

A Bibliography on the Biblical book of Exodus, and on African Americans in the Branches of American Methodism

Compiled by Ernest Rubinstein, librarian of The Interchurch Center. Thanks are due the librarians of Union Theological Seminary for granting access to the stacks of Burke Library.

- I. Exodus Commentaries
- II. Historical Overviews of African Americans in Methodism
- III. African Americans in the Predecessor Bodies to the United Methodist Church
- IV. African Americans in the United Methodist Church
- V. The Black Church
- VI. The Black Methodist Churches

I: Exodus Commentaries

Issues addressed in Exodus commentaries include: the historicity of the account of the Exodus from Egypt, its ongoing symbolic significance, especially for the New Testament, and its relation to experiences of oppression and liberation today. Listed here is a sampling of commentaries, most of which are available for purchase. Some commentaries follow specific Bible translations. Many are published as part of commentary series issued by denominational Christian presses; some are written from Jewish perspectives; others are technical, scholarly, or written without explicit faith presuppositions of any kind. The annotations will hopefully guide readers to the commentaries best suited to their need.

Ashby, Godfrey. *Go Out and Meet God: A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*. (International Theological Commentary). Eerdmans, 1998. 146 p. \$12.50

Desmond Tutu writes the foreword to this commentary, written by a retired bishop in the Anglican Church of South Africa. Intended for clergy and Christian educators, this book is part of a series that explores the importance of the Old Testament to Christian proclamation. Ashby's experiences in South Africa, and the anti-apartheid movement there, inform the commentary and show how applicable Exodus is to liberation movements within current societies. The commentary is arranged according to themes, such as Oppression, Liberation, and Alternative Society.

Binz, Stephen. *The God of Freedom and Life: A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*. Liturgical Press, 1993. 148 p. \$5.95.

Liturgical Press is a Catholic publishing ministry of the Benedictine abbey of St. John the Baptist, in Minnesota. From the publisher: "No book is more important for a foundational understanding of salvation than the Book of Exodus....Since Exodus is the paradigm for understanding God's work throughout the Scriptures, this work is ideal for adult education courses, college courses, and individuals who want to understand the Scriptures....Stephen Binz is priest of the diocese of Little Rock....[He] received a licentiate in Sacred Scripture at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Jerusalem".

Brueggemann, Walter. "The Book of Exodus" in *The New Interpreter's Bible, volume 1*. Abingdon, 1994. pp. 675-981. \$70.00.

Brueggemann, a much published Bible interpreter, teaches Old Testament at Columbia Theological Seminary, in Decatur, Georgia. Like all commentaries in the *New Interpreter's Bible*, this one reproduces verses from the NIV and NRSV in parallel columns, and brings the latest interpretive methods to bear on the text. Brueggemann discerns four key themes in Exodus: liberation, law, covenant, and presence of God. He argues that the liberation theme in Exodus "has long been a voice for alternative possibilities in the world" (p. 683), but that it exists in tension with a countervailing theme of conservatism in the priestly portions of the book.

Cassuto, Umberto. *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*. Magnes Press, 1983. 509 p. \$30.00

Cassuto (1883-1951) was professor of Bible at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. His commentary on Exodus appeared first in Hebrew, in 1951, and was later translated into English. For Cassuto, Exodus is a "sublime religious document" (p. 3). His commentary illustrates a traditional Jewish method of interpretation that focuses on the straightforward meaning of the text (rather than homiletic elaboration), word meanings, and historical context. Verses are not cited in block form, but are integrated with the running commentary, yielding a smooth sequence of paragraphs. The first part of Exodus is interpreted under the broad theme of "Bondage and Liberation."

Childs, Brevard S. *Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*. (The Old Testament Library). Westminster, 1974. 659 p. \$39.95

Childs, who is professor emeritus at Yale University, taught Old Testament there for many years. His ambitious commentary on Exodus offers a new translation of the text and a multi-layered commentary on verse groupings. He draws special attention to: the larger Old Testament context of the verses, their relation to the New Testament, the history of their interpretation by Jewish and Christian commentators, and their significance for Christian theology.

Clements, Ronald. *Exodus*. (Cambridge Bible Commentary). Cambridge University Press, 1972. 248 p. Out of print.

The Cambridge Bible Commentary is designed for use with the New English Bible, a recent (1970) British translation that, in breaking with the older King James tradition, hopes to engage modern readers. The biblical text is given in short groupings, followed by summary interpretation and comment on selected verses. The publisher intends the commentary for the general reader; "teachers and young people have been especially kept in mind." At the time of writing, the author, Ronald Clements, was university lecturer in divinity at the University of Cambridge.

Coggins, Richard. *Book of Exodus* (Epworth Commentaries). Epworth Press, 2000. 130 p. \$20.00

Epworth Press is an affiliate of the Methodist Publishing House, in England. Commentaries in the Epworth series are based on the Revised English Bible (1989), a modern English translation that breaks from the King James tradition. The publisher aims for these commentaries to be appropriate in “ecumenical, multicultural, and multifaith settings.” With sensitivity to that goal, Coggins incorporates feminist and liberationist readings of the text with more traditional commentary, while cautioning that sections of the book (the sufferings of the Egyptians, the absence of women in the second half of the book) count against those readings. Richard Coggins taught Hebrew Bible at King’s College, London, and is now retired.

Cole, R. Alan. *Exodus: An Introduction and Commentary*. (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries). Intersity Press, 1973. 239 p. \$14.00

Commentaries in the Tyndale series do not reproduce the biblical text, but cite verses by logical grouping and comment selectively on individual words and phrases. Though they do not presuppose knowledge of Hebrew, and are less technical than the Anchor commentaries, they nonetheless assume interest in the nuances of the biblical language. The introduction reviews scholarly traditions of interpreting Exodus and expounds on its theology. Intersity Press is the book publishing division of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship. At the time of writing, R. Alan Cole taught at Macquarie University in Australia.

Craghan, John F. *Exodus*. (Collegeville Bible Commentary). Liturgical Press, 1985. 110 p.

From Catholic publisher Liturgical Press, this commentary series follows the New American Bible translation. Exodus is divided into six parts: Exodus from Egypt, Israel in the Desert, Making the Covenant, Instructions for the Sanctuary, Apostasy and Renewal, and Building the Sanctuary. Commentary appears under the quoted verses. Review aids and discussion questions are included to facilitate group study. John Craghan is professor of Old Testament at Mount St. Alphonsus Seminary, Esopus, NY.

Dunnam, Maxie. *Exodus*. (The Communicator’s Commentary). Nelson, 1987. 395 p. \$24.99

Noting that “Moses is to Exodus what Jesus is to the Gospels” (p. 17), the author states his aim to interpret Exodus through the lens of the New Testament. The commentary is sermonic and strives to engage the reader at the level of personal, Christian faith. The Bible translation used is the New King James Version. Currently president of Asbury Theological Seminary, Dunnam was at the time of writing pastor of Christ United Methodist Church in Memphis, Tennessee.

Dupertuis, Atilio. *Liberation Theology and the Exodus: A Study in its Soteriology*. (Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series). Andrews University Press, 1987. 376 p. Out of print

[Unreviewed.]

Durham, John. *Exodus* (Word Bible Commentary). Word Books, 1987. 516 p. \$34.99

Durham is professor of Hebrew and Old Testament at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. The Word Bible Commentary is a distinguished series under evangelical Christian sponsorship. The commentary includes a new translation of the biblical Hebrew as well as several levels of clearly differentiated interpretation: textual criticism (analysis of words and manuscript traditions), historical-critical commentary (placement of verses in their ancient context), and theological reflection.

Dykstra, Laurel A. *Set Them Free: The Other Side of Exodus*. Orbis Books, 2002. 292 p. \$24.00

From the publisher's catalog: "A fresh look at the Exodus story that opens our eyes to injustice in today's world. This innovative exploration of the Exodus story focuses on the privileged nature of the Egyptian empire, rather than the liberation of the Israelites. It teaches us to examine how our taken-for-granted privileges can unintentionally or unwittingly harm and oppress others. Laurel Dykstra completed her master's degree at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass. She is a member of the Catholic Worker Community in Tacoma, Washington."

Ellison, H. L. *Exodus*. (The Daily Study Bible Series). Westminster, 1982. 203 p. \$12.95.

This commentary is part of the Old Testament counterpart to William Barclay's well-known Daily Study Bible for the New Testament. Ellison taught Bible at a variety of theological schools in England and contributed to Jewish-Christian dialogue. Though he reads Exodus, in accord with traditional church teachings, as prelude to the New Testament, he is also sensitive to its own historical context and its ongoing significance for Judaism. The commentary, which follows the RSV Bible, is intended for the broad reading public.

Exodus: A Lasting Paradigm. Ed. by Bas. Van Iersel and Anton Weiler. (Concilium 1987/no. 1). SCM Press, 1987. 137 p. Out of print.

The Concilium series, published under Catholic sponsorship, gathers essays by a wide-range of scholars from diverse Christian traditions the world over. An issue focusing on the book of Exodus appeared in 1987. Articles in this issue consider the book both in its biblical context and in its application to modern liberation movements (for example: Black, feminist) that ground their calling in it. Some articles also consider the relevance of the book to displaced peoples today, for example, refugees. No book of comparable

size offers up a more multi-faceted perspective on Exodus. Check the publisher's website, <http://www.concilium.org> for purchase availability.

Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence, ed. by Ernest Frerichs and Leonard Lesko. Eisenbrauns, 1997. 112 p. Out of Print.

These essays come from a scholarly conference held at Brown University in 1992, on whether archeological finds in Egypt support the biblical account of the Exodus. The scholars conclude that on this issue, "Egypt remains silent, as it always has" (p. 105). The book concludes by reviewing a recent trend in biblical archaeology to doubt the Exodus actually happened and to posit that the story emerged from within an Israelite community that never left Canaan.

Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy. Ed. by Athalya Brenner. Sheffield Academic Press, 1994. 269 p. \$28.50

Though this commentary covers four biblical books, half the articles gathered in it focus on Exodus. Authors include such notable feminist interpreters of the Bible as Phyllis Trible, Carol Meyers, and Cheryl Exum. Topics addressed include the relational roles as mother, sister, and daughter that women play in the Exodus story, their key part in saving the infant Moses, and the character of Miriam, Moses' sister. Brenner is Professor of Feminism and Christianity at Catholic University, Nijmegen, Netherlands.

Fretheim, Terence E. *Exodus*. (Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching). John Knox Press, 1991. 321 p. \$28.95.

This commentary divides the biblical text into thematic units, so as to make discussion of it easier. Fretheim, who teaches Old Testament at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, alerts readers to the issues of historical fact and fiction that Exodus raises, but concentrates on theological teachings embedded in the story. A key teaching is "the meaning of liberation, and Exodus as paradigm." He cautions readers against misreading liberation as license, since, for Exodus, freedom is service to God. The commentary is nontechnical and accessible.

Goldberg, Michael. *Jews and Christians: Getting our Stories Straight: The Exodus and Passion Narratives*. Trinity Press International, 1999. 224 p. Out of print.

Citing a special debt to Brevard Childs (see above), Goldberg, an ordained rabbi, compares what he calls the "master stories" of Judaism and Christianity, namely, the Exodus and the passion narrative (as Matthew tells it). While sensitive to ways that Christians interpret the Exodus through the passion, he also alerts them to structural differences between the stories. For example, he suggests the two stories point to different, underlying spiritual values: Exodus, to ideals of cooperation and covenant; Matthew, to ideals of acceptance and grace, and that these in turn indicate important differences between the religious lives of Jews and Christians.

Janzen, J. Gerald. *Exodus* (Westminster Bible Companion). Westminster John Knox Pr, 1997. 273 p. \$19.95

From the publisher: “Books in the Westminster Bible Companion series assist laity in their study of the Bible as a guide to Christian faith and practice.... J. Gerald Janzen explains the story of the Exodus as both the story of a particular people and a revelation of God’s concern for the liberation and redemption of all people. The lessons of Exodus are both encouraging and sobering—encouraging because they hold out hope for all who are oppressed...and sobering because they caution the liberated not to perpetuate the evils under which they suffered....J. Gerald Janzen is MacAllister-Petticrew Professor of Old Testament at Christian Theological Seminary in Minneapolis.”

Janzen, Waldemar. *Exodus*. (Believers Church Bible Commentary Series). Herald Press, 2000. 512 p. \$24.99.

From the publisher’s website (<http://www.mph.org>): “These commentaries, informed by recent scholarship, are not overburdened with detail. They are written for lay leaders, teachers, pastors, college and seminary students, and all those searching the Bible for truth and life. The format is unique: Preview, Outline, Explanatory Notes, Text in Biblical Context, and Text in the Life of the Church—thus providing a fine balance of exegesis, theological reflection, and life appropriation. Sponsored by six denominations, the BCBC series represents the Anabaptist believers church tradition as a key perspective for interpretation.” Janzen teaches at Canadian Mennonite Bible College.

Larson, Bruce. *The Presence: The God who Delivers and Guides*. Harper and Bros., 1988. 163 p. Out of print.

These essays are based on sermons delivered at the University Presbyterian Church in Seattle. The chapters loosely follow the key events in the Exodus story and apply to modern life such classic themes in it as: the prophetic call, God’s name, miracles, the Golden Calf, and the Ten Commandments.

Larsson, Goran. *Bound for Freedom: The Book of Exodus in Jewish and Christian Traditions*. Hendrickson, 1999. 325 p. \$24.95

From the publisher’s catalog: “*Bound for Freedom* demonstrates that the book of Exodus presents a defining act of liberation not only in Judaism but also in the Christian understanding of salvation history....As the title of this book suggests, there is no freedom without boundaries. While doing justice to the historical setting of Exodus, Larsson stresses the history of theological interpretation, beginning with early Jewish interpretive traditions....Larsson earned a Ph.D. in Old Testament at the University of Lund...[and] is a director at the Jerusalem Center for Biblical Studies and Research.”

Mittman, Barbara K. *Exodus: Leaving Behind, Moving On*. (Bible Study for Young Adults, 20/30). Abingdon, 1999. 80 p. \$6.50

This short book is part of a series designed for 20- and 30-year olds in small, church study groups. Exodus is treated here as a theme that has many expressions in modern life, from changing jobs or residence to leaving abusive relationships. Modern case studies and focusing sidebars are designed to stimulate discussion. The book loosely follows the biblical Exodus, which it supplements with references to other parts of the Old and New Testaments. Mittman, a Methodist deacon, is Iowa Conference Youth Coordinator.

Nicholson, Ernest W. *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*. John Knox, 1973. 94 p. Out of print.

At the time of writing, Nicholson was dean of Pembroke College at Cambridge University, England. The context for this scholarly study are the academic debates over possibly different origins, in either history or oral tradition, of the two key stories in Exodus: the liberation from Egypt and the giving of the Law. Though the two seem to form a logical narrative, some scholars believe their roots are in separate and unrelated events which a later editor joined in a single story. Nicholson reviews the debate and offers conclusions of his own.

Pixley, George. *On Exodus: A Liberation Perspective*. Orbis, 1987. 236 p. Out of print

[Unreviewed.]

Propp, William H.C. *Exodus 1-18*. (Anchor Bible series). Doubleday, 1999. 680 p. \$44.95.

Propp, who is professor of history and Judaic studies at the University of California, San Diego, newly translates Exodus 1-18 and offers technical, academically sophisticated analysis of the text. His approach is, in his own word, “anthropological” and involves careful scrutiny of Hebrew terms, as well as literary, folkloric, and historical interpretation of the narrative. Two hundred pages of this detailed study are devoted to the story of liberation from Egypt (Ex. 12:1-15:21). Like all commentaries in the Anchor Bible series, it serves best those who, even without knowing Hebrew or Greek, want to explore subtle nuances in biblical language.

Sarna, Nahum. *Exodus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New Jewish Publication Society Translation*. Jewish Publication Society, 1991. 278 p. \$65.00

Sarna has taught for many years in the Dept. of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at Brandeis University. This Jewish commentary on Exodus reproduces the Hebrew and English in parallel columns. Verse-by-verse notations include brief summaries of the ongoing narrative, explorations of nuance in the original Hebrew, allusions to traditional Jewish commentary, and unfolding of implications and assumptions in the text.

Sarna, Nahum. *Exploring Exodus: The Origins of Biblical Israel*. Schocken, 1996. 277 p. \$14.00

This is Professor Sarna's more popular commentary on Exodus. Written for "students, teachers, and the educated layman," Sarna here concentrates on the "spiritual values and moral and ethical imperatives" in the Exodus story. Noting that the rest of the Old Testament refers to the Exodus at least 120 times, he sees the story as a symbol of Israelite national consciousness. In a new forward to this book, first published in 1986, he dissents from recent scholarship that doubts the historicity of the Exodus narrative.

Stiebing, William H. *Out of the Desert? Archaeology and the Exodus/Conquest Narratives*. Prometheus, 1989. 240 p. \$27.00

Stiebing is professor of ancient history and archaeology at the University of New Orleans. In this book, he examines the purely historical and archeological evidence for the Exodus story. Questioning the date traditionally assigned the Exodus, of 15th century BCE, he argues that political and climatological factors point to a later period, sometime in the mid 13th century. His extensive review of the evidence will appeal to avid readers in biblical archaeology.

Vizotzky, Burton. *Road to Redemption: Lessons from Exodus on Leadership and Community*. Crown, 1998. 224 p. \$22.00

Rabbi Vizotzky is the engaging Bible scholar, at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, who led the popular Genesis series on PBS, hosted by Bill Moyers, several years ago. He brings to this book the same personal and provocative style, steeped in learning, that he showed on the television program. His interpretation of Exodus combines modern methods of reading—"literary, sociological, psychological, and frankly, secular and unreligious"—with the traditional Jewish method, called *midrash*. Applying the Exodus story to our own times, he notes, "it is no accident that African Americans resonate with this story of freedom from bondage."

Walzer, Michael. *Exodus and Revolution*. Basic Books, 1985. 177 p. \$16.00

For many years, distinguished political scientist Michael Walzer has been professor of social science at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. In this book, he locates in Exodus the origin of much western political thought on the idea of revolution as freedom from oppression. Walzer's inspiration was a sermon he heard in 1960, in Montgomery, Alabama, by a Baptist preacher who dramatically enacted the Exodus story on the pulpit, presenting it as a model for African Americans to follow in protesting discrimination. Walzer's far-ranging analysis relates the Exodus to the thinking found in, among other places, Karl Marx, liberation theology, and the Declaration of Independence.

Zakovitch, Yair. *And You Shall Tell Your Sons: The Concept of Exodus in the Bible*. Magnes Press, 1991. 144 p. \$10.00

This scholarly study emerged from a biblical seminar the author conducted at Hebrew University, in Jerusalem, where he teaches. Calling the Exodus story, “the central event in the historiography of the Bible, [i.e., The Old Testament],” he explores the resonances of the story in other Old Testament books. He is especially interested in a question the Bible does not itself address—why were the Israelites enslaved in the first place?—and offers several biblically based answers, among them that it was punishment for Abraham and Sarah’s cruel treatment of Hagar (who was likewise oppressed in Abraham’s house).

II. Historical Overviews of African Americans in Methodism

This section of the bibliography, and those following, gather books on the experience of African Americans in the different branches of Methodism, especially as that experience reflects the themes of Exodus. The range of books listed is very wide, and includes detailed denominational histories, sociological studies, cultural analyses, biographies, autobiographies, and personal reflections. An excellent bibliographic overview of this literature is given in the pamphlet, *Racial and Ethnic Presence in American Methodism: A Bibliography*, compiled by C. Jarrett Gray, published by the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, and available for purchase from the Commission for \$5.00. However, that bibliography, published in 1991, is already ten years old. The books listed below are a sampling of classics, scholarly works, and popular treatments. The listings are not exhaustively comprehensive, but are broad in scope and include many books no longer in print. Out of print books are, however, often easily obtained through online used-book search services, such as <http://www.bookfinder.com>, <http://www.alibris.com>, and <http://www.addall.com>. In addition, interlibrary loan services are almost always available at local public libraries.

Crum, Mason. *The Negro in the Methodist Church*. Division of Education and Cultivation, Board of Missions and Church Extension, The Methodist Church, 1951. 125 p. Out of print.

Mason Crum (born 1887) was a Methodist minister and scholar. He taught at Duke University and served as cochairman of the Federal Council of Churches’ interracial National Conference of Church Leaders. This Methodist-sponsored publication was the official study book of the Division of Education and Cultivation in 1951, and was paired with one, for the succeeding year, on Methodism in Africa. Though dated, the book provides a concise and easily read overview of the history of African Americans in the Methodist Church, both its white and African-American branches, and notes with distress the “autonomous principle of separation” (p. 94) at work in the church of the 1940s. Chapter 5 recounts the contributions of Methodist women to improved race relations.

Richardson, Harry V. *Dark Salvation: The Story of Methodism as it Developed among Blacks in America*. Doubleday, 1976. 324 p. Out of print.

Richardson, a Methodist minister, served as first president of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, a graduate institution in theology serving the broad African American church community. In this book, he engagingly surveys African American participation across the whole spectrum of American Methodism, from colonial times onward, but his focus is the emergence of the AME, AMEZ, and CME, their early preachers, ongoing expansion and missions. Concluding chapters discuss the presence of African Americans in mainline, white Methodism since the Civil War, constructive work of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, and the role of such advocacy groups within the UMC as Black Methodists for Church Renewal.

Shaw, J. Beverly F. *The Negro in the History of Methodism*. Parthenon Press, 1954. 234 p. Out of print.

Shaw, an accomplished educator and Methodist churchman, was son of Alexander Preston Shaw, a leading African American bishop in the Methodist Church at the time of the Central Jurisdiction. He writes the history of African American Methodism from a standpoint of personal acquaintance with the churchmen of his father's generation. He gives much attention to administrative history and lists key African American players in all the branches of American Methodism. Perhaps most interesting for UMC members are the proceedings and speeches he reproduces from the first meeting of the Central Jurisdiction, in June 1940, when African American leaders in the then Methodist Church had to come to terms with institutionalized segregation in their church.

III. African Americans in the Predecessor Bodies to the UMC

The predecessor bodies of the UMC are: the early (pre-Revolutionary War) societies of American Methodists; the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC); the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS); the Methodist Protestant Church; the Evangelical United Brethren; and The Methodist Church. The United Methodist Church (UMC) was formed as a merger of The Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren, in 1968. A particularly vexed issue in the history of The Methodist Church (1940-1968) is its Central Jurisdiction, which constituted a segregated conference of African Americans within the church.

Billings, Peggy. *Segregation in the Methodist Church*. Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, 1967. 32 p. Out of print.

This short pamphlet concisely summarizes and critically analyzes the segregated status of African Americans in the Methodist Church, 1948-1966. The author, Peggy Billings, a long-time leader in the UMC, served as head of the Section on Christian Social Relations in the church from 1968 to 1984. Writing prophetically before the final

dissolution of the Central Jurisdiction (in 1967), Billings calls for the then still future United Methodist Church to free itself all of discriminatory structures. Chapter 2 of the book reviews the proactive work of the Women's Division towards integration, including its role in Pauli Murray's ground-breaking work on color laws. (See below).

Brawley, James P. *Two Centuries of Methodist Concern: Bondage, Freedom, and Education of Black People*. Vantage Press, 1974. 606 p. Out of print.

This book documents the history of the MEC's educational efforts on behalf of African Americans, from colonial times on. Beginning with John Wesley's own strong anti-slavery sentiments, and abolitionist work of the ante-bellum MEC, the author moves to his chief focus: the work of the MEC's Freedmen's Aid Society founding schools, colleges, and seminaries devoted to African American youth. One chapter discusses the educational work of the church's Woman's Home Missionary Society on behalf of African American women. The second half of the book is more a reference work, recounting the individual histories of MEC-founded Black colleges. The author, James Brawley, was long-time president (1941-1965) of one of those schools: Clark College.

Carter, Ruth G., and others. *To a Higher Glory: The Growth and Development of Black Women Organized for Mission in The Methodist Church, 1940-1968*. Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 1978. 153 p. Out of print.

The authors constituted a Task Force, within the United Methodist Church of the late 1970s, on the History of the Central Jurisdiction Women's Organization. Based on church organizational records and personal interviews, this book tells the story of the segregated, African American expression of the Woman's Society for Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild, predecessor bodies to the now fully integrated Women's Division of the UMC. Appendices list officers and missionaries among African American Methodist women, and summarize statistics for the Central Jurisdiction's Woman's Division for Christian Service between 1940 and 1968.

Collins, Donald E. *When the Church Bell Rang Racist: The Methodist Church and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama*. Mercer University Press, 1998. 177 p. \$29.95

In 1968, Donald Collins, a minister of 16 years standing in the then Methodist Church, resigned from the ministry over issues of racism in the church, and became an investment banker. Thirty decades later, in retirement, he looks back on the tumultuous years of the civil rights movement, between 1955 and 1965, and the response it drew from churches in the Alabama-West Florida annual conference of the Methodist Church, where he had been an actively pro-civil rights pastor. The years on which he focuses extend from the Montgomery bus boycott to the Selma march. He describes the heated divisions between pastors and churches over issues of integration, and the persistent vote of the annual conference in favor of ongoing segregation. Concluding chapters update to 1997 the church's improving record on integration.

Culver, Dwight W. *Negro Segregation in The Methodist Church*. Yale University Press, 1953. 218 p. Out of print.

This sociological study was based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation for Yale University in 1948. Culver, a Methodist minister, went on to teach sociology at several Midwestern colleges and remained an active supporter of school desegregation. In this book, he polled 785 Methodist ministers and church leaders, including both whites and African Americans, on racial policies in The Methodist Church of his day. A key chapter focuses on the controversial Central Jurisdiction. Culver also analyzes segregation at local church levels, and finds that "the percentage of Negroes of The Methodist Church in predominantly white but racially mixed churches is 0.18 percent" (p. 143). He concludes with a "program for advance" out of discriminatory policies in the church.

Current, Angella P. *Breaking Barriers: An African American Family and the Methodist Story*. Abingdon, 2001. 133 p. \$13.00.

Angella Current, who is Executive Director of Loans and Scholarships of the General Board of Higher Education and Ministry, within the UMC, here tells the story of her mother, Leontine Turpeau Current Kelly. Kelly was born into the MEC and, at 64 years of age, became the first African American woman elected bishop in the UMC. Current sets the personal story within the larger history of American Methodism and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Findlay, James E. *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970*. Oxford University Press, 1993. 255 p. \$16.95

The author, a professor of history at the University of Rhode Island, "focuses on race relations in the predominantly white churches in the 1950s and 1960s" (p. 6). Though Methodists are not the central theme here, the National Council, as chief representative body for mainline Protestant churches, worked in sync with integrating efforts among Methodist and other Protestant church leaders. The author notes that 1963 was a turning point for the Council, which only then took on a leading role against racism and, in the process, began to splinter over diverging voices within and outside it. "It is both an exhilarating and sad tale to try and recapture" (p. 6). This is a readable, academic study based on original, archival research.

Heritage and Hope: The African American Presence in United Methodism, ed. by Grant Shockley. Abingdon, 1991. 350 p. \$23.00

Though written largely by Shockley, who is professor emeritus of Christian Education at Duke University, this is a collaboration of several scholars, sponsored by the General Commission on Archives and History of the UMC. Concentrating on the UMC and its northern antecedents, including the Central Jurisdiction, the book reviews the historical role of African Americans in the structure of church councils and boards, missions work, worship, education, and social action. For all the work at integrating the church, C. Eric

Lincoln can nonetheless observe in his preface to this book, that “11:00 Sunday morning is still the most segregated hour in America.”

Hildebrand, Reginald. *The Times were Strange and Stirring: Methodist Preachers and the Crisis of Emancipation*. Duke University Press, 1995. 189 p. \$18.95

Based on a Ph.D. dissertation, this academic study examines the contribution of 19th Methodism, both Black and white, towards helping freed slaves define their new-found liberty in the aftermath of the Civil War. The author observes that, for freedmen, the choice of church affiliation was as important for personal identity as selecting a surname. Noting that Reconstructionist and Emancipationist aims were not always in concert, Hildebrand isolates three different models of freedom offered by the different Methodist churches: paternalistic, Black nationalist, and integrationist. The focus of the study is on sermons given by ministers of the various Methodist denominations.

Knotts, Alice. *Fellowship of Love: Methodist Women Changing American Racial Attitudes, 1920-1968*. Abingdon, 1996. 335 p. \$22.00

This is the single best source for historical analysis of the important part the Woman's Division of Christian Service played contesting segregation in The Methodist Church (1940-1968). Based on her Ph.D. thesis for Iliff School of Theology, Knotts' book focuses on the South, the MECS, and the anti-segregation leaders who emerged from it to play such important roles in the Woman's Division: Thelma Stevens, Theresa Hoover, Peggy Billings, among others. Characterizing the Division's civil rights activism as “one of the largest, longest, most far-reaching and underreported aspects of the Civil Rights movement,” Knotts reflects on the structures within the Division that allowed it to play its prophetic role.

Loescher, Frank S. *The Protestant Church and the Negro: A Pattern of Discrimination*. Association Pr, 1948. 159 p. Out of print.

Loescher, a Quaker and sociology professor, served on the Federal Council of Churches' Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples. His book, like Culver's (above), belongs to the history of white critique and indictment of mainline Protestantism for its acquiescence to racist practices. But he extends Culver's anti-segregation argument beyond Methodism to the larger Protestant church of his times, including the Evangelical United Brethren. His analysis of discriminatory attitudes and practices in the Protestant churches of the 1940s rests on careful study of church policy statements on race, questionnaires distributed to church leaders, and interviews.

McClain, William. *Black People in the Methodist Church: Whither Thou Goest?* Abingdon, 1984. 159 p. \$11.00

In his foreword to this book, Bp. James S. Thomas (see his *Methodism's Racial Dilemma*, below) cites the ongoing relevance of Gunnar Myrdal's study (also below) to race relations in the U.S. McClain, who, like Thomas, knew the Central Jurisdiction firsthand,

writes the history of African Americans in mainline Methodism, from John Wesley's day to the Central Jurisdiction and beyond. Noting the historic appeal of Methodism, from its first appearance in America, to African Americans, McClain sadly concludes that, at his time of writing (the early 1980s), "de facto inclusiveness has not yet occurred" in the church.

McDowell, John Patrick. *The Social Gospel in the South: The Woman's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939*. Louisiana State University Press, 1982. 167 p. Out of print.

The author opens by noting the dearth of studies on social reform movements in southern churches. This is surprising, given the number of women from southern Methodist contexts who, in the past few decades, became active proponents of integration (see Knotts' book, above). Since its founding as the Woman's Department of Church Extension, in 1886, the Woman's Home Mission Society of the MECS labored on behalf of immigrants, poor whites, and African Americans. Despite the tone of condescension that affects the writing of the movement, it nonetheless was one of the key forces agitating for better education, medical care, and living conditions for southern African Americans, and perhaps most critically in the early decades of the 20th century, for enforced laws against lynching.

Murray, Pauli. *States' Laws on Race and Color*. Women's Division of Christian Service, 1950. 746 p. And *Supplement*, 1955. 256 p. Out of print

Pauli Murray (1910-1985) was an African American lawyer, writer, and activist who pioneered in the American civil rights movement. She was also the first African American woman to be ordained an Episcopal priest. In 1950, the Women's Division of the then Methodist Church financed a study of the anti-discrimination and pro-segregation laws that were in effect across the 48 states. Murray compiled and edited the findings in this book, which Thurgood Marshall called the Bible for lawyers fighting to overturn segregation laws. A period piece now, this thorough work of scholarship documents how recently and how often segregation was indeed law. For an update on federal and states' civil rights laws, see the web site of Cornell University Law School's Legal Information Institute: (http://www.law.cornell.edu/topics/civil_rights.html)

Thomas, James S. *Methodism's Racial Dilemma: The Story of the Central Jurisdiction*. Abingdon, 1992. 181 p. \$18.00

Thomas, who became bishop of the Iowa Conference in 1964, speaks from 24 years of experience prior to that in the Central Jurisdiction. Citing Culver's study (above) as part of his inspiration, Thomas sets the Central Jurisdiction in context of a long history of de facto segregation within American Methodism. He reviews the jurisdictional system in general, the origins of the Central Jurisdiction, and its troubled, controversial status within the church over its 27 year history. He notes that movements within the church to disband it rose up almost conjointly with its founding. Thomas himself belonged to a

Committee whose deliberations on the supposed need of the Central Jurisdiction contributed to its eventual demise.

Weatherford, Willis Duke. *American Churches and the Negro: An Historical Study from Early Slave Days to the Present*. Christopher Publishing House, 1957. 310 p. Out of print.

Weatherford, himself a Methodist, was for 10 years (1936-1946) chair of the Dept. of Religion and Humanities of Fisk University, one of the historic Black colleges in the U.S. This intriguing book systematically surveys the attitudes of the mainline churches towards slavery, up through the Civil War. The chapter on Methodism focuses on actions of the MEC and MECS. A final chapter updates the history to the 1950s, drawing special attention, in the portion on Methodism, to the critical role the Women's Division played in moving the then highly segregated Methodist Church towards integration.

Wilson, Robert L. and James H. Davis. *The Church in the Racially Changing Community*. Abingdon, 1966. 159 p. Out of print.

The authors were leaders of the Research and Survey Dept. of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, at the time of writing. Their focus here is Methodist churches in urban settings that were racially integrating during the 1960s. At issue, especially, is white flight, and the challenges facing advocates of integration in the churches. The study is based on interviews with clergy and laity of 60 churches in 22 cities. Both whites and African Americans are interviewed. The authors conclude that the formerly white church that accepts integration will likely alienate the larger white community in which it resides, but in doing so will function prophetically.

IV. African Americans in the United Methodist Church

Davis, James H. and Woodie W. White. *Racial Transition in the Church*. Abingdon, 1980. 142 p. Out of print.

This book updates and expands on the work that Davis wrote with Robert Wilson in 1966 (immediately above). At the time of writing, Davis was research director of the National Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the UMC, and White was Executive Secretary of the Commission on Religion and Race of the UMC. Though the United Methodist Church provides a backdrop for this study, its scope is ecumenical. It is based on interviews with national leaders of several denominations, clergy and laity at local levels, both Black and white, as well as Hispanic, Native American, and Asian. The conclusions of this study are, however, not substantially different from those of the earlier one: "In racially transitional communities, the blatant racism of America is clearly evidenced" (p. 11). The authors observe that, in 1980, the UMC "reaches 5 to 10% of most white communities, but only 1% of most Black communities".

Dunagin, Richard Lee. *Black and White Members and Ministers in the United Methodist Church: A Comparative Analysis*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Texas, 1991. 252 p. (Available for purchase through Bell and Howell, 800-521-0600 for between \$31.00 and \$48.00).

This Ph.D. dissertation offers detailed analysis of similarities and differences among Black and white United Methodists in Northern Texas. Based on study of church records and of questionnaires distributed to clergy and laity, the author concludes that the similarities greatly outweigh the differences. African American United Methodists showed higher levels of education and income than other African Americans in the Dallas area; and white clergy are better compensated than their African American counterparts. These two facts relate interestingly to Clarence Earl Walker's thesis (see below) that the African American Methodist churches have contributed to forging a Black middle class.

Experiences, Struggles, and Hopes of the Black Church. Ed. by James S. Gadsden. Tidings, 1975. 149 p. Out of print.

Several organizations, including the UMC Commission on Religion and Race, Black Methodists for Church Renewal, and Gammon Theological Seminary, collaborated in convening a National United Methodist Convocation on the Black Church, in 1973. This book publishes six essays based on presentations at the conference, by Melvin Talbert, Major Jones, Daniel Thompson, Grant Shockley, C. Eric Lincoln, and William McClain, several of whom appear elsewhere as authors on this bibliography. Writing from African American perspectives, the authors examine the UMC on several interrelated areas: ministry, theology, recruitment, social status (the middle class), and worship.

Graham, John H. *Black United Methodists: Retrospect and Prospect*. Vantage Press, 1979. 162 p. Out of print.

John Graham was at the time of writing on staff with the Board of Global Ministries of the UMC. In this book, he offers a history of African Americans in the UMC and its predecessor bodies, going back to 1758. (He does not include the MECS or the Black Methodist denominations.) This is an institutional history, written through the lenses of individual Methodist conferences, societies, schools, and selected Black congregations. In the final chapter, on prospects for African Americans in the UMC, he calls for increased efforts at racial inclusiveness in the church.

Hunt, C. Anthony. *The Black Family: The Church's Role in the African American Community*. Wyndham Hall Press, 2000. 92 p. \$20.00

Pastor Hunt, who is currently Executive Director of the United Methodist Church's Multi-Ethnic Center for Ministry, served as minister to Ames United Methodist Church, a Black church in Bel Air, Maryland, from 1992 to 1998. This study of African American family life, and the cohesive role church can and does play in it, is based on his experiences with Ames Church. Grounding himself in the Wesleyan Quadrilateral, and

in the shared, historic quest of Black churches for freedom and justice, Hunt speaks to the difficult issues of AIDS, poverty, and addiction in the Black community, and explores the role such traditional Christian values as holiness and koinonia (fellowship) can play in rebuilding family life.

Jones, Major L. *Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope*. Abingdon, 1971. 143 p. \$9.00

Jones was for many years president of Gammon Theological Seminary, the United Methodist component of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta. He served on the Advisory Council of the former Methodist Church's Central Jurisdiction, was a member of the UMC's Black Methodists for Church Renewal, and a contributor to the UMC Women's Division program resource book for 1970-1971, *Risk and Reality*, for which he wrote "United Methodism: Divided by Race?" Jones mines the history and then current state of American Methodism for theological insights into African American identity and the key role he believes hope must play in any Black theology of liberation.

Our Time Under God is Now: Reflections on Black Methodists for Church Renewal. Ed. by Woodie W. White. Abingdon, 1993. 92 p. Out of print.

Black Methodists for Church Renewal (BMCR) was a caucus formed within the United Methodist Church at its founding in 1968. Working under the shadow of the memory of the only recently disbanded Central Jurisdiction, the founders of BMCR were committed to exposing all forms of racism in the church, whether latent or blatant, and to sensitizing United Methodist boards to the importance of racial inclusiveness. This book gathers appreciative essays from participants in and friends of the BMCR, who reflect on its, at that time, 25 year old history and endorse its ongoing work for the church.

Sano, Roy I. *From Every Nation without Number: Racial and Ethnic Diversity in United Methodism*. Abingdon, 1982. 127 p. Out of print.

The author, who was associate professor of theology and Pacific and Asian American ministries at Berkeley, at the time of writing, surveyed the UMC in 1980 for the extent of its racial inclusiveness. Those polled included clergy and laity, whites, African-Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. Addressing such issues as social or institutional racism, Sano mines biblical and theological resources for guidance in broadening the ethnic reach of the church. Noting that "few whites, who comprise the overwhelming majority in the UMC, have firsthand knowledge or sustained interaction with racial and ethnic minorities" (p. 14), he offers practical suggestions to local congregations seeking to be more welcoming.

Shockley, Grant, Earl D. C. Brewer, and Marie Townsend. *Black Pastors and Churches in United Methodism*. Center for Research in Social Change, Emory University, 1976. 67 p. Out of print.

The authors collaborated on this sociological study to determine how successfully the United Methodist Church had integrated its previously all-Black Central Jurisdiction,

disbanded in 1968, with the rest of the church. Based on questionnaires distributed to mostly African American pastors, superintendents, and bishops, the study analyzes the ten year period, 1964-1974. The authors conclude that the practice of the church falls far short of its preaching on integration. Topics addressed include: leadership, mobility of pastors, continuing education, age of pastors, Black membership, ethnic quotas, itinerancy, and racial inclusiveness. The detailed data gathered was meant to help church leaders make informed decisions towards implementing racially inclusive policy. At the time of writing, Shockley was president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Brewer was on the faculty at Candler School of Theology (Emory University), and Townsend was a research assistant at Emory's Center for Research in Social Change.

V. The Black Church

According to recent Gallup Poll findings, African-American and white American Christians continue to worship in largely separate congregations ("The Most Segregated Hour," in *Gallup Poll Tuesday Briefing*, July 9, 2002). This defacto segregation puzzles some observers, who see greater success at integration in other areas of American society, at least since the pre Civil Rights movement days of the 1950s. The history of African American Christians suggests a long-standing, historic tension between the drives towards integration with and self-determined separation from white society. In his introduction to his "Bibliography of Social Science Literature on Afro-American Religion in the United States," (*Review of Religious Research* 29:4 (June 1988)), Hans Baer observes, "Ironically, the separatism of Black religion has been the single most important vehicle by which Blacks have been able to assert their social identity as well as to protest the racism of the larger society." The concept of the Black church refers primarily to congregations and denominations defined, in part, by having a largely African American constituency. Included here are some of the pioneering classics in the field, more recent histories, and some specialized studies of individual components of the Black church, such as worship.

Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness, edited by Milton Sernett. Duke University Press, 1985. 504 p. \$54.95

This anthology, which includes over 50 texts arranged chronologically by historical period, presents the history of African American religion through source documents. Each of the documents, which include slave narratives, early histories, periodical articles, speeches, and theology, receives a brief editorial introduction. The editor reflects that an overarching theme is the "dynamic tension between assimilation and nationalism." Among the authors whose works are excerpted here are several who appear on this bibliography, including Du Bois, Woodson, Mays, and Frazier. Works of several women are included, among them Mahalia Jackson (1911-1972).

The Black Christian Worship Experience, ed. by Melva Wilson Costen and Darius Leander Swann. Interdenominational Theological Center, 1992. 265 p. \$13.00

This book is based on scholarly papers delivered at the first Consultation on the Worship Experience of Black Americans, held in Nov. 1985, near Atlanta, Georgia. The essays address a range of issues that span the denominations, including hymnody, hospitality, African inheritance, and baptism. The article on hymnals, by Eileen Southern, has special praise for the United Methodist Church's book of African American hymns, *Songs of Zion*.

Collier-Thomas, Bettye. *Daughters of Thunder: Black Women Preachers and Their Sermons, 1850-1979*. Jossey-Bass, 1998. 345 p. \$25.00

The author, who directs the Temple University Center for African American History and Culture, here publishes for the first time sermons previously available only in manuscript form. Over half the sermons reproduced here are by women preachers in the African American Methodist traditions. (An added treat for appreciators of Pauli Murray, who was Episcopalian—see above—are eight of her previously unpublished sermons.) The author adds informative introductions to the book as a whole and to each of its contributors.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Bantam, 1989 [originally published 1903]. 224 p. \$5.50

This classic text appears in many available editions. Du Bois (1868-1963), the first African American to receive a doctorate from Harvard University, was a prolific and gifted writer. His literary talents complemented one of his goals for African-Americans: to develop an authentic Black culture and esthetics. He spent the last years of his life in Ghana as a writer and publisher. *The Souls of Black Folk* is a collection of essays on diverse topics, including: Emancipation, education, progress, cotton, and folk song. Though only one chapter explicitly addresses the Black church, the whole book breathes a religious spirit striving towards self-definition and liberation. [A less widely available work of Du Bois, *The Negro Church*, published in 1903, focuses on the church itself.]

Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro Church in America*. Schocken Books, 1963. 92 p. \$13.00

Frazier (1894-1962) was a distinguished African American sociologist. This short book follows the history of African American church life generally, from slave times through northern migration to the impact of 20th century urbanization. *Christian Century* called this work, when it first appeared, “an important book for understanding the racial revolution.” Frazier is especially interested in the reciprocal interdependence of family, class, and religion in African American life. Though not a study of Methodism *per se*, the book includes substantive comment on the African American churches within Methodism.

Hersovits, Melville. *Myth of the Negro Past*. Beacon Press, 1990. 368 p. \$17.00

This anthropological study, first published in 1941, refutes the then popular idea (which is the myth of the title) that slavery and acculturation had all but obliterated African Americans' communal memory of Africa. Based on fieldwork in Africa and Latin America, the author uncovers rich evidence of "survivals" of African culture in the African American societies of his day. A chapter entitled, "Africanisms in Religious Life," explores this idea with special reference to the Black church. This seminal work was part of the stimulus for Gunnar Myrdal's study, cited below.

Hough, Joseph C. *Black Power and White Protestants: A Christian Response to the New Negro Pluralism*. Oxford University Press, 1968. 228 p. Out of print.

Hough, who is currently president of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, was, at the time of writing this book, on the faculty of the Claremont School of Theology, in California, where he taught Christian ethics. By "the new Negro pluralism," Hough means the movement among African Americans of the 1960s away from integration with white society towards distinct, self-determining communities. Though the church is not the focus of his study, his sociological analysis of Black self-determination sheds light on the oft-noted, de facto segregation in Christian congregations. The book articulates an informed and respectful white Protestant response to Black self-determination, calling for white Christians to serve their African American brethren and sisters by encouraging church agencies and local governments to sponsor social service programs in Black communities.

ITC/Faith Factor Project 2000 Study of Black Churches. Interdenominational Theological Center, 2001. 7 seven-page pamphlets. \$15.00

These pamphlets gather in chart form basic data about Black churches today. Four of the seven pamphlets are devoted to Methodist churches: the AME, AMEZ, CME, and UMC. Data is reported under 13 headings, which include: Distribution of Black churches by region; Size of congregations among Black churches; Characteristics of actively participating adults; Characteristics of growing churches; Congregational life and vitality; Spiritual vitality; Pastoral leadership (which includes data on women pastors and civil rights advocacy).

Lincoln, E. Eric and Lawrence H. Mamiya. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Duke University Press, 1990. 519 p. \$26.95

When this magisterial study of the black church first appeared in 1990, it was hailed as "the most comprehensive treatment of the black church in the U.S." (*Choice Magazine*). In his review of the work, published in the *New York Times Book Review*, the Rev. James Forbes, reflecting on the gap this book filled, commented, "The black church is still invisible to many whites; no matter what other changes may have taken place, most whites and blacks in this country still pray separately." This sociological study, ten years in the making, is based on extensive on-site interviews and research at Black churches around the country. Though only one chapter is devoted exclusively to Methodism, all

the chapters—which range in topic from civil rights and the role of women, to music in worship—incorporate reference to the African American Methodist churches.

Mays, Benjamin E. and Joseph William Nicholson. *The Negro's Church*. Ayer Co. Publishers, 1973. [1st published: Russell and Russell, 1933]. 321 p. \$35.95.

This is a sociological study of African American Christianity in the early years of the 20th century. Based on survey analysis of 609 urban churches and 185 rural churches across 12 different cities, it is the first study of its kind of the Black church. Clergy, students and seminary faculty were among those surveyed and topics analyzed include ministry, church membership, church buildings, worship, and finance. In a final chapter, “The Genius of the Negro Church,” the authors share personal reflections on their findings, which suggest that the Black church offers the Black community: self-determination, democracy, safety, stimulus to education and business, and demonstrations of openness to other races. Benjamin Mays (1894-1984) was a scholar and Baptist churchman who served as president of the historically black Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967.

Mays, Benjamin E. *The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature*. Greenwood Pr, 1970. (1st published: Russell and Russell, 1938). 269 p. \$59.50.

The literature analyzed in this study includes slave narratives, biography, novels, poetry, sermons, and spirituals. Over the period covered, 1760-1938, the author traces a gradual change in views of God from an otherworldly presence who provides comfort in a harsh world, to a being who invites human efforts towards social change, to, finally, a being whose very existence is questioned. Authors presented from early days include AMEZ Church founder, Richard Allen, and from more recent times: Paul Dunbar, Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen and Howard Thurman. Women writers discussed include Phillis Wheatley (born 1753, the first African American to publish a book) and Frances Ellen Watkins (born 1825).

Mays, Benjamin E. *Seeking to Be Christian in Race Relations*. Friendship Press, 1964. 127 p. Out of print.

In this short book, Mays cites the Bible against all discriminatory practices, reviews the record of the church in combating prejudice, and argues for the universal harmfulness of segregation.

Montgomery, William E. *Under Their Own Vine and Figtree: The African American Church in the South, 1865-1900*. Louisiana State University Press, 1993. 358 p. \$19.95

This scholarly work explores ways in which the Black church provided continuity for African Americans during the radically changing times of Emancipation and Reconstruction in the South. Topics addressed include the impact of segregation on 19th century Black nationalism, the emergence of an African American social elite, and distinctive features in worship and preaching.

Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. Transaction, 1996. 2 vols. \$29.95 each. [first published 1944]

This immensely influential study from the 1940s appeared in many editions and is still in print. Though not a church-sponsored effort, its sociological findings nicely complement the legal research of Pauli Murray (cited above). The Carnegie Foundation supplied the major funds, and Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, the direction, for this massive, collaborative project. A large staff of researchers prepared memoranda on specific topics, which supplied the basis of the final book. As a document predating the civil rights movement, the research reveals the great burden of discrimination, in multiple life areas, that fell on African Americans as late as the 1940s, and that civil rights legislation later aimed to remedy. The short chapter on “The Negro Church” can be read independently of the rest of the two volumes.

Pinn, Anne H and Anthony B. Pinn. *Fortress Introduction to Black Church History*. Fortress, 2002. 184 p. \$15.00

Aimed at a broad audience, this introductory work surveys the history of Methodist, Baptist, and Pentecostal African American churches. The opening chapter, on Methodism, reviews the history of the AME, AMEZ, and CME. Timelines help organize the facts. Concluding chapters discuss the impact of the social gospel and liberation theology movements on African American churches, and profile such figures as AMEZ minister Reverdy Ransom. Co-author Anne Pinn is pastor of Mt. Zion AME Church in Buffalo, N.Y., and Anthony Pinn teaches religious studies at Macalester College in St. Paul.

Pinn, Anthony B. *The Black Church and the Post-Civil Rights Era*. Orbis, 2002. 192 p. \$20.00

From the publisher’s catalog: “A brilliant snap shot of the Black Church that highlights its vibrant worship, its approach to doctrine and its role in social activism. Focuses on the practices of the Black Church, especially as it has engaged in issues of economic development and justice, and struggles with such issues as the full inclusion of women, sexuality, and health.”

Raboteau, Albert J. *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans*. Oxford University Press, 2001. 151 p. \$9.95

Raboteau, who teaches religion at Princeton University, offers here a short, readable overview of Christianity’s role in African American life, from slave days to modern times. His focus is on distinctly African American Christian institutions, such as the AME and AMEZ churches, though he touches briefly, too, on Black expressions of Judaism and Islam. The book’s title is an implicit reference to Exodus, whose theme of liberation supplies the leitmotif of this study.

Recovery of Black Presence: An Interdisciplinary Exploration: Essays in Honor of Charles B. Copher. Ed. by Randall C. Bailey and Jacquelyn Grant. Abingdon, 1995. 250 p. \$19.95

Professor Charles Copher, who taught Bible at the Interdenominational Theological Center, served on the Judicial Council of the United Methodist Church. These largely academic essays in his honor draw interesting connections between the Bible, the Black church, and issues of Black identity. Most relevant to this year's spiritual growth study are the first essay, by Randall Bailey, on Moses' Egyptian roots, and the ninth, by James Shopshire, on "Black Methodist Protestants, 1877-1939: Protest and Change among African Americans within Predecessor Organizations of the United Methodist Church."

Thurman, Howard. *Jesus and the Disinherited.* Beacon Press, 1996 [first published 1949]. 112 p. \$12.00

Thurman (1899-1981) served as pastor in interdenominational settings, first at the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples in San Francisco, and later at Boston University. At one time, *Life Magazine* named him one of the twelve great preachers of the 20th century. This now classic meditation on the message of Christianity for the poor and socially marginalized, acknowledges the role of fear, deception, and hate in responding to oppression, but ultimately commends, instead, the radical love ethic of the New Testament.

Thurman, Howard. *The Luminous Darkness: A Personal Interpretation of the Anatomy of Segregation and the Ground of Hope.* Friends United Press, 1997. 113 p. \$11.00 [first published 1965]

More essay than book, this is a thoughtful and eloquent reflection on the debilitating effects of segregation, the outward and inner protests against it by African Americans, and the range of responses to it available to white people.

Washington, Joseph R. *Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States.* University Press of America, 2002. 328 p. \$23.25

Originally published in 1964, this now classic (and provocative) analysis of African-American Christianity calls for the church to fully integrate itself, on grounds that Christianity molded to suit any one ethnic group is truncated and false to itself. It is a folk religion that arises when African Americans, either willfully or under compulsion, fashion a church of their own. Washington studies the history and sociology of that religion, including its enriching expressions in culture (e.g., spirituals) and institutional life (e.g. African American Methodism), but also what he considers its failings, and calls for it finally to merge with the larger church. Washington, a United Methodist minister, was chaplain at Dickinson College at the time of writing, and is currently on the faculty of religion and African American Studies at the University of Virginia.

Watley, William D. *The African American Churches and Ecumenism: Singing the Lord's Song in a Strange Land*. Eerdmans and WCC, 1993. 69 p. \$8.00

This short book concisely introduces the seven historic Black denominations in the U.S., drawing special attention to their ecumenical activities. Intended for readers unfamiliar with Black church history, the book opens with a helpful, bibliographic essay on the classic works in the field. Watley is a minister in the AME church.

Wilmore, Gayraud S. *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*. Doubleday, 1972. 344 p. Out of print.

Wilmore begins with the paradox of the Black church as “at once the most reactionary and the most radical of Black institutions” (p. xiii). Starting with the religion of the slaves, he traces the tensions between those two features of African American Christian life, culminating, first, in a deradicalized church, on the one hand, and later, during the 1960s, in a deChristianized Black radicalism. His final chapter shows the work of re-integrating the two, in the Civil Rights movement and in efforts of such thinkers as James Cone to produce a new, liberationist, Black theology. Wilmore, a Presbyterian minister, directed the United Presbyterian Council on Church and Race, and taught for many years at New York Theological Seminary.

Woodson, Carter. *History of the Negro Church*. 3rd ed. Associated Publishers, 1992. 332 p. \$17.95

First published in 1921, this is one of the classic, pioneering works in Black church history. Carter Woodson (1875-1950), who is remembered as the “Father of Black History,” was the second African American to graduate from Harvard University (the first was W. E. B. Du Bois). He founded the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History, in 1912, which in turn inaugurated the *Journal of Negro History*. Though his book on Black church history is 80 years old, it is routinely listed on bibliographies of classics in the field. The book discusses missionaries, ministers, and leaders in all the branches of the Black church.

VI. The Black Methodist churches

This section lists books on the three, historic Black Methodist churches: the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ), and the Christian (formerly: Colored) Methodist Episcopal Church (CME).

Allen, Richard. *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen*. Abingdon, 1960. 93 p. Out of print.

Richard Allen (1760-1831) was founder of the AME church and the first African American ordained to preach in America. Abingdon Press reprinted his autobiography to

honor the bicentennial of his birth. The autobiography recounts events leading up to the founding of the AME Church in 1816. The book includes, besides the autobiography, some of Allen's devotions, letters, and public addresses.

Angell, Stephen. *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African American Religion in the South*. University of Tennessee Pr, 1992. 340 p. \$19.00

This study is based on a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Vanderbilt University. Henry McNeal Turner (1834-1915) was a bishop in the AME Church. Born free in South Carolina, he began his ministry in the MECS, but in 1858 joined the AME Church. He became a prime mover in the AME Church's mission to the south, and helped transform the church from a relatively small, northern denomination into a national body. Known for promoting African emigrationism (the view that African Americans' true home was Africa), he emerges in this study as an advocate for Black southerners to take up new lives in the AME Church and in American society generally.

Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The Narratives of John Jea and George White. Edited by Graham Russell Hodges. Palgrave, 2002. 200 p. \$19.95

This intriguing study publishes for the first time two early African American Methodist autobiographies. John Jea (born 1773) and George White (born 1764) were itinerant Methodist preachers. In a lengthy introduction, Hodges, who teaches history at Colgate University, helpfully sets the historical context for the two men in post-Revolutionary War Methodism. The early Methodist Episcopal Church included African Americans, but only very reluctantly licensed them to preach. The AME Church was founded, in part, to remedy that, and George White became a member. Both men, though born into slavery, were freed after the Revolution, and worked to denounce slavery and comfort its victims.

Bradley, David Henry. *A History of the A.M.E. Zion Church*. Parthenon Press, 1956, 1970. 2 volumes. Out of print.

Bradley was a minister in the AMEZ church and secretary of its Historical Society. His two volume history covers the years 1796-1872 and 1872-1956. This highly detailed history quotes extensively from source documents, reports in depth on conference and committee work, and names many key players along the way. An adequate index refers readers to specific points of information.

Campbell, James T. *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S. and South Africa*. Oxford University Pr, 1995. 418 p. Out of print.

Based on a Ph.D. dissertation for Stanford University, this study integrates two parallel histories: of the AME Church in the U.S. and of independent black churches in South Africa. AME Methodism, transported to Africa, mixed with a "native" Christianity that had broken with earlier missions there. The author notes that Africa functioned as a paradoxical ideal within the AME Church from its inception: if African Americans

identified with the biblical Israelites of the Exodus, was America or Africa the promised land? And how could slaves take up the religion of the captors? The author explores these and related issues of emigration and mission in this cross-cultural study.

Claiming Our Heritage for the 21st Century: 125th Anniversary of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church: Commemorative Essays. CME Church, 1995. 83 p. Out of print

In this short book, issued as part of the CME Church's 125th anniversary celebration, CME bishops, professors, pastors, and church administrators reflect on the history of the church from diverse angles, including: preaching, evangelism, education, ecumenism, and social action. Of special interest are the articles contributed by Sylvia Faulk, former president of the CME's Women's Missionary Society, entitled, "Women's Movement," and by Teresa Snorton, director of Clinical Pastoral Education at Crawford Long Hospital of Emory University, entitled, "Women in Ministry."

Dodson, Jualynne E. *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the AME Church.* Rowman and Littlefield, 2002. 147 p. \$60.00

Dodson traces the historical contributions of women to the expansion, organization, and missions work of the AME Church. Noting that women began to play a visible, public role in the church only after the Civil War, she examines the social dynamic of power within the church, and especially highlights the work of Sara Hatcher Duncan, who led the AME Women's Home and Foreign Missions Society for many years. Dodson is associate professor of African American and Religious Studies at the University of Colorado.

Dvorak, Katharine. *An African American Exodus: The Segregation of the Southern Churches.* Carlson, 1991. 252 p. Out of print.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, there was a mass movement of southern Black Christians out of the dominantly white churches into the self-defined African American churches. The author likens this movement to the biblical Exodus, from Egypt to the Promised Land. Her thesis is that what fueled the movement were not so much sociological factors as religious ones: the desire of southern African Americans to be faithful to traditions of liturgy, prayer, preaching and hymnology that had come to be distinctly their own. She takes the exodus of the CME out of the MECS as a model for understanding the formation of all Black denominations.

George, Carol V. R. *Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840.* Oxford University Press, 1973. 205 p. Out of print.

This engaging study appeared first as a Ph.D. dissertation for Syracuse University. Though Methodism drew more African American converts, in the 18th century, than any other Christian denomination, important differences on issues of authority, theology, worship, and preaching emerged along racial lines in the 19th century. The author

explores the implications of those differences in one paradigmatic instance: that of AME founder Richard Allen (1760-1831) and his Mother Bethel AME Church, in Philadelphia.

Gregg, Robert. *Sparks from the Anvil: Philadelphia's African Methodists and Southern Migrants, 1890-1940*. Temple University Press, 1993. 272 p. \$19.95

This complex study, which began as a dissertation, links three aspects of Black Methodist life in Philadelphia during the years under review: ghettoization, growth in intellectual self-understanding, and the great migration of southern Blacks northward between 1910 and 1920. The interplay of these three movements helps account for the complex of unity and fragmentation within Philadelphia's African American community. Each of the movements cuts two ways: ghettoization is in part a condition and in part a choice; Black theologies of community "uplift" could work to either integrate or self-segregate; migrants, at first welcomed into AME churches, later gravitated to storefront churches.

Henry, Thomas W. *From Slavery to Salvation: The Autobiography of Rev. Thomas W. Henry of the AME Church*. Ed. by Jean Libby. University Pr of Mississippi, 1994. 139 p. Out of print.

The life of Thomas Henry (1794-1877) coincides with the social upheavals leading up to, through, and following the Civil War. Born a slave in antebellum rural Maryland, he obtained his freedom as an adult, but continued to live in the slave state of Maryland. There he began a ministry in the MEC but in 1835 switched to the AME Church. Later he moved to Baltimore where he helped maintain the Underground Railroad. His autobiography illustrates the challenges of transition that many African Americans of his time faced: from slave to freedman, from country to city, from white church to Black church. The autobiography also constitutes a social history of mid-19th century Maryland. Editor Jean Libby appends a helpful historical essay to the text.

Hood, James Walker. *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church*. A.M.E. Zion Book Concern, 1895. 625 p. Out of print.

J. W. Hood (1831-1918) was a bishop in AMEZ Church and served as an informal advisor to Theodore Roosevelt from 1901-1909. This book is a loving tribute to his church for its 1896 centennial. It is not, in the author's own words, "anything like a complete history" but a gathering of institutional and personal memories, from the church's first hundred years, of its bishops, its geographic conferences, and its outstanding clergy and laity. One chapter gives a narrative history of the church; another addresses points of contact and difference between the AME and AMEZ churches.

Lakey, Othal Hawthorne. *The History of the CME Church (Revised)*. CME Publishing House, 1996. 756 p. Out of print.

This is a church-authorized, documentary history of the CME Church. Lakey, a bishop in the church, consulted church records and interviewed retired clergy for his massive study. Though largely an internal, institutional history, the latter chapters especially are

sensitive to social changes affecting the church, such as the civil rights movement, the feminist movement, and Black theology. This revised version of an earlier edition (1985) of the book, takes the history of the church up to 1995.

Lakey, Othal Hawthorne and Betty Beene Stephens. *God in My Mama's House: The Women's Movement in the CME Church*. CME Publishing House, 1994. 216 p. Out of print.

The title is taken from the image of home and safety that family matriarchs have traditionally represented in the African American community. The authors begin by noting that, though 75% of African American church members are women, control of the churches is largely in the hands of men. Examining the period 1870 to 1990, they trace the gradual movement of women into positions of leadership in the CME Church, as missionaries, preachers, educators, and delegates to conferences. In conclusion, the authors note the "persistence of patriarchy" in the church, and, while acknowledging the positive social impact of women's movements in the MECS, MC, and UMC, they emphasize that African American women must maintain a vision of liberation that speaks to their own, unique position in church and society.

Little, Lawrence S. *Disciples of Liberty: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the Age of Imperialism, 1884-1916*. University of Tennessee Press, 2000. 246 p. \$32.00

In 1884, Africa began to be partitioned by western powers; and in 1916, the U.S. invaded Haiti. These dates mark a period of imperialist expansion that challenged the ideals of African American churches. While wanting to participate in America's global reach, leaders of the AME Church were sensitive, at the same time, from their own collective memory, to the self-respect of colonized peoples. The author shows how the AME Church promoted ideals of liberty and equality in the midst of the imperialist fervors. Areas examined in the study include Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. The author teaches in the History Dept. of Villanova University.

Martin, Sandy Dwayne. *For God and Race: The Religious and Political Leadership of AMEZ Bishop James Hood*. University of South Carolina Pr, 1999. 248 p. Out of print.

James Hood (1831-1918) is the focal point for this study of the impact of African American religion on social change, especially in the period of Reconstruction. Hood, who was bishop in the AMEZ church, 1872-1916, actively opposed slavery before the Civil War and, after it, participated in Reconstruction politics in North Carolina. He defended other social causes as well, including temperance and equal rights for women. Martin, who teaches in the Religion Dept. at the University of Georgia, hopes by this study to trace a ripple effect from Hood's work within the AMEZ Church outward to African American Christianity in general and the larger struggle for civil rights in the 19th century.

Morris, Calvin. *Reverdy C. Ransom: Black Advocate of the Social Gospel*. University Press of America, 1990. 203 p. \$51.50.

Ransom (1861-1959) was an influential bishop in the AME Church. His years of active ministry subsumed the heyday of the Social Gospel movement (1890-1914), which called for churches to address problems arising in the wake of fast-paced urbanization and industrialization. Ransom took the Social Gospel message to Black church communities, and preached for adequate wages, educational opportunity, voter rights, and better housing and working conditions. He “came to exemplify in his ministry the clergyman as social and political activist” (p. 5). Author Calvin Morris taught for many years at Howard University Divinity School and the Interdenominational Theological Center.

Payne, Daniel A. and Charles Spencer Smith. *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. AME Sunday School Union, and Book Concern of the AME Church, 1891 and 1922. 2 volumes. Out of print, but occasionally reprinted.

Payne and Smith were official historiographers of the AME Church. Bishop Payne was the first to be appointed to that office, in 1848, and Smith the fourth, in 1920. Payne’s volume covers the years 1816-1886, and Smith’s, 1856-1922. Though both authors lament the lack of a full run of official records for them to consult, they do very well with what they had. Payne uncovered priceless manuscript material from Richard Allen, the church’s founder, and Smith helpfully reproduces substantive AME church records from the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. The writing styles here evoke another era, when language could be unabashedly elegant (if at times prolix).

Seraile, William. *Fire in His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E. Church*. University of Tennessee Press, 1998. 242 p. \$34.00

Tanner (1835-1923) was not only bishop in the AME Church, but a prolific writer and scholar. He founded the *AME Church Review* and was a staunch advocate for an educated clergy. At the same, he illustrates the tensions middle class, educated African Americans faced in the 19th century (and today) as they strove to balance ideals of integration with the need for self-determined, self-nurturing segregation. The author, William Seraile, teaches African history at Lehman College of the City University of New York.

Singleton, George A. *The Romance of African Methodism: A Study of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Exposition Pr, 1952. 251 p. Out of print.

The author, who served the AME in several capacities, as pastor, editor of its *Christian Recorder*, and historian, offers here a loving tribute to his church. The study, which takes the history of the church up to the early 1950s, draws from church records, personal experience, and oral history interviews with church officials.

Walker, Clarence Earl. *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African American Episcopal Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Louisiana State University Press, 1982. 157 p. Out of print.

Walker studies the socio-economic impact of evangelism by African Americans on African Americans in the years during and immediately after the Civil War. Northern, AME missionaries felt a divine call not only to bring Christianity to slaves and freedmen in the South, but to “elevate the race”. Many of the missionaries understood the Civil War as a divine punishment for slavery. Liberation contained a divine promise of social betterment. Though the missionizing efforts of the AME had mixed results, Walker believes they laid the foundation for an African American middle class. At the time of writing, Walker taught at Wesleyan University.

Walls, William J. *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church*. AMEZ Publishing House, 1974. 669 p. Out of print.

This is an insider’s history; Walls (1885-1975) was a bishop in the AMEZ for 50 years. At its 1968 quadrennial, the church created the post of historiographer, appointed Bishop Walls to fill it, and entrusted him to write a comprehensive history of itself. The “five years of massive research” (p. 8) that went into this study show in the result, which chronicles the history of the church in all its aspects: administration, missions, education, liturgy, anti-slavery and civil rights advocacy. Chapter 26 tells the story of the church’s Woman’s Home and Foreign Missionary Society.

Weems, Renita J. *Listening for God: A Minister’s Journey through Silence and Doubt*. Simon and Schuster, 1999. 204 p. \$11.00

Renita Weems, who teaches Old Testament at Vanderbilt University, is a minister in the AME Church. Though her book does not explicitly address race issues, her autobiographical reflections open up, for others, the life of a woman preacher in the AME Church. In the chapter on her ministry, Weems explicitly links her vocation to the Exodus story: “The Exodus journey gets at the essence of what it feels like to be an itinerant” (p. 120).