¹³⁹ <https://coromaha.episcopal-ne.org/>

| | | |
|---|------|------------------------|
| Church of the Epiphany, Orange ¹⁴⁰ | 1905 | Diocese of Newark |
| Church of the Incarnation, Jersey City ¹⁴¹ | 1910 | Diocese of Newark |
| St. Augustine's Church, Atlantic City ¹⁴² | * | Diocese of New Jersey |
| St. Augustine's Church, Camden ¹⁴³ | 1886 | Diocese of New Jersey |
| Trinity Church, Montclair | 1918 | Diocese of Newark |
| New York | | |
| All Souls' Church, Harlem ¹⁴⁴ | * | Diocese of New York |
| Church of the Crucifixion, New York ¹⁴⁵ | 1918 | Diocese of New York |
| St. Ambrose's Church, Harlem ¹⁴⁶ | 1928 | Diocese of New York |
| St. Augustine's Church, Brooklyn ¹⁴⁷ | 1875 | Diocese of Long Island |
| St. Barnabas' Church, Brooklyn ¹⁴⁸ | 1852 | Diocese of Long Island |
| St. David's Church, Bronx ¹⁴⁹ | 1895 | Diocese of New York |
| St. Luke's Church, Bronx ¹⁵⁰ | 1921 | Diocese of New York |
| Church of St. Mark, Brooklyn ¹⁵¹ | * | Diocese of Long Island |
| St. Philip's Church, Brooklyn ¹⁵² | 1899 | Diocese of Long Island |
| St. Philip's Church, Harlem ¹⁵³ | 1809 | Diocese of New York |

¹⁴⁰ <https://eaccorange.org/history/>

¹⁴¹ <https://dioceseofnewark.org/churches/incarnation-jerseycity>

¹⁴² <https://www.facebook.com/staugustinesac/>

¹⁴³ <https://catholicgators.org/>

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.nycago.org/Organs/NYC/html/AllSoulsEpis.html>

¹⁴⁵ <https://churchofthecrucifixionnyc.org/>

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.nycago.org/Organs/NYC/html/StAmbroseEpis.html>

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/staebck/>

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/>

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.stdavidsbronx.org/>

¹⁵⁰ <https://stlukesbronx.org/>

¹⁵¹ <https://stmarkschurchbrooklyn.org/>

¹⁵² <https://www.stphilipsbklyn.org/>

¹⁵³ <https://www.stphilipsharlem.org/>

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|---|------|-----------------------------------|
| St. Stephen's Church, Jamaica ¹⁵⁴ | 1903 | Diocese of Long Island |
| St. Philip's Church, Buffalo ¹⁵⁵ | 1861 | Diocese of Western New York |
| North Carolina | | |
| St. Ambrose Church, Raleigh ¹⁵⁶ | 1868 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| St. Cyprian's Church, New Bern ¹⁵⁷ | * | Diocese of East Carolina |
| St. Cyprian's Church, Oxford ¹⁵⁸ | 1906 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| St. Luke's Church, Tarboro ¹⁵⁹ | 1872 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| St. Mark's Church, Wilmington ¹⁶⁰ | 1875 | Diocese of East Carolina |
| St. Matthias' Church, Asheville ¹⁶¹ | 1896 | Diocese of Western North Carolina |
| St. Matthias' Church, Louisburg ¹⁶² | 1895 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| St. Michael and All Angels Church, Charlotte ¹⁶³ | 1882 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| St. Titus's Church, Durham ¹⁶⁴ | 1887 | Diocese of North Carolina |
| Ohio | | |
| St. Andrew's Church, Cleveland ¹⁶⁵ | * | Diocese of Ohio |
| St. Augustine's Church, Youngstown ¹⁶⁶ | * | Diocese of Ohio |
| St. Andrew's Church, Cincinnati ¹⁶⁷ | 1895 | Diocese of Southern Ohio |

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.ststephensepiscopal.org/>

¹⁵⁵ <https://specbuffalo.org/>

¹⁵⁶ <https://stambroseraleigh.org/live-streaming/>

¹⁵⁷ <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/find-a-church/>

¹⁵⁸ <https://stcypriansoxford.org/>

¹⁵⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/stlukestarboro/>

¹⁶⁰ <http://stmarksepiscopalwilmington.org/>

¹⁶¹ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Matthias_Episcopal_Church_\(Asheville,_North_Carolina\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Matthias_Episcopal_Church_(Asheville,_North_Carolina))

¹⁶² <https://www.faithstreet.com/church/st-matthias-church-louisburg-nc>

¹⁶³ <http://www.smaaec.org/>

¹⁶⁴ <https://sttitusdurham.org/>

¹⁶⁵ <https://www.historicstandrews.org/>

¹⁶⁶ <https://www.faithstreet.com/church/st-augustines-church-youngstown-oh>

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.standrewscincinnati.org/>

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|---|------------|---------------------------------|
| St. Philip's Church, Columbus ¹⁶⁸ | 1891 | Diocese of Southern Ohio |
| Oklahoma | | |
| Church of the Redeemer, Oklahoma City ¹⁶⁹ | * | Diocese of Oklahoma |
| Oregon | | |
| St. Philip the Deacon Church, Portland ¹⁷⁰ | 1979, Inc. | Diocese of Oregon |
| Pennsylvania | | |
| African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia ¹⁷¹ | 1794 | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| Church of the Crucifixion, Philadelphia ¹⁷² | 1847 | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| Holy Cross Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh ¹⁷³ | 1917 | Diocese of Pittsburgh |
| St. Augustine's Church of the Covenant, Philadelphia ¹⁷⁴ | 1902 | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| Church of St. George St. Barnabas', Philadelphia ¹⁷⁵ | * | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia ¹⁷⁶ | 1888 | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| Church of St. Simon the Cyrenian ¹⁷⁷ | 1894 | Diocese of Pennsylvania |
| South Carolina | | |
| Calvary Church, Charleston ¹⁷⁸ | 1847 | Diocese of South Carolina |
| Church of the Epiphany, Spartanburg ¹⁷⁹ | * | Diocese of Upper South Carolina |

¹⁶⁸ <https://stphilipscolombus.org/>

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.redeemer-okc.org/>

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.stphilipthedeacon.org/>

¹⁷¹ <http://www.aecst.org/>

¹⁷² <https://www.episcopalassetmap.org/dioceses/diocese-pennsylvania/list/church-crucifixion>

¹⁷³ <https://www.episcopalpgh.org/holy-cross-restoration-on-target-for-christmas-celebration/>

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.st-augustinechurch.com/>

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.stgeorgestbarnabas.org/about-us-2/>

¹⁷⁶ <https://www.oldstmary.com/>

¹⁷⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/tecstsimontheycyrenian/>

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.calvarych.org/>

¹⁷⁹ <https://www.edusc.org/blog/church-of-the-epiphany-enriches-spartanburg-community-through-outreach/>

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|---|------|---------------------------------|
| Church of the Redeemer, Pineville ¹⁸⁰ | * | Diocese of South Carolina |
| St. Luke's Church, Columbia ¹⁸¹ | 1874 | Diocese of Upper South Carolina |
| St. Philip's Church, Greenville ¹⁸² | 1914 | Diocese of Upper South Carolina |
| St. Mark's Church, Charleston ¹⁸³ | 1865 | Diocese of South Carolina |
| Tennessee | | |
| Emmanuel Church, Memphis ¹⁸⁴ | 1883 | Diocese of West Tennessee |
| Holy Trinity Church, Nashville ¹⁸⁵ | 1852 | Diocese of Tennessee |
| St. Luke's Church, Knoxville ¹⁸⁶ | 1937 | Diocese of Tennessee |
| Texas | | |
| St. Augustine's of Hippo Church, Galveston ¹⁸⁷ | 1884 | Diocese of Texas |
| St. Philip's Church, San Antonio ¹⁸⁸ | 1895 | Diocese of West Texas |
| St. James' Church, Austin ¹⁸⁹ | 1941 | Diocese of Texas |
| Church of St. Luke the Evangelist, Houston ¹⁹⁰ | 1920 | Diocese of Texas |
| Virginia | | |
| Grace Church, Norfolk ¹⁹¹ | 1883 | Diocese of Southern Virginia |
| Meade Memorial Church, Alexandria ¹⁹² | 1869 | Diocese of Virginia |

¹⁸⁰ <https://adosc.org/find-churches/listing/pineville-church-of-the-redeemer>

¹⁸¹ <https://www.stlukescolasc.org/>

¹⁸² <https://saintphilip.com/>

¹⁸³ <https://www.saintmarkschurch.com/>

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/find-a-church/west-tennessee/>

¹⁸⁵ <https://www.holytrinitynashville.org/>

¹⁸⁶ <https://www.stlukesknox.org/>

¹⁸⁷ <http://staugustinegalveston.org/>

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.stphilips-sat.org/>

¹⁸⁹ <https://stjamesaustin.org/>

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.stlukehouston.org/>

¹⁹¹ <http://www.gracechurchnorfolk.org/>

¹⁹² <http://www.meadechurch.org/default.asp>

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| St. Peter's Church, Richmond ¹⁹³ | * | Diocese of Virginia |
| St. Philip's Church, Richmond ¹⁹⁴ | 1861 | Diocese of Virginia |
| St. Stephen's Church, Petersburg ¹⁹⁵ | 1867 | Diocese of Southern Virginia |
| Trinity Church, Arlington ¹⁹⁶ | 1870 | Diocese of Virginia |
| Washington, D.C. | | |
| Calvary Church, Washington, D.C. ¹⁹⁷ | 1902 | Diocese of Washington |
| Church of the Atonement, Washington, D.C. ¹⁹⁸ | 1914 | Diocese of Washington |
| St. Luke's, Washington, D.C. ¹⁹⁹ | 1873 | Diocese of Washington |
| St. Mary's, Washington, D.C. ²⁰⁰ | 1865 | Diocese of Washington |
| St. Monica's, Washington, D.C. ²⁰¹ | 1899 | Diocese of Washington |
| Church of St. Philip the Evangelist, Washington, D.C. ²⁰² | 1887 | Diocese of Washington |

I am sad, however, to report to CONNAM that The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States is theologically much more liberal than that of the Church of Nigeria or of GAFCON; and that Black Episcopalians in North America, as a whole, have seemingly adopted the more liberal theological position of The Protestant Episcopal Church.

Therefore, it is not likely that CONNAM and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States will be able to walk together on one accord on many issues. Since 1995, with few exceptions, Black Episcopalians in the United States

¹⁹³ <https://www.stpeterschurchhill.org/>

¹⁹⁴ <https://stphilipsrva.org/>

¹⁹⁵ <https://ststephenspbgva.org/>

¹⁹⁶ <https://www.trinitychurcharlington.org/>

¹⁹⁷ <https://calvarydc.net/>

¹⁹⁸ <https://atonementepiscopaldc.org/>

¹⁹⁹ <https://stlukesdc.org/>

²⁰⁰ <https://www.stmarysfoggybottom.org/>

²⁰¹ <https://www.stmonica-stjames.org/>

²⁰² <https://www.episcopalassetmap.org/dioceses/diocese-washington/list/st-philip-evangelist-episcopal-church-0>

have seemingly become decidedly pro-same-sex marriage and pro-ordination of openly-gay priests. The current presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church is The Right Reverend Michael Curry, who is an African American bishop and who endorses same-sex marriage and the ordination of openly-gay priests.²⁰³

On the other hand, I do not believe that every African American who is a member of The Protestant Episcopal Church adopts the official liberal views of The Protestant Episcopal Church. For this reason, CONNAM may serve as the “light house” for those weary African American Episcopalians who are looking for an orthodox Anglican church that is predominantly African or African American, and yet still within the Worldwide Anglican Communion.

I see no reason why CONNAM, which is an African church denomination that is fully a part of the Worldwide Anglican Communion, could not serve as a *diocese of refuge* for these conservative African American Episcopalians and conservative African American Episcopal parishes.

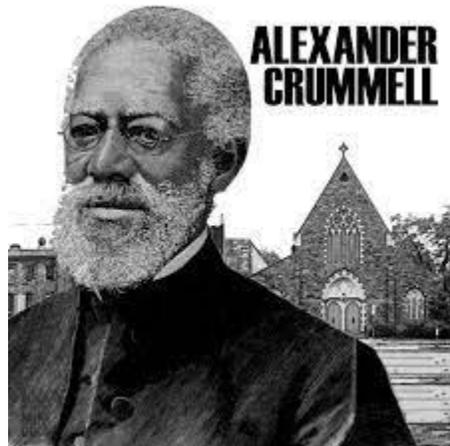
CONNAM could serve as:

- A transitional diocese for historically-black Episcopal Parishes no longer wishing to stay within the Protestant Episcopal Church
- A transitional diocese for individual black Episcopalians no longer wishing to stay within a liberal diocese that promotes same-sex marriage or the ordinations of openly-gay priests, etc.
- A transitional diocese for individual black Episcopalians who are looking for a more conservative, catholic diocese that does not ordain women to the priesthood.

For these reasons, I would recommend that CONNAM explore opportunities to establish a liaison with some of the historically-black episcopal parishes in the United States. There is a need for the coordination of conservative African American Anglicans who no longer wish to remain within The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. To achieve this, CONNAM should develop a strategy that is deeply-rooted in “Pan-Africanism” and the plight of the African and African-American family structure, which has been under an assault since the time of slavery.

²⁰³ To learn more about Bishop Curry, see: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Curry_\(bishop\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Curry_(bishop)).

Through emphasizing “Pan-Africanism,” CONNAM should embrace the best traditions of Pan-Africanism as advocated by leading Anglican clergymen and theologians, such as the Reverend Alexander Crummell (1819 to 1898).



Alexander Crummell was born free in New York City on March 3, 1819. His mother, Charity Hicks of Long Island, New York, was also born free, while his father, Boston Crummell of the Temne people of West Africa, though originally sold into slavery, eventually became free in adulthood.

Coinciding with his marriage in 1841 to Sarah Mabitt Elston, Crummell's career as a public thinker began in earnest. His prominence as a young intellectual earned him a spot as keynote speaker at the anti-slavery New York State Convention of Negroes when it met in Albany in 1840.

Despite race-based resistance, he successfully trained for the priesthood, becoming an Episcopal priest (Anglican) later that same decade. He studied moral philosophy at Cambridge University under William Whewell, whose view of moral reasoning as an intuition of necessary moral truths clearly influenced Crummell's own thought.

After taking his bachelor's degree at Queen's College at Cambridge he resumed his avid participation in the anti-slavery movement. He subsequently went to Liberia taking a position as a professor of English and moral philosophy at Liberia College. His time there was difficult, owing to personal challenges and political opposition, leading him to return to the States after the Civil War. His first book was published in New York, entitled *The Future of Africa* (1862); in it he solidified much of his early thinking on morality and language. Two subsequent books, *The Greatness of Christ* (1882) and *Africa and America* (1891), reflected his more mature thought on agency and moral change.

Late in his life he held a lectureship at Howard University, though his most enduring contribution to black American letters was his co-founding of the American Negro Academy in Washington, DC, in 1897. He helped assemble a number of leading black intellectuals—including Du Bois and, much later, Locke—to publish research on problems facing blacks. During its three decades of existence twenty-two papers appeared. Its disbanding in the 1920s

coincided with the Negro Renaissance in Harlem, the rise of Marcus Garvey, and the turn to pragmatism and relativism in American thought.

Rev. Crummell died in Red Bank, New Jersey, on September 10, 1898.

At the same time, I would commend CONNAM to strongly consider establishing certain ecumenical missional links with the various “Methodist” branches of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, particularly:

- The **African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.)**,²⁰⁴ the **African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ)**,²⁰⁵ and the **Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME)**.²⁰⁶ These churches are theologically conservative.²⁰⁷ They have been on the front lines of the struggle for civil rights since founding of the United States (i.e., the AME and AMEZ churches or the end of the U.S. Civil War (i.e., the CME church))
- The **Global Methodist Church (GMC)**, which currently a “church in formation.”²⁰⁸ This is an orthodox, conservative Methodist Church that is currently splitting apart from its mother church: the United Methodist Church. The GMC’s president is currently an ordained minister and lawyer Keith Boyette of the Wesleyan Covenant Association.²⁰⁹

Although these several Methodist Church denominations currently ordain women, they have maintained a staunch opposition to same-sex marriage and to the ordination of openly-gay persons to ministry. In addition to these “Methodist” churches, CONNAM should strongly consider forming closer ties working with the several African American Church denominations which follow the Pentecostal-Apostolic Church structure:

- These Churches are “Orthodox”

²⁰⁴ The AME Church was founded in 1816 in Philadelphia. It traces its roots to the founding of the Free African Society in 1787.

²⁰⁵ The AMEZ church was founded in 1821 in New York City.

²⁰⁶ The CME Church was found in 1870 in Jackson, Tennessee.

²⁰⁷ See, e.g., AME Church’s opposition to same-sex marriage: <https://www.hrc.org/resources/stances-of-faiths-on-lgbt-issues-african-methodist-episcopal-church>

²⁰⁸ The GMC is currently in formation and will like be formally established in the year 2022 or 2023.

²⁰⁹ See, e.g., <https://wesleyancovenant.org/2019/09/23/the-rev-keith-boyette-to-reveal-wcas-plans-for-a-new-methodism-at-2019-global-gathering/>

- These Churches do not ordain women Elders or Bishops
- These Churches do not recognize same-sex marriage

The major African American Pentecostal Church in the United States is the **Church of God in Christ (COGIC)**.

CONCLUSION

Although the Anglican Church is the first and oldest church denomination on the North American continent, it is one of the smallest church denominations, with only about 1.8 million Episcopalians, 120,000 members of ACNA, and less than 70,000 Black Episcopalians. The Episcopal Church has adopted a policy of ordaining openly-gay clergymen and blessing same-sex marriages. It shows no signs of every reversing this policy. Although ACNA has stood strong in its conservative theological views, it still faces internal problems, such as the lack of diversity and a lack of growth. On the other hand, the African American community in the United States is no less conservative than their brothers and sisters on the African continent. There are conservative black Episcopalians who would be eager to join a growing, thriving Afro-Anglican diocese within the United States. Thus, CONNAM has a superb opportunity for missionary outreach, ecumenical cooperation, and grown within the African American community.

THE END