Daniel Alexander Payne: Churchman and Educator

DISSERTATION

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BY

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CHAPTER ONE
GROWING UP AND YOUNG MANHOOD

Charleston, South Carolina in the early 19th century was one of several urban centers in America where the Black man's struggle for freedom resembled a carefully rehearsed play. Among other things Charleston had the scenic qualities for the scenario. From the beginning, in at least one major aspect, Charleston had the upper hand on sister cities. It was blessed with favorable natural surroundings and, therefore, pioneered as a thriving, bustling, seaport city of the Southland.¹

Unique in many ways, but also quite similar to the people of numerous other Southern urban centers in 1811, Charleston's population thought of the city as the "Queen" of an enviable slave system that seemed to gain momentum as its tentacles spread both south and west. Indeed, South Carolina's city of pride occupied a very special place in infant America. Because of this, the city fathers showed more than ordinary interest in this carefully guarded distinction.²

Equally significant, the inhabitants considered Charleston the "Capital of the South" and consequently displayed a sense of jealousy as other urban centers made inroads into the city's supremacy. Even so, Charleston long enjoyed a rather auspicious ascendancy because it
was sprawled astride the crossroads of slavocracy, with the added advantage of a spacious harbor and access to the back country. As if this was not enough, Charlestonians could boast of a pleasant climate, and also, environmental beauty. No wonder the place was a favored resort attraction for rice and cotton planters "who built expensive and tasteful townhouses on the blue bay and gave special polish and sophistication" to the White society of the city.

Vastly different but of equal importance was the Black community that sharply defined the world of Daniel Alexander Payne. He was born February 24, 1811. It could be said that one of the more fortunate experiences of Payne was to begin life in Charleston. Here was the kind of community and variety of challenges necessary to kindle the fires of his budding genius. Of even more importance, a Black population functioned as a part of this busy center of activity, keenly aware of problems of racial adjustment, and already by 1811 vigorously asserting itself.  

Charleston had more Black residents than White in the early decades of the nineteenth century. According to the 1820 census the nonslave and slave Black population together numbered 13,127 out of a total of 24,780. Blacks continued to represent the major proportion of the inhabitants up to the eve of the Civil War. In terms of Daniel Payne's future this meant that he was ushered into a community where approximately fifteen hundred nonslave Blacks had developed institutions to meet the special needs of Black people. This institutional framework furnished Daniel with a springboard for his subsequent educational and
religious achievements. Possessed with indomitable will and faith, he was able to conquer serious physical handicaps, challenge a degrading racism and exemplify a kind of physical and moral courage seen only in the great and the near great.

Payne began life as a pint size baby and retained a diminutive stature all of his days, never weighing more than one hundred pounds. In spite of his thin, boney, tubercular appearance and the added handicap of frequent physical mishaps, Payne early learned the secret of strength preservation, and thus was able to live a long life filled with active, arduous, difficult tasks. In the main, however, it was Charleston that conditioned him for the numerous endeavors that spanned almost a century and brought him national and even international recognition.

Payne was born of mixed blood nonslave parents. Although both died while he was still in his youthful years, they left an unusual imprint on his thinking and had a major impact in moulding his future life. The grandfather of London Payne, Daniel's father, was a White Englishman who, with his several brothers, served in the American Revolutionary War. Although London Payne was born free, he was destined to spend several years in slavery. When only a youngster, he was coaxed on board a ship and transported out to sea where he was sold into slavery and forced to remain in bondage until reaching manhood. He was then compelled to purchase a second freedom for a sum of one thousand dollars. Daniel's mother, Martha, was of Negro-Indian extraction. Payne said that her grandmother "was of the tribe of Indians
known in the early history of the Carolinas as the Catawba Indians."

If a maturing Daniel had been in need of an inspirational factor to encourage community involvement, it could easily be found in the Black community of his youth. Seemingly, Charleston Blacks were not content to sit idly by and succumb to the pressures generated by a system of perpetual slavery. Consequently, as Payne passed through the growing-up stages, he witnessed an everyday contest between Black and White people. Such affairs varied in their intensity and disruption, running the gauntlet from the hideous fear of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy to quiet longing for freedom.

In the majority of Southern urban centers free Blacks grew with each census from 1820 to 1860. During these years Charleston's free Black population more than doubled. Most often free Blacks were inclined to choose urban centers as a place to live. About one-third were found in the larger urban centers of the South, while the remainder sought refuge in northern areas.

The free Blacks' status, nevertheless, was always precarious and oftentimes in the Southern slave areas they suffered some of the restrictions imposed on their slave brothers. On the other hand, in the North the hideous Black laws infringed drastically on their liberty. Yet, the nonslave Blacks enjoyed numerous privileges denied slaves, and legally, they could lead a comparatively normal family life. The nonslave could marry and retain children, own property, have the right to earnings and engage in a limited number of trades forbidden to the enslaved. Perhaps of more importance to one who faced day to day harras-
sment, was the privacy of the home, where many realized some protection from the constant surveillance of the White community.

Under the established laws governing the status of free Afro-Americans, Daniel Payne at birth entered the world of the Charleston free Black and was entitled to the qualified privileges of the group. Fortunately, Charleston's nonslave Black community compared favorably with similar Southern urban groups. This tightly knit population maintained a continuous struggle to establish a meaningful institutional life. Consequently, religious congregations were formed, churches were erected, schools and aid societies were organized, and improvement projects were stimulated to foster some of the higher aims of life.\(^{11}\)

As early as 1790 a group of Charleston mulattoes met to discuss their economic and social conditions, and subsequently devise a way to cooperate for economic and social betterment.\(^{12}\) One year later the so-called "pure blacks" organized with the same view in mind. The mulattoes formed the Brown Fellowship Society and those of unmixed blood the Free Dark Men of Color. The Brown Society declared that provisions would be made for education of children, assistance to orphans and widows, and burial grounds for the dead. The organization held monthly meetings and special observances on each anniversary.

Records show than in 1819 free Blacks were listed in thirty branches of work. Among them were 11 carpenters, 10 tailors, 22 seamstresses, 6 shoemakers, and an owner of a first class hotel. Thirty years later they were listed in fifty different types of work.\(^{13}\) Indication of motivation toward self-improvement was seen in the Bonneau Library
Society which was designed to provide literary improvement and the advancement of mental faculties. 14

Another significant part of the Charleston society into which Daniel Payne was born was the slave population. Outnumbering the non-slaves many times, this population was characteristic of its counterpart in the several other urban centers of the South. It represented mobility, constant change in contrast to the more stable rural slave group, and greater diffusion. Indeed the world of the city transformed Blacks no less than Whites, making the Black city slave quite unlike his rural brother.

In Charleston, the Black urban slave was engaged in a multitude of duties. He was found in large numbers working on the docks, in the hotels, boarding houses, private homes, and factories, transacting business for owners and performing various tasks connected with municipal operations. 15 A common place of employment was the market. For the most part, however, Charleston slaves performed unskilled work. They could be found in skilled capacities as painters, plasterers, carpenters, and occasionally, as typesetters, bookkeepers and foremen. 16 Some proprietors of hotels and factories trained Blacks as mechanics and clerks. Charleston's horse racing enthusiasts trained promising Blacks as jockeys.

An inspiring part of the urban slavery Payne witnessed, and one that perceptibly weakened the bonds of control, was the "hireout." Hiring out began as an operation handled by the master but later was performed as a business transaction by many of the slaves who arranged
for their own "hireout," gave the master a certain amount of financial returns, and kept the other. Serious repercussions developed, however, when the practice tended to loosen the master-slave arrangement. Although it was illegal, slaves even rented houses on their own. So extensive was the practice that a drive against "hireout" was seen as early as the first decade of the 19th century. Since both slave and owner found the practice mutually profitable, the basic fear was not economic; rather, it was concern that increased freedom would lead to the breakdown of slavery. Nevertheless, "hireout" served the purpose of attempting to adjust slavery to the economic demands of urban life.

Throughout Payne's adolescent years it was not unusual to see the Black male slave strolling with his lady fair on a Sunday afternoon, dressed in gayest apparel, most often a hand-me-down from a master or mistress. Charleston slaves, like many other slaves in urban areas, ate better than the rural ones. Bondmen who worked as domestics were tempted to eat what the Whites did although this was sometimes done without approval. A White Charleston minister complained that the Black slave domestic ate food from the same storehouse and drank from the same fountain as others in the household.

It is difficult to ascertain the depth of religious impact on the early 19th century Black community. Certainly, religion was a very potent factor in the everyday life of the Southern ante-bellum Black people. Confronted with a society that dealt with them harshly, Blacks seemed always to hope that somewhere in "God's Plan" relief would come. This faith was clearly apparent in the church activity
of Charleston Blacks.\textsuperscript{19}

At the time Daniel Payne was born, religion served Black people as a source of relief from the daily miseries of a slave society. Throughout the colonial period Black folk, free and slave, had worshipped in churches alongside of Whites, although in many places they had been assigned to segregated pews.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a movement for the establishment of separate Black congregations gradually gained momentum, primarily because of the growing impatience of Blacks with the discrimination they encountered in White churches. In some places White congregations encouraged the organization of all-Black congregations; in other places they bitterly opposed such groups. For the most part, however, the White churches were too preoccupied with their own problems—those involved in setting up their independence from the European mother churches—to be overly concerned with the problem of Black members. It should be remembered that the American church having the largest Black membership of all—the Methodist—did not itself become independent until 1784, the year of its organizational General Conference in Baltimore, Maryland.\textsuperscript{20}

The last quarter of the 18th century witnessed the formation of a Black congregation at Savannah, Georgia. This has been identified as the first religious congregation of its kind in the country.\textsuperscript{21} George Liele, slave of a Baptist deacon in Kiokes, Georgia, was one of its co-organizers. As early as 1774 Liele traveled up and down the Savannah River preaching to slaves on the plantations bordering the river.
Apparently, he was the first Black man to be granted a license to preach in the United States.

The establishment of Liele's church prompted the formation of other Black Baptist congregations. Thus as the new century opened, Black congregations were found in Petersburg, Richmond, and Williamsburg, Virginia; and in Boston, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New York City. 22

At the same time groups of dissident Blacks began to withdraw from Methodist churches—first at Philadelphia, later at New York. Blacks constituted such sizeable membership in the Methodist denomination that two Negroes, Richard Allen and Black Harry Hoosier, were present at the first General Conference in Baltimore, and one of the first converts of the local Baltimore church was one of the Switzer family's slaves, Aunt Annie. 23 Both Allen and Hoosier served as itinerant Methodist preachers, traveling the New York—Baltimore—Philadelphia circuit armed with Bible and hymn book, preaching to both Whites and Blacks.

In 1787, Allen, protesting discriminatory practices, led his Black followers from Old St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia to form what was called the Free African Society. This group functioned for several years until Allen and the co-leader Absalom Jones organized two separate Black congregations, the one to be known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the other, the African Episcopal Church. 24

Religious zeal, already manifested by the race, was a compelling factor generating Daniel Payne's enormous energy throughout his entire
life. Certainly, this quality was fostered by the Charleston environment and by energetic parental concern that was young Payne's for only a short but impressive time.

Charleston had its Black section of the White church to which both London and Martha Payne, Daniel's parents, belonged. They were members of the Cumberland Street Church of the Methodist Episcopal denomination. London Payne was a "Class Leader," the nearest office to Elder that Blacks could attain. No Blacks could serve as ordained ministers, but London Payne as Class Leader supervised the activity of the "Seekers" and "Members" classes.

In Payne's day, church attendance among Blacks was comparatively large even though administratively and doctrinally the churches were directed by Whites. In fact, religious and secular law vested supervision and control in the White population. There were times, nevertheless, when "Class Leaders" like London Payne exercised considerable power and influence. Occasions would arise when Whites became lax in their supervision, thereby enabling Blacks to take advantage of the lapse and assert a more vigorous leadership even to the extent of militancy. Moreover, where Black membership was predominant, Blacks assumed basic responsibility for most of the activity. Such activities as recruiting members, finding and supporting ministers, paying rents, and staffing the Sunday schools might well have fallen into neglect if left to White denominational members.

Nothing is more indicative of London Payne's religious nature than the promise he reportedly made to God before Daniel was born. London
Payne wanted a son, and he promised that if this wish was fulfilled, he would consecrate the child to the work of the Lord and name him after the Old Testament Prophet Daniel. His prayers answered, London hurried to the "House of God" and reaffirmed his vows in the course of the holy ordinance of baptism. As if this was not enough, London Payne felt compelled to repeat the ritual after returning home. There on bended knees and holding the infant Daniel in his arms, he rededicated his services to the Lord. After London died, Martha Payne remained true to the deceased father's commitments. Thus, regularly she could be seen leading the frail young Daniel by the hand and seating him beside her during frequent prayer meetings and church services.

London and Martha spent but a few years with their child. Daniel was in his fourth year when his father died and just past nine at the death of his mother. Despite their early deaths, both parents lived long enough to plant the roots of productive living in their child and to pass on the results of their labors to the capable hands of Daniel's great aunt, Sarah Bourdeaux.

Daniel's parents were man and wife whose free status had helped them understand the value of church and school to a Black youth's future. Their piety proved to be a compelling factor in Payne's future life. Deep religious impressions seemed always to direct his destiny. To be so moved by a sermon, at the tender age of eight—as he recalled—that emotional stimulation brought "crying through streets" is clearly prophetic of later years. Following the death of his mother Payne's religious qualities rapidly took command, and he "was often led by the
spirit to go to the garret to bend the knee and look up to heaven and plead for the Lord to make me a good boy." All of this led to a definite commitment to the church. Thus when he was only fifteen years old Daniel went to the authorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church for examination. He was admitted as a member on probation and placed in the class of Samuel Weston, a venerable leader of the Cumberland Church, who remained chief mentor throughout his youth.  

It was not until three years later, however, that Payne reached the point of full conversion. The occasion was a revival among Blacks of the Cumberland Street Church. Neither fear nor curiosity was the prime essential in this experience, but rather, a deep commitment which compelled him to write years later, "here I too gave my whole heart, and instantly felt that peace which passeth all understanding and that joy which is unspeakable and full of glory." Soon after his conversion Payne sought Divine assistance in the matter of vocational choice. He prayed and awaited evidence that these prayers had been answered. Thus, religious indoctrination began functioning as a guiding principle in his life, even before he reached manhood.

Since Payne's critical decisions were often a direct response to what he interpreted as Divine intervention, he was particularly impressed by a message from on High directing him to become an educator. As he recalled, the event followed a series of prayerful pleadings, when, it seems, he heard a voice saying: "I have set thee apart to educate thyself that thou mayest be an educator to thy people." To Payne, such an experience was definite evidence of the will of God at
work in his life. From this moment on, study and reading became a pre-
occupation, and his driving ambition found him busy at the task while
carrying on subsequent apprenticeship duties.

Actually, in the early Charleston years Payne's educational indoctrination shared equal fervor with religion. It was at the knee of
London Payne that the young son was first taught the "alphabet and
monosyllables." London was a strong disciplinarian, and Daniel never
forgot the punishment received for neglecting his studies. Payne's
educational prospects in childhood days were bright, since Charleston
free Blacks had already provided the means to allow some of their
number the opportunities of an education. 29

One of the organizations active in this endeavor was the Minor
Moralist Society especially designed to assist children like Payne
whose parents were dead or incapacitated. For two years Daniel re-
ceived educational instruction from the Minor Moralist Society. Prom-
inent Black citizens, such as James Mitchell, Joseph Humphries, William
Cooper, Carlos Huger, Thomas Bonneau, William Clark and Richard Holloway
were instrumental in its formation. 30 Fortune still smiled on the
youthful Daniel as the Minor Moralist experience was followed by in-
struction under the personal direction of Thomas Bonneau, the most rep-
utable Black Charleston teacher of the time. Even though these early
educational beginnings were helpful, they were not sufficient to satis-
fy Payne's ambitions; thus, he became one of that group of early Amer-
icans who were largely self-taught.

Payne's early life was not without great inspirational moments.
Reading the *Self-Interpreting Bible* written by the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, Scotland was an illuminating moment in his life.\(^{31}\) He was suddenly imbued with the urge to be like Reverend Brown. Through the self-taught method Brown had learned Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Daniel was determined to achieve the same success.

*Scottish Chiefs*, published by Daniel and Getz of Philadelphia (n.d.), was another volume high on Payne's list of books, which included the exploits of William Wallace and Robert Bruce, two of his ideal men. The Haitian revolution and subsequent developments were of profound influence and for a time he thought of becoming a soldier; but religious concerns which were always present in shaping Payne's decisions played the role of deterrent, and returned him to the secure grasp of John Brown's influence.

The early death of Payne's parents dictated that the boy work at an early age, hence, he was "hired out" to a shoe merchant when only twelve.\(^{32}\) At thirteen Daniel worked at the carpenter's trade under the careful supervision of James Holloway, his brother-in-law. Four-and-a-half years later he became a tailor's apprentice and after nine months a carpenter again until his nineteenth year, when, except for a brief period, he began his life-long career as an educator.

Eighteen twenty-nine was indeed a memorable year in the life of Daniel Payne. A dream had come true when he opened a school for the formal education of Black people. This was not the first Black school nor the only such school in Charleston at the time. In fact, as far back as the early 18th century there was ample evidence that free and
bond Blacks received educational training. Around 1731 Rev. E. Taylor of St. Andrews Parish, near Charleston, reportedly gave both religious and secular instructions to Afro-Americans. In 1743 a school at Charleston operated by Rev. Alexander Garden enrolled as many as thirty-six children. 33

Between 1790 and 1830 associations such as the Cumberland Society, Asbury Association, Capers Missionary and the Bonneau Library Society flourished at various times. 34 As indicated previously Payne himself attended the Minor Society for indigent and orphaned children. Moreover, in many urban areas throughout the South a substantial number of free Blacks, after achieving a degree of economic security, were financially underwriting their own schools. At the same time in Charleston and many other parts of the South Blacks carried on clandestine and private educational operations, oftimes in violation of state and local laws.

Payne's initial educational experiment was less than encouraging. He opened his school in the home of Caesar Wright on Tradd Street in Charleston with the three Wright children and three adult slaves (taught at night) as pupils. Since Payne received but fifty cents a month for each of his initial enrollees, financing the enterprise posed an immediate problem. He found it necessary to work exceedingly long hours at extra jobs to purchase books. Such things as making tables, benches, clothehorses, and corset bones and selling them in the public market on Saturday night absorbed some of the expense, but Payne faced an immediate problem of having enough income to live. Consequently, after
a year of threadbare existence, together with the discouraging remarks of hostile critics, Daniel gave up this first educational attempt and sought other employment.

Since education of his Black brethren was by this time firmly entrenched in Payne's thinking, a chance incident soon returned him to the classroom. The occasion was the visit to Charleston of a wealthy slaveholder who endeavored to persuade Payne to travel with him to the West Indies. In the beginning Payne was inclined to view the offer favorably, but a statement made by the man with reference to the educational aspects of the trip caused a change of mind. After advising Daniel that the trip itself would be ample compensation, the slaveholder remarked, "Do you know what makes the difference between the master and slave? Nothing but superior knowledge!" Daniel's instant reaction was an abrupt change of mind as he heard himself say, "If it is true that there is nothing but superior knowledge between the master and the slave, I will not go with you, but will rather go and obtain that knowledge which constitutes the master."\(^{35}\)

With the dawn of the new year, 1830, Daniel Payne re-opened his school. This time success was with him. The enrollment increased rapidly. In fact, it outgrew the original meeting place, and a schoolhouse was built for him by Robert Howard "in the rear of his yard" where he stayed until the school was closed in 1835.\(^{36}\)

Paralleling the problem of pupils and space was preparation for the job at hand. Daniel was sure of some strengths he possessed but was equally aware of obvious weaknesses. Through the skillful hand
of Thomas Bonneau he had become well versed in reading, writing and spelling. His knowledge of arithmetic was fair, but he was weak in such essentials as geography, map drawing, English grammar, and composition since schools for Blacks offered no instruction in these subjects. This left only the self-teaching method if a workable knowledge was to be attained.

The luck of the gods was with Daniel when a woman who found a geography and atlas casually happened by and offered to sell it to him for whatever he could muster. This very "real prize" was purchased with Daniel's mite of twelve cents. Six months of intense study enabled him to acquire the skill "to construct maps on the Mercator's globular projection." At the same time he worked diligently with the study of grammar, making use of Murray's English Grammar, a book written by Lindley Murray and published by T. Kirk Printing Company, New York, 1808. Payne reports that he committed the entire book to memory, but failed to understand it. He then reviewed it again and again before attaining a satisfactory grasp.

Feeling the need to expand his knowledge, Payne went to botany, chemistry, natural philosophy and "descriptive" astronomy in "rapid succession." He then began to master Greek, Latin, and French. His enthusiasm for new areas of learning seemed to gain momentum as the days moved by. For this success Payne felt that primary credit should be given to the inspiration of his pupils.

In the midst of it all some unfortunate results were forthcoming. Having selected E. H. Burritt's Geography of the Heavens, published by
H. Huntington Savage, New York, 1832, as his textbook in astronomy, Daniel was so caught up in its interesting revelations that he was induced to watch a total solar eclipse of 1832 with the naked eye. As a result, he was deprived of his sight for a time. It was three weeks before he could read. Although he recovered enough sight to pursue both study and teaching, permanent damage was experienced from the incident and Payne's eyes remained weak throughout his life.

Because of this initial eye impairment, together with a natural physical weakness and a series of subsequent sick periods and injuries, Payne concentrated on self-mastery by devising a strict self-imposed set of rules. These amounted to a system of checks on his habitual faults and failures. The results were gratifying, particularly in future years, when he had the need for every ounce of energy to endure the rigorous pressures of church and school activities.

Zoology had a special relish for Daniel. Because books were not available, practical application stimulated widespread interest in both teacher and pupils. Saturday became the day to search the woods for insects, reptiles, and plants. As a result, toads, snakes, young alligators, fishes, and sharks were cleaned, stuffed, and then hung on the walls of the classroom. Payne rejoiced in the specimens he collected over a period of five years. Not only was factual knowledge increased, but such intense interest provided an opportunity to meet with distinguished scholars like Dr. John Bachman, a leading South Carolina naturalist.

The opportunity for this rewarding experience came when the sister
of a pupil found a caterpillar in an elderberry bush. Curious because of its size, Daniel sought Bachman's expert opinion. He was unusually excited because the worm had "the length and thickness of a large laboring-man's little finger," a striking color of "gold blended with azure," and an ingenious design with "four rows of horns running the whole length of its body," made up of gold and ebony like points and forming a crown encircling the head. Payne's knowledge was substantially enriched when he gained access to Dr. Bachman's fine collection of flowers and insects from different parts of the world.

By this time Payne had created such a favorable climate for instruction that his school reached a maximum of sixty pupils before it was discontinued in 1835. This was a far cry from the six enrollees of 1829. Through indefatigable will and dogged perserverance, Payne had put together an educational organization with promising benefits for the Black community of Charleston. It was by far the largest of five such schools operating in Charleston in 1834 when the act was passed declaring such projects illegal.

The forces that merged in 1835 to precipitate a sudden end to Payne's early years in Charleston were not of spontaneous origin. In fact, they were as old as the existing pattern of Black-White relationships. For one thing, Black church congregations were often suspect, quite frequently making them the source of the White man's irrational fears.

When Payne was still a child a Black native of Charleston, the Rev. Morris Brown, established a church under the recently organized
all-Black African Methodist Episcopal denomination. Evidence of its popularity was clearly visible when free Blacks and slaves joined in relatively large numbers even in the face of obvious efforts by city officials to discourage the movement.\textsuperscript{45} Thus it came as no surprise when the Rev. Brown became a victim of the hysteria surrounding the Denmark Vesey conspiracy which closed the church and forced him to flee North. This triggered suppression of Black church action throughout the South and consequently, Charleston was without a Black church prior to the Civil War.

It was clearly apparent that religious and educational activities were the great fear of the White community. These were regarded as germinating areas of serious Black-White friction. In the middle of the 1830's Black churches and schools were coming under increasing attack throughout all of Dixie.\textsuperscript{46} Payne seemed to feel that the conflict provoked by his school operation was the key factor in the passage of the South Carolina "black" educational laws of 1835.\textsuperscript{47} In truth, confrontation of national proportions involving the Black population had been accelerating for more than a decade. Since it was the urban centers that Southern slaveholders feared most, it followed that more severe restrictions would be imposed in such areas. The very nature of these large concentrations of population was conducive to a wide range of freedom. Mobility, ideas, militant challenge were all parts of the scene.

Yet, it is quite probable that a local incident involving Payne influenced action by frightened White citizens in Charleston.\textsuperscript{48} While
endeavoring to develop his zoology course in the summer of 1834, Payne felt the need of a "highland moccasin" for purposes of dissection and study. To get it he sent three of his "advanced students" to contact a slave on the plantation of Lionel Kennedy, a prominent Charleston attorney and alderman. Unfortunately, the pupils accidently encountered the alderman and his son, a local physician, when they arrived at the plantation. Even though the Kennedy plantation owners were acquainted with Payne and the parents of the youthful visitors, they rigorously questioned them concerning their mission and what was taught in the Charleston school.

Dr. Kennedy's reaction after forthright answers from the group indicated his feeling that Payne's educational instruction created a threatening condition in Charleston. Suddenly the younger Kennedy turned to his father and said, "Why, Pa, Payne is playing hell in Charleston." Payne saw a direct connection between this confrontation and a bill presented by two Charleston lawyers to the South Carolina General Assembly barely six months later. Within a few weeks the bill passed both houses of the Assembly and became the "odious" law of 1835 which made the teaching of both slave and free Blacks illegal.

Regardless of this experience, already a series of ominous events had foreshadowed the clash of the pros and cons of slavery. It is doubtful that Payne was completely unaware of the several controversial slave incidents of the previous decade. Inasmuch as the Denmark Vesey upheaval occurred in his native Charleston, it would seem likely that he had some idea of its national impact. Even more significant was the
slave question, propelled into the national political arena for the first time, through the controversial Missouri issue.

Only months thereafter, in 1821, Benjamin Lundy began editing an abolitionist paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Then followed in 1822, a serious disruption in the Charleston community as the conspiracy of Denmark Vesey was unveiled. As a consequence, South Carolina tightened its laws against Blacks, and in Charleston a jury was hastily assembled which condemned Black men to death, expelled others and confiscated property. Barely five years later, two Blacks, in New York, John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish, began to publish *Freedom's Journal*, the first Black newspaper. Within two years after the founding of *Freedom's Journal*, a Black secondhand store owner, David Walker, who lived in Boston, released a pamphlet entitled *The Appeal*, justifying slave rebellion as a legitimate instrument in the abolition of slavery. Charleston and other urban centers of the South banned the pamphlet under pain of severe penalty. It was clearly apparent, as Payne prepared to abandon his South Carolina educational enterprise, that Black men were already in the forefront of the struggle to destroy slavery.

Charleston had tried to maintain a kind of control felt necessary to preserve a social order built to sustain two populations—the White master and the Black servant. Desperately needed was the means to close the gapping holes in the brestwork. Always present were those tempted to flout the law. Slaves, freemen, and even whites for devious reasons and through various methods were co-workers in the art of
violation.

As far back as 1800 Charleston had placed a law on the statute books giving local police the authority to "break down gates and windows" in dispersing groups "gathered together for the purpose of mental instruction of the blacks." Although such instruction was known to have persisted even after restrictions were imposed, the law, dormant in less threatening periods, was always available when the need to use it arose. At the 1835 critical juncture, South Carolina's ruling class felt still another law was needed, together with an ideological revision, proclaiming slavery a "positive good" rather than the "lesser of evils."

The impact of the South Carolina law on Daniel Payne was cataclysmic, and he even envisioned his own death as a result. Since the new law inflicted penalties on violators, Payne saw his beloved school doomed. Filled with inner turmoil he eventually found solace in the therapeutic value of a lengthy poetic creation "The Mournful Lute or Preceptor's Farewell." Afterwards, Payne saw this literary effort as the last possible salvation in sustaining the shock. In substance the poem was a mixture of all that coursed through Payne's mind as he confronted his ordeals.

At one point in the struggle with himself, inner rage compelled Payne to curse those responsible for the "awful law," and "wish they had but one neck" to allow him to be the man "to sever the head from the shoulders." In calmer moments, however, when his poetry seemed to exert a pacifying affect, he urged his students to "hate sin; love
God; religion be your prize" and he reminded them "you are my hopes, and ye my mental crowns, my moment of intellectual might." Payne's ordeal was of such immense proportions that he momentarily lost faith in the Divine as he considered "if God exists, why does he suffer one race to oppress and enslave another, to rob them by unrighteous enactment of rights, which they hold most dear and sacred." 

In the midst of dire hopelessness he was willing to give his all toward reversing the trend:

Could tears of blood revoke the fierce decree,
The statesmen touch and make my pupils free,
I at their feet the crimson tide would pour
Til potent justice swayed the senate floor. 

Indeed, it was Payne's poetic sense and deep religious conviction that brought dreams and poetry to his defense. Through these vehicles he found peace and direction in a critical moment for decision. In fact, he believed another important directive was forthcoming from the Divine which compelled him to write:

I dreamed that I was lifted up from the earth, and without wings fled toward the North. I was clad in my pink robe, which I always wore in the schoolroom. Upon reaching the North I was all the time flying south of the chain of Lakes which separate the United States and Canada. To and fro along this line I was still flying in my teaching robes, till I awoke and found myself in Charleston, but greatly comforted in the midst of my trouble.
FOOTNOTES

1 Although Charleston seems to have lost its august position to New Orleans as the century moved toward the Civil War, yet, the city continued to hold a powerful and respectable place among the urban centers of the slave South. Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities (New York, 1964), 10-12.

2 By the 1820's Charleston's daily newspapers were showing more than usual concern over the City's downward trend. Charleston Courier, August 7, 1824; Charleston City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser, September 20, 1824; Charleston Courier, May 29, 1845. Yet, there is some evidence that Charleston may have experienced some revival in the 1830's adding to the frustrations over the 1828 and 1830 tariffs. See William Oliver Stevens, Charleston: Historic City of the Gardens (New York, 1940), 233.


5 Official census of the United States.

6 "Ceremonies attending the Unveiling of the Monument Erected to the Memory of Daniel Alexander Payne," May 21, 1894, 17.

7 Daniel A. Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years (Nashville, 1888), 11. The Recollections provide the best source for a study of Payne's personal experiences in the Charleston days. See chapters 1-4.

8 Ibid., 12.

9 Wade, Slavery in the Cities, 248, 326.

10 For a thorough examination of this condition see: Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961); and Eugene H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery (Urbana, Illinois, 1962).

12Ibid., 15.

13Fitchett, "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina," 143.


15Wade, Slavery in the Cities, 30-36.

16Ibid.

17Ibid., 40.

18Ibid., 132.


21Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 43-45.


23Singleton, Romance of African Methodism, 14.

24Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 74-75.

25Payne, Recollections, 16.

26Ibid., 13. Payne believed that his regular attendance at class meetings and worship with his mother were principally responsible for this strong religious feeling.

27Payne, Recollections, 17.

28Ibid.

30 Payne, Recollections, 14.
31 Ibid., 15.
32 Ibid.
33 Birnie, "Education of the Negro in Charleston, South Carolina
Prior to the Civil War," 14.
34 Ibid., 16.
35 Payne, Recollections, 19-20.
36 Payne states in his Recollections, 20, that this school house was
still standing in 1886. There is a picture of the building in the
Archives of Wilberforce University.
37 Ibid., 21.
38 Ibid.
39 Payne became an excellent student of French. In fact, the last
two years before his death, recordings in his Diary (in Archives, Wil-
berforce University) were in French. By that time his handwriting had
deteriorated. One wonders whether recording in the French might have
been an easier task than use of the English.
40 Payne, Recollections, 22.
41 Payne relates "I bought a live alligator, made one of my pupils
prove him to bite, and whenever he opened his mouth, I discharged
a load of shot from a small pistol down his throat. As soon as he was
stunned, I threw him on his back, cut his throat, ripped his chest,
hung him up and studied his viscera till they ceased to move." Payne,
Recollections, 21-23.
42 Ibid., 36.
43 Ibid., 25.
44 Accordingly, there is evidence that enactments in South Carolina
expressly forbade religious meetings of slaves or free Negroes "either
before the rising of the sun or after the setting of the same." Stanley
M. Elkins, Slavery (Chicago, 1959), 60. A law in 1806 stated that a
group of seven or more Negroes had to have a White person in atten-
dance. See George Rogers, Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys (Nor-
man, Oklahoma, 1969), 143.
Evidently, Brown (later a bishop in the A.M.E. Church) had an imposing following. He organized the Church in 1817 and reported 1,000 members. By 1822, 3,000 were recorded though it was difficult for slaves and free Negroes to attend. Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 77. Daniel Payne, The Semi-Centenary and the Retrospection of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Baltimore, 1866), 25.


Payne, Recollections, 26-27.


Ibid.

Ibid., 27. Because of this, Payne's school was forced to close the last day of March, 1835.


What is usually referred to as the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy or Insurrection may not have been either a conspiracy or insurrection. Yet, even if it was merely an imagined plot the consequences were just as horrible for the Black population of Charleston. Indeed, the White community was gripped with such fear as to subject the Black population to the worst blood bath in memory. Juries were hastily assembled. Numerous Blacks were put to death while others had their possessions confiscated. Still others were forced to flee North. Even a few Whites were implicated as stringent laws were imposed on the Black community. The incident has since generated considerable discussion.

More detail can be gathered from such works as: Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, An Official Report of the Trials of Sundry Negroes Charged with an Attempt to Raise an Insurrection (Charleston, 1822); James Hamilton, Jr., Negro Plot. An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection Among a Portion of the Blacks in the City of Charleston, South Carolina (Boston, 1822); Niles Weekly Register, XXXIII (September 7, 1822), 10. Richard Wade, "The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration," Journal of Southern History, XXX (May, 1964), 43-61; Charleston City Gazette, December 4, 5, 10, 1822; Governor Thomas Bennett's statement to the South Carolina legislature November 28, 1822, Message #2, Governor's Papers, South Carolina Archives; A Digest of Ordinances (Charleston, 1844).

As for Payne, at the time he was but eleven years of age. Later he candidly observed in part that Vesey was "heroic, but luckless."
Payne felt that Vesey and the alleged cohorts were executed without reason. He vigorously asserted that "They had not shed a drop of their master's blood, nor had they taken up arms or committed an act of violence, but they had conspired against the infernal system, and that was a crime in itself sufficiently heinous to be punished by death." He was sure that "the blood of these helpless victims" was "avenged by the punitive visitation of Heaven during the Civil War and Rebellion against the American Union!" Finally, he saw the spirit of liberty dealing differently with "the blood stained leaders of the Rebellion" since they were allowed to go unpunished, even though "their conspiracy" resulted in the death of "two hundred and seventy-nine thousand three hundred and seventy-six men and a national debt of ten billions three hundred and sixty-one millions nine hundred and twenty nine thousand nine hundred and nine dollars." See Daniel A. Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (Nashville, 1891), I, 45. Also, The Semi-Centenary and the Retrospection of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 23.

52 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 233.

54 Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York, 1969), 16-17.


56 See APPENDIX B, for extract of the law.

57 Payne, Recollections, 34.

58 Payne, Recollections, 29-34. He declared that this poem served as a "safety valve" which spared his life.

59 Ibid., 28.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., 33.

63 Ibid., 34.
CHAPTER TWO

THE TIME FOR DECISION

A small crowd gathered at the wharf in Charleston harbor on May 9, 1835 as Daniel Payne said a tearful goodbye to the circle of friends who felt some special loss at his departure. As he stood on the deck of the steamer, still waving and gazing half dazed at the little band until the shoreline of Charleston could be seen no more, two thoughts tore at his inner soul. The first, what would happen to his Black brothers and sisters left behind in Charleston. In subsequent years he would think of them and their deplorable state many times. The second, what fate awaited him in the little known and foreboding land of the North.

Many times sadness would pull at his heartstrings before he returned thirty years later to fulfill a pledge he made on this day of gloom. It was time to travel on, even though departure seemed so difficult and the future so bleak, both for him and his Charlestonian Black brothers who must remain.

It was a long way from Charleston to New York City in 1835 but Payne was not to be deterred. Fortunately he had no illusions about the hazards of the future and seemed mentally prepared to face the ordeals of a new life. When he arrived there was no welcoming
committee, hence, meticulous preparation beforehand proved an important consideration.

Payne disembarked from the steamer that carried him the many miles, armed with his precious recommendations and fully prepared to seek out helpful contacts. He found his way to the home of the Rev. Peter Williams, a Black Protestant Episcopal clergyman who exercised considerable influence in the Black community.

While talking over future problems and possibilities with the influential Peter Williams, Payne had the fortune of a chance meeting with Alexander Crummell, a young man of similar age and circumstance. Both were seeking help from the venerable Episcopalian clergyman to further their budding careers. Although possessing only meager funds, Daniel recalled that on this occasion he made a small contribution toward Crummell's academic training. Little did Payne realize at the time that he and Crummell would march side by side as two of the powerful Black religious leaders in the post Civil War era. Their paths would cross many times as they worked in parallel areas to help shape the Black church into the most formidable institution in the late 19th century Black community.

Daniel's immediate introduction to the anti-slavery crusade made him aware of the organization's program for the first time. In the South special efforts were constantly at work to prevent the news of the abolitionist movement from reaching the Black population. Whenever mention of anti-slavery people became unavoidable it was customary to cast the abolitionist in the mold of "unprincipled agitators"
and "evil men" with designs to undermine the precious heritage that formed the very basis on which America was built.  

Hence, the warped and twisted views of abolitionists Daniel brought with him from the South caused his surprise when visiting an anti-slavery meeting the evening of the day he called on Peter Williams. It was the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society and thus appealed to distinguished champions of the fight against bondage. Daniel heard George Thompson, the celebrated English orator, and Lewis Tappan, the financial angel of the anti-slavery movement. Later on he talked with Tappan, and the passionate abolitionist questioned Daniel about the manifestations of slavery in his native Charleston. In the course of the conversation Payne informed his interrogator that he opposed immediate and unconditional emancipation because he thought that slaves should first be educated in order to enjoy freedom more fully. The impatient Tappan was quick to respond: "Don't you know that men can't be educated in a state of slavery?" Further discussions with Tappan persuaded Payne to modify his original views. Subsequently he reached the point in his thinking where slavery and education "were antagonistic and could not exist together."  

Daniel Payne treasured the ten days spent in New York following the initial introduction to northern country. In twenty-five years of living, never before had he seen Black men so actively at work to blot out slavery, nor so economically progressive. Reliable estimates indicated that New York City Blacks owned $1,400,000 worth of taxable real estate and had $600,000 on deposit in savings banks in 1837.
Even more revealing was the concurrent action against the restrictive "Black Laws" and the concern of some for emigration to Africa. Payne met and talked with many men and women of color who in spite of severe repressions made substantial gains and constituted a representative leadership for the Black community. In several instances he found lasting friendships that proved valuable assets in later years.

At the same time Payne learned of the severe restrictions and exclusions imposed on the quasi-free Black community by the detestable "Black Laws." As a result, his rather idealistic vision was considerably deflated. Like many other Blacks such as Frederick Douglass who came from the South, he thought of the North as a land of freedom, democracy, and human dignity. He soon learned that his knowledge of nonslave Blacks in Northern communities before he left Charleston was meager and spotty.

Perhaps the most sensitive immediate contest commanding the attention of the Black New York population at the time of Payne's arrival, was the fight against voting restrictions. As early as 1821, a Constitutional Convention required a Black citizen to show ownership of $250 in landed property as a qualification for voting. Even though stringent Black protest persisted, five years later the ruling was sustained.

In July 1834, a few months before Payne arrived, New Yorkers were embroiled in a bloody race riot. Tension building between Blacks and Whites for several months eventually was triggered by fraudulent elections, labor troubles, and a newspaper report of an impending
cholera epidemic. White mobs so vented their fury on the Black community that it became necessary to call out the state militia to avert further destruction and injury. Among those caught in the midst of the outbreak was Payne's friend and confidant, Peter Williams, the first Black priest in the Episcopal denomination, whose church was destroyed. 14

Meanwhile, Payne kept in mind first priorities. Thus he hastened to make good use of his Charleston letters of introduction. Through them the way was open for contact with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Moreover, the letters were instrumental in making possible friendly talks with several Congregational and Protestant Episcopal clergymen. Most important was a meeting held with the Rev. Daniel Strobel, pastor of a Lutheran Church in New York, and a man who had close ties with the seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

At the time Payne met with Rev. Strobel an organization at Gettysburg called the Society of Inquiry on Missions was in search of a "talented, pious young man of color" to educate, and Payne appeared to meet the qualifications. In the course of a persuasive approach, Dr. Strobel advised Payne that the study of theology would greatly improve his usefulness in helping oppressed Black Americans. Payne instantly responded that "the sanctities and responsibilities of the ministry were too great and awful." For the moment his desire was to become an educator. It was this ambition that drove him from his native Charleston. He was convinced that education was the key solution to the downtrodden plight of his Black brethren and toward this he must direct his full energy
and strength. In spite of complete surrender to the will of God and an impeccable Christian character, at the time he left Charleston he still felt himself unworthy of aspiring to the ministry.¹⁵

After a while, Payne was finally convinced that theological training offered excellent background for teaching as well as the ministry. Three other problems had to be resolved, however, before he entered Gettysburg Seminary. The first concerned the nature of Gettysburg educational policies. In this respect, Payne was interested in a broad approach unrestricted by the doctrines of the Church. He was satisfied that the Seminary offered a suitable curriculum after reading Unabridged Popular Theology, a book written by the president of the seminary, Dr. Samuel Schumucker. The second problem was induced by fear that enrollment meant adherence to the "doctrine and usage" of the Lutheran church. Later on, his mind was set at ease after consultation with Rev. Strobel and a Gettysburg student, Charles Martin, who Payne met while the latter was on a Gettysburg fund drive visit to New York.¹⁶

Both of these men assured Payne that Gettysburg students enjoyed freedom of religious choice. Still another question pertained to the sensitive issue of African colonization and the intentions of White missionary efforts in this regard.

From the year 1817, the major segment of the Black leadership had vigorously opposed African colonization in any form.¹⁷ In several instances this had resulted in strong reprimand and even isolation for minority Blacks who favored emigration to Africa. Yet, sentiment for colonization persisted among certain segments of the Black population
and institutions designed to educate Negroes for teaching in Africa. The colonization controversy was disturbing to Daniel Payne, especially since so many of his initial contacts either recommended or advised him to "go to Africa." 18 Payne contended, as did other nonslave Blacks, that a far greater need was freedom of the Black slave in America rather than labor in the foreign fields of Africa. Following satisfactory assurance that he would not be pressed into African service once his course of study was completed, Payne matriculated in his first formal educational program on the college level. 19

Early in life, Payne developed the tendency to drive himself hard. This was an enduring mark of his character from the Charleston days, when he encountered the necessity to supply his needs through self-education and to pursue the task with solemn intensity. If knowledge about map-drawing, geography, English grammar and composition was needed, he sought out the tools and mastered the content. The same process was applied when he learned the Greek alphabet on the same day he bought a Greek grammar and then spent the following two days writing the alphabet and translating the first chapter of "Matthew's Gospel from Greek into English." He made similar achievements in Latin. 20

In a sense Payne's struggle for an education had a unique quality. It included God as a partner of his every move and thought. Daniel Payne and God had an intimate relationship, and he seldom pursued a task before invoking God's will. Through prayer he established the communication and then patiently awaited the answer, transmitted most often through a dream or vision.
In many ways this made his endeavors far more spirited than otherwise and instilled the will to exhaust his limited physical capacities. Thus, many times when physical strength was at a premium and physical impairment posed a nearly insurmountable wall, Payne was able to press on. Even more inspiration was forthcoming in the practice of interpreting misfortune and failure as a violation of God's commandments. It meant that solution of the problem would transcend the real world and ultimately depend on a "closr walk" with the Divine.

Experiences at Gettysburg revealed no serious break in Payne's routine pattern of self-mastery. In a period of two years he tenaciously applied himself to the course of study and also found time actively to participate in community affairs. Among the courses the first year were: Greek and Hebrew Philology, Sacred Geography, Sacred Chronology, Biblical and Profane History and Biblical Antiquities. Second year courses were equally impressive. These included Philosophy of the Mind, Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Criticism, Exegetical Theology, Biblical Theology, Systematic Divinity, and Ecclesiastical History.21

Soon after Payne enrolled, he sought to improve the conditions of Black people in the vicinity of Gettysburg through a wide-ranging program. After he visited with College officials, provisions were made to open a Sunday School in an old campus building were Black children of the neighborhood could receive instruction. Meanwhile, Payne held church meetings and revivals to involve the adult population, together with a special society for the "mental and moral improvement" of women.
In addition to all of these numerous endeavors, Payne found time to make some seventy speaking engagements in two years, a feat compounded by the distance covered and the difficult terrain traversed.

As Payne prepared for his third and final year at Gettysburg, he incurred his second serious eye injury in a period of only seven years. The previous damage inflicted from exposure to a solar eclipse evidently was a factor in this latest mishap. There was a touch of irony to the sudden ailment since Payne lay stretched out on a bed reading a pamphlet on "The Use of the Eyes" when it occurred. Later on medical diagnosis concluded that the acute pain penetrating Daniel's left eye was evidence of a strained optic nerve.

Throughout the long ordeal of twelve months required to repair the eye damage, Daniel Payne envisioned a hopeless future. Whenever he tried to read, sharp pains like a needle pierced his eyeball. At this point he felt the need of reflection and re-examination of his self-discipline program adopted when a youth in Charleston and more carefully imposed in subsequent years. For Payne to conquer the serious handicap of poor vision, required a display of sheer will and the application of self-imposed control that few would be able to undertake.

Yet, even as he toyed with these thoughts, the fear of abruptly terminating a promising educational career left him with gnawing frustration and deep emotional disturbance. Probably at no time in the entire life of Payne was religious faith so important to his well being. In the midst of his misery, like the prophets of the Old Testament scriptures, Payne heard a voice. It directed him to the "thirteenth chapter of
Matthew, sixteenth verse." As he read the scriptural passage referred to, his attention centered on the phrase, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears for they hear." Seemingly his experience made him more aware of those who could neither see nor hear.

Perhaps the most monumental decision in Payne's life was made during the long period of convalescence at Gettysburg. One day his daily communion with the Divine was interrupted by a message of deep significance. Payne reported it in this way:

I was lying upon my bed, lamenting and pondering over the future, when I felt a pressure from on high that constrained me to say with the Apostle Paul: 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!'

If one follows the family and community indoctrination of Payne, together with the piety that gripped his very nature, it is somewhat surprising that a decision to become a minister was delayed so long. On the other hand, continuous condemnation of himself as imbued with sin and Christian inadequacy makes his hesitancy understandable. From his youthful years Payne struggled for Christian perfection, and his Gettysburg journal reflects vigorous day-to-day self-examination. Prayers to achieve this Godlike quest for Divine acceptability were an integral part of his every day routine at the Seminary. Daily, and particularly at the end of the week, he would write his plea to the Almighty in his journal.

At one place he wrote:

Another week has nearly closed, and my unprofitable life is still spared upon the land of the living. Ah! Lord what have I done to glorify thy name this week?
At another:

O, my Redeemer, how have I lived this week? My thoughts, my words, my deeds, what have they been? Holy or unholy? Save me or I perish.

Still another:

Oh my Father, now I have come to the end of another week. How unfaithful I have been since last Saturday night!

Even in the concluding words of the journal he speaks of his weak spiritual condition and rededicates himself to God's work.

There then O Lord, I dedicate myself anew to thee. My soul, my body, my Spirit; take them for thy use and glory now, hencefore and forever. Amen.23

According to those in close contact with Payne's academic achievements at Gettysburg, his record showed excellent promise for the future.26 Particularly complimentary was the report of Professor C. P. Krauth, a teacher and counselor. Not only was Professor Krauth pleased with Payne's reading of the Hebrew and Greek scriptures, but he also considered his student "easy and delightful" to instruct because of his "diligence and ability." Professor Krauth was further convinced that Payne erased doubts of "many who have been skeptical of the capacity of the colored man to achieve the intellectual victories which adorn and exalt human nature." In another assessment President Samuel Schummcker expressed confidence in Daniel's integrity and the highest regard for his character.

As Payne departed Gettysburg in 1837, a neophyte minister intent on performing a special work for the Divine, he was soon called on to make another decision of major concern to his new career. Immediately,
he faced mounting pressure to join the ranks of the many reputable Black abolitionist clergymen who had infiltrated the militant abolitionist movement.27 Such a course not only offered an opportunity to perform a rewarding service but also provided youthful budding ministers with more comfortable financial returns.

As inviting as this opportunity seemed to be, it proved a real dilemma for Payne. More than anything else, the conflict with his true character was readily apparent. From time to time he had been advised that anti-slavery enthusiasts had considered him a promising candidate for abolitionist activism. Not the least of these was Theodore Weld, who wrote the Grimké sisters recommending Payne as an ideal discovery in the search for "young colored men" to lecture in the abolitionist crusade. Weld sincerely believed that Payne "could do more in three months to kill prejudice than all the operations" already attempted.28

It was not until 1840, when the citizens of East Troy, New York, selected Payne as a delegate to the National Reform Convention in Philadelphia, that he directly confronted militant abolitionism. As a result of a subsequent preaching engagement at Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York, where Weld and abolitionist Lewis Tappan were present, Payne was offered an anti-slavery lectureship at $300 a year and expenses. At this point Payne faced a choice between the pastorate and becoming an abolitionist lecturer. He sought advice from others to solve the dilemma. A definite conclusion was reached after a "lawyer friend" had reported "I turned aside from my chosen profession to engage in work which others had marked out for me and now I repent
that I did. I think God has called you to the pulpit and therefore, advise that you stick to theology and the work of the Christian ministry."³⁹ Later Payne confirmed that he "never regretted the decision" which allowed the "pulpit" and "salvation" to win out over abolitionism.

Payne saw all of this as a confirmation of his belief in direct Divine intercession in the affairs of men. He was certain "when God has a work to be executed He also chooses the man to execute it." Hence, he observed, "Frederick Douglass was fitted for his specialty" and "Daniel Payne for his." Consequently, "Frederick Douglass could not do work assigned to Daniel Payne, nor Daniel Alexander Payne the work assigned to Frederick Douglass."³⁰ From this point in time the religious cause was Payne's primary dedication.

Payne's decision to reject the role of militant abolitionist was disappointing to many of his friends. His New York contacts had offered ample opportunity for him to assess the clergyman abolitionist posture. Even though he was earnestly concerned over the work to be performed, the decision made following his ministerial commitment seemed quite in character with the religious piety displayed from the days of his youth. Payne sensed a marked disparity between militant abolitionism and "the work of salvation." There appeared to be an impending fear of a conscience conflict in the dual clergyman-abolitionist activity. Moreover, he was not at all sure that the way of militant abolitionism was the direction the anti-slave protest should take.

This does not mean that he dispensed with the problem of human
bondage and racial discrimination. On the contrary, he met both of these oppressive forces with courage and resolution. The fact remains that Payne's compulsion to challenge slavery could not be carried out in good conscience if it did not conform strictly to "God's law." Since this was his firm conviction, the solution and techniques to achieve could well represent a vast difference in the resolution of slavery. So important was the proper approach to the slave question in the thinking of Payne that it forms the subject for a later, separate chapter.
FOOTNOTES

1Payne meticulously recorded daily impressions and significant incidents. He kept what was known as his "Gettysburg Journal" which is published in Josephus Coan, Daniel A. Payne: Christian Educator (Philadelphia, 1935) 22-47. May 17, 1835 he recorded in the "Journal" the "pangs that pierced his heart" when he departed his friends in Charleston: "Long, long did I look to discern them amidst the vast multitude that thronged the wharf."

2An entry in the "Journal" with no date tells of Payne's reflections when he heard the reading of the scripture during church services. Thinking of the Blacks in Charleston, he wrote: "I thought of ten thousand there, who are prohibited by laws of the land the privilege to read this sacred volume, I wept." At another place he gave vent to his emotions on his twenty-fifth birthday through the words "Oh! my friends, my friends! My dear friends where are you now?"

3Even though Charleston dealt with him harshly his nostalgia was quite apparent. In Recollections, 57, he recalled, "Every night for many years after I left Charleston did I dream about it—wandering over its streets, bathing in its rivers, worshipping in its chapels, or teaching in my school room..."

4Payne, Recollections, 34. Payne had the presence of mind to request letters of introduction from his Charlestownian friends. All of the letters were from White associates since Blacks had few, if any, acquaintances of stature in New York. Among them he names Doctors William Capers, Benjamin Palmer and John Backman, together with Bishop Gadson and Rev. Kennedy, his pastor.

5Bishop Gadson's letter of introduction immediately bore fruit. Payne could meet no better person as a friendless migrant to the big city of New York. Peter Williams deserves a special note. He was the first Black priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Payne saw him as "well educated for his day— hospitable, generous; not a windy friend of education," Particularly impressive to Payne was the contentions of Williams for an educated ministry. See Payne, Recollections, 46. Benjamin Quarles makes ten different references to Williams in the roles of abolitionist, anticolonizationist, clergyman and civic leader. See Black Abolitionists, 7, 24, 25, 32, 59, 70-71, 102, 107, 112, 118.
6. To many, Alexander Crummell was the foremost Black intellectual in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Crummell, a New York born Cambridge University graduate, played an important role in the intellectual development of Black people in America. It was he who formed the American Negro Academy and gathered around him the leading Negro intellectuals, not the least of whom was W.E.B. Du Bois. See S. P. Fullunwider, The Mind and the Mood of Black America (Homewood, Illinois, 1969), 9-11. Also, Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 176-178.

7. Payne, Recollections, 50.

8. Ibid.


10. Payne, Recollections, 46-50. The personalities Payne met in New York sounded like a Black Who's Who. Aside from the Rev. Peter Williams, among them were: Thomas Downing, proprietor of a "first class restaurant on Wall Street;" Thomas Hamilton, editor of a monthly newspaper, the Anglo-African; Charles Reason, one of the Blacks who held the chair of Professor of Belles Lettres at White Central College in McGrawville, New York; Charles B. Ray, a city missionary of the Congregational Church; Samuel Cornish, editor of the Colored American; the brilliant Theodore S. Wright, a Princeton educated Presbyterian pastor and member of the executive committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and youthful George S. Downing, Esq., who was soon to emerge as one of the foremost leaders in the city.


14. White angry mobs turned their attention to the Rev. Peter Williams' St. Phillips Episcopal Church because it was rumored he had married an interracial couple. Subsequently Peter Williams became a true and trusted friend to Payne. In this connection it is interesting to observe that Massachusetts had a law levying a fifty dollar fine on the minister who should officiate at a mixed marriage. See Haynes, Blacks in White America Before 1865, 358, 360.

15. Payne, Recollections, 45.

16. Charles Martin was a leader of the student movement at Gettysburg to recruit "... a colored young man for the ministry, to labor in connection with our Church." See The Lutheran Observer, XLVI (1878), May 3.
Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 3-4. It was on this date that James Forten, a wealthy black sail-maker from Philadelphia chaired an anti-colonizationist meeting at Bethel Church attracting an estimated 3,000 people protesting the policy of the newly formed American Colonization Society.

Payne, Recollections, 44.

Ibid., 58.

Ibid., 22.

Ibid., 59.

Ibid., 60.

Ibid., 62.

Coan, Daniel Payne, 22-47.


Payne, Recollections, 62-64.

Ibid., 67.


Payne, Recollections, 68.

Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CHURCH – HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

When Daniel Payne decided to enter the ministry, the Black clergyman had already attained uncontested recognition as the most formidable leader of his community.¹ This could not have been achieved without the emergence of the Black church as the most powerful Afro-American institution in the New World. The Black church was a product of a Black separatist trend in the early 19th century. Racism and its accompanying concepts had formalized social patterns making it impossible for White institutions to satisfy the needs of the Black population. Reacting to this condition, Black people throughout the country organized local institutions responsive to many of the community needs. In the beginning these institutions took the form of church, fraternal, and mutual benefit groups.² In many instances their functions were interrelated. Before the formation of the organized Black church it was usual for the numerous mutual aid societies to perform both religious and secular activities.

It was the Black church as a separate entity, however, that opened the way for the ordained Black minister and provided him with a forum to develop leadership capacity.³ From this base the Black clergy not only found itself actively engaged in pastoring Black and even White
churches but also involved in a variety of secular endeavors, such as abolitionism, colonization, protest, benefit societies, militant movements, educational and numerous other activities essential to the Black historical experience. Hence, the ministerial field offered the best career opportunity for a talented Black man in the mid 19th century.

To Payne, however, becoming a minister meant much more than an ordinary career decision. It was a matter of deep conscience and Divine "call." In order to become a minister, moreover, Payne felt that one must go through a process of regeneration, of meticulous self examination, humbly admitting the weaknesses of the human flesh, but pledging that in spite of these man-inherited frailties, worthy performance as a suffering servant of God could be attained through undoubted conversion and untold sacrifice.

As late as 1837 Payne was primarily concerned with a teaching career. His enrolling in a theological seminary in 1835 did not mean that the ministry rather than the teaching profession had become his first priority. Rather, Payne felt the need for additional formal training, and he believed that Gettysburg offered him the opportunity. Subsequently, things happened to him in the course of two years seminary study that laid the basis for redirection. First of all, he incurred a serious physical mishap which hampered his prevailing activity. Secondly, he believed that Divine inspiration was necessary before a final decision could be reached, especially where matters of religion were concerned. As on previous occasions Payne's message came through from "on high" unmistakably clear. As a result, he could hear himself say "woe is me if I preach not the Gospel."
One month after that experience of May 1837, the Lutheran Synod at Fordsboro, New York, granted Payne a license to preach and two years later conferred ordination on him.  

From the very moment Payne recited the ministerial vows, the one dominant quality that pervaded his religious career was his effort to achieve ethical and moral purity. A humble man who was conscious of his spiritual inadequacies at all times, Payne felt the need to strive for his own purification, and to urge the same effort on those who fell under his influence. As a consequence, ethical and moral purity became the keystone element in his many years in the ministry. His career began on this pious note and never seemed to falter in a full half century. It took courage and inner strength to maintain this rather idealistic approach. Payne had both, together with an indomitable will, which stood him in good stead as he pursued his work in church and school with consecration and dedication.

In his life experience, Daniel Payne reached the level of piety that enabled him to believe he was God's instrument for good in a strife torn world. According to his view, to attain this kind of Divine acceptance called for a condition of purification that would elevate the candidate to the point where it could be said, he was a "little less than the Angels." But he still suffered from self doubt. There were questions in his mind as to whether he should even enter the ministry. He refused an election to the Bishopric in 1848 because he felt himself unworthy. Later on when elected in 1852, he broke down and cried at the thought, because he still doubted his worthiness. All of this
underscored for Payne the necessity for religious vigilance unceasingly applied.

Only three months after he received his license to preach, Payne was pleading with his Creator, "O save me from my own heart which is worse than Satan." A few weeks later he confessed to the Almighty the vileness of his sins and his hypocrisy by recording in his Journal, "I have sworn eternal love to thee. Then, I have gone and placed my affections upon the perishable things on earth." Even before he left Gettysburg Seminary, Payne meticulously wrote down weekly communication he had with the Divine on the status of his soul. On one occasion he wrote: "Another week has fled away. O my Father, what is my account with thee." On another he inquired: "Another week has nearly closed, and my unprofitable life is still spared upon the land of the living. Ah! Lord what have I done to glorify thy name this week?"

Throughout all of his writings there was the usual admission of guilt along with the plea for forgiveness. "And oh, how unfaithful a man I have been this week; how grievously have I sinned against the Lord?" And then, "O Lord, I pray thee, forgive the follies and sins this week and sanctify me by the Spirit." This manifestation was evident during the hectic days of Payne's early pastorate. In 1848 he wrote: "I feel that my delinquencies have been very great and I am ashamed of myself. O God, have mercy upon me and forgive me all." Humbly, he added, "Lord, was there ever a man like me? So ungrateful, so rebellious, so unprofitable."
Even as Payne moved into old age, with an exemplary life behind him, always adhering to strict religious behavior and admonishing his people to do the same, he still thought in terms of self purity. On New Year's Day 1892, he wrote: "Lord, I thank Thee for preserving me to see the opening hours of 1892. O do Thou, help me to live a life of increasing usefulness and increasing holiness."\(^{14}\)

One month later on the occasion of his eighty-first birthday, he made the appeal "make me the salt of the earth and the light of the world: O Rock of Ages, let me hid myself in thee."\(^{15}\) Finally, only a few months before he died he called to the Divine "Let me, permit me, and help me to walk with thee, O my God, as Enoch walked, growing more perfect until I be permitted to ascend with thee to heaven."\(^{16}\)

The ethical and moral purity that Payne so rigidly required of himself was applied with equal vigor to all ministers of the gospel. In sermons, speeches, and personal conferences, Payne constantly hammered away at the theme of the kind of lives preachers in particular and Christian laymen in general should live. He felt their way of life should reflect "unspotted holiness" and their integrity should be "incorruptible" in order to make them "invulnerable."\(^{17}\) He talked of reverence for God "exemplified in holiness, righteousness, mercy, justice, truth, peace and knowledge."\(^{18}\)

It was important to Payne that a preacher carefully measure his manhood against an absolute standard. To do this he must look to Christ for He "is the only true type of manhood." He therefore prevailed upon preachers to thoroughly study the manhood of Christ "until it penetrates
your hearts and souls." Payne demanded that those who followed the ministry "be like Jesus" because He represented "the most perfect man that ever was or will be on this earth." Among the forceful demonstrations of his sincerity in this regard, was the sermon "Who is sufficient for these things" preached before the General Conference that elevated him to the bishopric in 1852.

Payne wanted the minister to be blameless, vigilant, of good behavior, as well as patient and of good report. He firmly believed that if the minister failed to portray "purity of heart" it would cause the laity to go astray, for, "like people, like priest." He saw the totally committed life of the minister as an instrument to elevate the moral and spiritual level of the people since "streams cannot rise above the plane occupied by their religious guides." Prayer is needed in this respect, argued Payne, "let the whole ministry, let the whole church pray, that the Lord Jesus will give us ministers, full of holiness, wisdom, faithfulness, 'Who shall be able to teach others also.'"

Advising laymen along this same line, Payne saw them as individual believers making up the church of God. In this capacity they were to be "holy and without spot." They were living stones "of which this temple "the church" is constructed." Payne reasoned that man's usefulness would be measured by his holiness and all of Christ's followers could attain this level by conformity to the will and law of God.

As a result of his rigid position on ethical and moral standards Payne became a bitter foe of those who used tobacco and alcohol. He insisted that ministers neither smoke, chew, or drink. Through
resolutions in annual conferences ministers and church officials were asked to show courage in "enforcing that part of the church discipline" which makes the use of liquor an immoral act. So vehement was Payne's opposition to the tobacco habit that prospective student users were denied admission to Wilberforce when he was president while others, if discovered, were expelled. His contest with those who imbibed did not end even at his death since Payne's last will and testament required those who administered his funds for scholarships to make sure recipients did not smoke, chew or use alcohol.

No small part of Payne's ethical and moral concepts were the results of his reverence for the teachings of John Wesley. Payne, along with the early fathers of the African Methodist Episcopal Church extolled the virtues of Wesley. Payne thanked God for Methodism and "the Wesley's." He went so far as to credit the success of the A.M.E. Church in the 19th century to Wesley's brand of Methodism. Essential to the teachings of John Wesley was his vision of Christian perfection which meant that in motive a man can be like God. The true Christian to both Wesley and Payne was a "portraiture of Christ whose outward behavior was revealed in an impeccable ethic." Payne followed his predecessors in proclaiming the similarity between the Methodism of Wesley and that chosen by the A.M.E. Church Founders.

Equally important in Payne's many years of ministerial leadership was the church activism he displayed from the beginning to the end of his career. Immediately following his reception of ministerial license by the Lutheran Synod in 1837 he faced the ordeal of denominational
affiliation. Having had the opportunity to work with the A.M.E. Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Payne was inclined to view this religious group favorably. Furthermore, he was encouraged by his old friend Dr. Schumucker to affiliate with a denomination such as the A.M.E. congregation since its all Black membership seemingly offered wider opportunities for service.

In the meanwhile serious doubts developed when he learned the A.M.E.'s were inclined to look with intolerance toward the educated minister. Payne became fearful of the consequences of joining the A.M.E. Church when information reached him describing the usual reaction of lay members to regular vitriolic attacks by anti-education ministers. Payne was advised that their words were met with loud and agreeable "Amen!!" from practically all of those in attendance.33

This posed a frustrating dilemma. There were few prospective opportunities in the Lutheran Church. It was then that he turned his attention elsewhere. Three Black churches were interested in his services. Two of these were in the state of New York, the Colored Presbyterian at East Troy and the Second Colored Protestant Episcopal in New York City. The third was the Second Colored Presbyterian in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. After careful thought, Payne settled for the East Troy location and thus prepared for his pastoral baptism.34

If Daniel Payne harbored illusions of joy in anticipation of his first charge, they were dispensed with almost as soon as he arrived in East Troy. Facing him was a disorganized membership, although the church had been operating approximately three years. As a ministerial
novice and a relatively youthful twenty-six Payne faced great difficulty. Characteristically, he relied heavily on Divine guidance. It was typical for him to pray:

    Again Thou creator of my soul, I renew my vows to Thee as I am about to celebrate the suffering death of Jesus. Wash me in the blood of the lamb.  

And:

    O, Lord, I am sorry I have lived so far from Thee. Help me in the renewal of my vows.

As was customary at the time, Payne made use of protracted day long Sunday services and frequent revival meetings, to attain the ultimate in spiritual value for his membership. Despite prolonged hours spent in church work directly, Payne found time to engage in considerable community activity. He chose Troy to initiate his life long struggle as a foe of strong drink and personal immorality. Accordingly, he organized a local Mental and Moral Improvement Association where he taught temperance and moral reform. Later on, a group of citizens sent him to Philadelphia as a designate to the National Moral Reform Convention. Here he met national reform figures, such as editors Joshua Leavitt of the New York Evangelist and Samuel E. Cornish of the Colored American.

Troy also became the starting point of Payne's use of another technique to fight liquor consumption. It was here that he decided to use the pulpit and particularly the sermon against those who brewed strong drink. Troy offered a special challenge to the courage of a neophyte pastor like Payne because some of the leading church members were brewers. Furthermore, it was talked around that the young pastor would have to face threats on his life and that the doors of the church would be locked
against him if he ever preached against the use of alcohol. Needless to say, this did not deter young Daniel, and he preached fearlessly on temperance on several occasions.39

Payne encountered another physical mishap while carrying out his Troy assignment. Praying exceptionally long and hard at a prayer meeting, he ruptured a gland in his throat, because as he said, "animated by a burning zeal and being anxious to convert every sinner on the spot, I labored beyond my strength." So severe was the affliction that Payne's voice was reduced to a whisper for over a year, making "chalk and slate" constant companions. Following close on the heels of this physical disruption in late 1838, Payne contracted an illness that sent him to bed for four months during the winter of 1839. As a result, his first experience as the pastor of a church was brought to a rather abrupt end.

Despite the numerous adversities of his first pastoral experience, Payne gained much in wisdom. Indeed, the personal involvement in the Troy community proved a workshop to help Payne better understand the spiritual and material needs of the race. At the same time, Payne met and talked with many prominent personalities active in the struggle for liberty and freedom. Yet, Payne occasionally felt a sense of deep frustration. Although he worked hard to attract members, even making street contacts with strangers and inviting them to worship service, the Church failed to exceed a membership of seventy-five. In truth, it had to await the coming of Henry Highland Garnet in 1843, before reasonably stable organization was achieved.40

Not even months of illness nor a temporary interlude when he returned
to teaching were strong enough to permanently interfere with Payne's future as church activist and reform advocate. During the four years from the time he left the pastorate in East Troy, New York to his assignment as pastor of Israel Church in Washington, D.C., Payne decided to change his religious affiliation. He joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1841, a decision having an important bearing on his future as a churchman. Moreover, his interest in teaching was revived again as a protective shield for a convalescing voice. Again, as in the past, Payne enjoyed unusual teaching success. In 1843 his Philadelphia primary school was the largest for Blacks in the city.

Suddenly, Payne's teaching success faced a challenge, when Bishop Morris Brown, in whom he had great faith, called on him to accept the pastoral charge that would take him to Israel Church in Washington, D.C. At first, Payne expressed misgivings and only after satisfactory consultations with the Divine did he accept. One of the factors that initially caused him reluctance was the location of the District of Columbia within the boundaries of legalized slavery. After leaving South Carolina in 1835, Payne had vowed never to put himself in "the power of slaveholders again." Thus, he had to find out what God would say. Accordingly, Payne sought out the Creator as he prayed, "Tell me, Lord tell me, shall I go?" Evidence of Divine communication came two days later in Payne's affirmative reply: "O, Lord, I have tremblingly resolved to enter once more upon the active duties of the ministry, and to resume the laborious cares and responsibilities of the pastor. " Although he had to perform the difficult task of posting a $1,000 bond to
insure his good behavior, the vision of St. Paul's contest with the evil Emperor Nero was enough to override this humiliating experience. 44

Since opposition to an educated ministry prevented Payne from prior affiliation with the A.M.E. Church, it was one of the immediate challenges in his first African Methodist pastorate. Looking ahead to the General Conference of 1844, he published while at Israel his controversial eight "essays on the Education of the Ministry." 45 In them Payne called upon the "highest ecclesiastical assembly" to set up priorities and to legislate on the "momentous question" of education. Although his recommendations fell like a bombshell among both ministerial and lay delegates of the General Conference, Payne realized a degree of success when Bishop Brown, the senior bishop, and Abram Lewis, a respected minister, rallied to his cause. As a result, a committee on education was appointed by Bishop Brown naming Payne as chairman. A few days later the new committee reported a course of study to the Conference. 46 In later years, the distinguished cleric Francis Grimke credited Payne with the foresight to detect the evil ignorance in the church, and publicly express his disapproval of the church's reluctance in this regard. Functioning as he did in this most important area of religious vitality, Grimke saw Payne's 1844 effort as heralding an era of Church commitment to a policy of ministerial education and opening a new epoch. 47

Payne was truly a "commanding figure" at the 1844 General Conference. He displayed intense interest in many aspects of the Church other than education. Frequently, he made recommendations and offered amendments to the Discipline, which contained official Church law. It was in 1844
that Bishop Morris Brown chose him to head a committee on revision of
the Discipline, a document that contained the official Church law. The
compelling necessity of this task had been recognized by the Church
Fathers for some time. Payne's committee proposed legislation that was
finally adopted by the General Conference. Among the changes were: use
of the phrase "joint Bishops" in place of "junior" and "senior;" ex-
panding the base of delegate representation to consist of one for every
four hundred lay members; authorizing a president pro tem to preside in
the absence of the bishop; clarifying the composition of Annual Con-
ferences and limiting their number. Finally, the phrase "improper con-
duct" was deleted and replaced by "immoral conduct" as a basis to prefer
charges of expulsion against a bishop.

Although a conference neophyte he helped organize the Parent Home
and Foreign Missionary Society. He was also among those suggesting
ideas concerning the salary of Bishops, advising on the division of the
denomination into six annual conferences, and drawing up a position
paper on temperance. There was little wonder that such vigorous action
would make the name of Daniel Payne a denominational household word. Thus
it was not particularly surprising that within one year of the day he was
ordained in the A.M.E. Church, Payne had established himself as a religious
activist and church reformer.

Soon after the General Conference of 1844 Bishop Brown transferred
Payne to a new assignment. If the transfer was reason for a sign of re-
lief such euphoria was soon dispelled. The 1845 assignment involved a
three point circuit with Bethel of Baltimore, Maryland, the second oldest
church in the denomination, being the principal one of the group which included two small mission churches, Ebenezer and Fells Point, both in Maryland. Payne soon experienced considerable difficulty visiting the three church congregations by traveling on horseback, thus he requested Bishop Brown to divide the circuit. The Bishop complied forthwith and Payne received the pastorate of the larger Bethel Church while the smaller two were placed under a new pastor. The property settlement that accompanied this division led to internal conflict and Payne was confronted with a segment of infuriated church members.\(^{50}\)

In the contest a minority element at Bethel insisted on demanding an exorbitant price when small size Ebenezer sought to purchase its property from Bethel. The pious Payne immediately objected and seemed to have the support of the majority of the membership, but a group of hard core dissidents could not be won over. A bitter exchange between pastor and the small opposition made life miserable at Bethel. Matters were made worse when the day came for signing the deeds of transfer.

Unfortunately, Payne received word that his only daughter, Julia, was seriously ill. Since he was compelled to rush to her bedside in Washington, D.C., Payne signed the documents of property transfer before the tardy arrival of five hostile trustees. This set off a storm of reproach. Payne's opponents pressed for his dismissal, even to the extent of financing press releases of his sermons and hoping for something derogatory enough to provide grounds for indictment in civil court.\(^{51}\) All of this led to a Church trial for the five leaders of Church opposition. Before it was over, violence erupted. Clubs were used, blood was spilled,
and Payne received a severe blow on the shoulder. It was necessary for local police to calm the disturbance. Arrests were made, and the five who perpetrated the conflict were expelled from the church.  

Afterwards, Payne was to endure more chaos than peaceful moments at Bethel. Church membership dissension ranged from the size of Sunday school classes to construction of a new edifice, with personality conflicts between Payne and certain key members confusing the issues. Payne was successful in his favored proposal for a new church structure but not before he used strong language to characterize the existing building as a disgrace. As a consequence, church construction was completed in two years and retirement of a debt of $10,000 was set for 1849. A short time later Payne faced the climax of the Bethel schism when he excited the wrath of Nathaniel Peck, a Church leader and principal foe, who finally led forty-five members in an exodus to form a new congregation, called the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church.

The Church upheavals confronting Payne in Baltimore were compounded by personal tragedy. His 1847 marriage to the beloved Julia Farris ended within a year after the birth of a baby namesake. Baby Julia lived but nine months, and Payne, deeply grieved, sought relief in characteristic poetical reverence. He wrote of the mother:

Thou are gone not as dreams of night,
Nor shadows that fly o'er the glade—
For thy image, immortal, and bright,
Is seen in my angelic babe.

When the "angelic babe" subsequently "fled away to join her sainted mother," Payne lamented:
Another painful blow is struck,
The Golden chain again is riven
The link which bound my heart to earth
Is broke, and fastened now in heaven.54

The year 1848 marked another critical juncture in the church life of Daniel Payne. It was a highly significant year because it was to open the way to broader fields of religious endeavor. As a result Payne was to finish out his Baltimore appointment and undertake only one more brief assignment as a church pastor. Payne had already attained a position of formidable stature in the Church by 1848. Subsequently, he exercised a major influence on Church action in every general conference for the following forty years. Nothing pleased him more than the resolve of the 1848 General Conference to publish the first Church paper, called The Christian Herald.55 Later in 1852, the name was changed to Christian Recorder and publication continues today. Payne's enthusiasm for the new paper is better understood when one understands that the paper would provide an opportunity to reach the Church members with articles conveying his reforming zeal.

In 1848, Payne was also involved in another problem of major concern. It pertained to a critical need for another bishop since Bishop Edward Waters, the third prelate, had died a year previous. At almost the same time Bishop Morris Brown suffered a paralytic stroke. So it was that the Church had only one active bishop, Paul Quinn, whose capabilities were without question. It was Bishop Quinn, himself, who realized the need for an addition to the Bench, so vast were the responsibilities of one man. The bishop favored Payne over the Rev. Byrd Parker, a powerful voice in the church noted as a debater and pulpiteer.
When approached by Bishop Quinn with an invitation to become bishop, Payne vigorously declined, pleading personal inadequacy for such "high, holy, and responsible position." Payne's action was without precedent, and furthermore, it is doubtful that any other prospective candidate for the Church's highest office would voluntarily refuse as did Payne when the honor was within his grasp. A similar but not identical incident was recorded in the inception of the Church when the Rev. Daniel Croker magnanimously withdrew in favor of Richard Allen following his election as the first Bishop. Croker's decision, however, was generated more because of controversy over his mixed-blood background than personal concern for sanctity.

Despite Payne's reluctance to accept bishopric honors, the General Conference chose him for a new and worthwhile task, writing the history of the Church. So pleased was Payne with the assignment that immediately following adjournment he threw himself wholeheartedly into this all-consuming work. Simultaneously, he discovered that zeal was not enough in the face of numerous ordeals and interrupting priorities. Little wonder that forty-three years passed before he completed his historical study. Still, Payne pioneered the work in this regard, becoming the first historian of the A.M.E. Church.

It was not surprising that Payne's first serious problems in his new assignment stemmed from the pastorate he still held in Baltimore. During two years of a frantic contest to perform efficiently under a dual arrangement, he realized the impossibility of successfully pursuing the study, while holding his charge and relying on ministers and officers
of the Church to supply him with available material. Response from the individuals Payne contacted was of little use, which induced him to request from Bishop Quinn complete relief from his pastoral duties. At first, the bishop offered only partial relief by assigning Payne to Ebenezer Church, a move that merely prolonged some of his pastoral problems. This time, however, there was a significant change in the pattern, since opposition confronted him upon arrival. Promptly, Ebenezer's official board informed the new pastor of a vote to reject him, whereupon Payne was amazed to learn that congregational opposition had nothing to do with his character but resulted from the "fine carpet" on his floor and his refusal to allow the singing of "spiritual songs!" The resentment was too much for the pride of Payne, and reaching for his cane he emphatically asserted, "I shall never cross your threshold again as your pastor." Even with Bishop Quinn's insistence Payne refused to return to Ebenezer. Thus, he was left free to travel and collect data as Church historian.

Payne was probably the best prepared man in the Church for the work of writing its history. His scholarly mind helped him to realize that scientific history was based on "unquestionable official monuments like the pyramids of Egypt . . . like its obelisks and its Sphinxes, its Karnac, its hieroglyphics . . . ." He thought in terms of a "magnum opus." In the two year period before the meeting of the Ninth General Conference he traveled far and wide exercising unusual vigor, intense interest, careful study and an indefatigable will. He traveled through Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Louisiana and visited
Ontario, Canada. Payne concentrated on the cities, towns, and villages where an A.M.E. Church had been established. In New York, where he had spent a great deal of his time, records were less difficult to obtain.

Of prime interest was Philadelphia, traditional home of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus, Payne spent the bulk of his time talking with those who knew Bishop Allen personally and were present at the organizing conference in 1816. Fortunately, he had access to Bishop Allen's journals and letters through his youngest daughter who lived in Philadelphia. Such documents as pamphlets, conference minutes, and numerous other varied scraps of materials were collected.

For Payne, time moved surprisingly fast and soon the historic 1852 General Conference was at hand. Bishop Morris Brown had died, and Bishop Paul Quinn had the onerous duty of presiding over six annual conferences which were scattered over a wide area. For example, the New York Conference included churches as far east as New Bedford, Massachusetts, while New Orleans was within the Indiana Conference. Several names were mentioned as candidates for the bishopric and of course Daniel Payne's was high on the list of prospects.

Unquestionably, Payne had continued to grow in stature with each succeeding year. His visitations as Church historian had made him well known throughout the connection. If this was less than adequate to insure election to the high office of bishop, the powerful sermon he preached on the opening day of the conference at the request of Bishop Quinn, made Payne's choice practically inevitable. With only two hours prior notice, Payne delivered what many thought was the greatest sermon
of his career. He preached before 139 delegates on the subject "Who is Sufficient for these Things?" The theme was quite in harmony with the philosophy Payne had maintained throughout the years. Furthermore, it made crystal clear to the delegates Payne's thoughts on the insufficiency of humble man before the throne of almighty God.\(^{61}\)

In the election that followed Willis Nazrey and Payne were elected out of four notable clerics considered by the Conference. Characteristically, Payne felt that the "omnipotent Arm" had selected him for the role of responsible leadership and would hold him in it. Sensing the possibility of elevation in 1852, Payne had struggled for many months over his "depravity" and had even prayed to the Divine for death rather that election to an office for which he was so "utterly unfit."\(^{62}\)

In later years Payne described his traumatic reaction when informed of election: "I trembled from head to foot, and wept," he said.\(^{63}\) His election brought a feeling of "the weight of a mountain" and caused him "to tremble like a tree shaken by a tempest." He felt that what had been done was a part of God's plan and that to resist "this manifest will of the Great Head of the Church, so clearly and emphatically expressed, would bring . . . His displeasure."\(^{64}\) So, with a promise to maintain the government, discipline, and doctrine of the Church, Payne took his place on the high bench of bishops and until his death some forty-one years later, remained one of its most powerful and distinguished prelates. There were some who believed that Payne's election was "one of the most important events in the history of the A.M.E. Church."\(^{65}\)

Payne's reformist mind induced him to come to grips with many of
the most sensitive issues in the Church. Although a mite of a man he consistently showed dogged moral courage time after time. Even before he became bishop, a marked degree of analytical candor in facing controversial Church issues became a part of his intellectual baggage. At no time did he hesitate to criticize any and all phases of Church activity that fell below what he regarded as acceptable standards. Disconcerting to Payne were the religious and secular musical practices in the A.M.E. Church. In this respect, he followed others who had already expressed strong criticism of the mode and method of musical display in Black Church circles. Almost from the very inception of the independent Black Church movement, Whites and some Blacks had indicated a displeasure with the extreme emotional expression and rhythm that most often accompanied singing. ⁶⁶

In 1819 John F. Watson, while directing criticism at all Methodists who were "noisy" and excessively expressive in worship services, singled out Blacks for special censure. ⁶⁷ Watson was greatly disturbed over "extravagant religious emotions" and "bodily exercises" and thus referred to such practices as "a growing evil." He spoke of merry airs adapted from old songs and contended that the compositions were first sung by "illiterate" Blacks. ⁶⁸

But the singing in the all Black church was not a matter of accident, for even in the days of Richard Allen, founder of the A.M.E. Church, Blacks displayed freedom in developing their own style of worship and promptly indicated preference for lively tunes rather than the sober traditional hymns. It is believed that Allen and members of his
congregation composed many of the initial hymns used by the African Methodist Church. Without a doubt church music of Blacks was conditioned by their historical experience and special needs. This was equally true of religious practices which were oftentimes described as "outlandish" by critical Blacks and Whites. The trend continued to persist when Payne first came to grips with the problem.

Especially distasteful to the pious Payne was the singing of "spiritual songs" in the worship service. He thought of these songs as mere "cornfield ditties." Payne also condemned "praying and singing bands," where members moved slowly around in a circle singing songs, clapping hands, and stamping feet. On most occasions, these groups gathered at "brush" meetings, held in selected wooded areas. Payne considered this activity a grave provocation, particularly when the bands performed far into the night, "singing until 10:30 p.m.," and then allowing the person with the strongest pair of lungs to pray for an indefinite time.

Payne was quick to label this kind of behavior "a most ridiculous and heathenish way." His candor did not go unchallenged, however, and on one occasion he was promptly reminded that "the spirit of God works on people in different ways." Many proclaimed there must be "a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted." Despite the efforts of Payne and other ministerial leaders to modify certain extravagances in worship, many members regarded these rituals as the essence of religion and refused to desist from their practices. Payne, nevertheless, continued to strive for the abolition
of such antics and frequently reprimanded the membership for worshipping in a "disgraceful manner." Most disturbing to him was the belief that these groups desecrated the Sabbath.

Another contest that called forth courage and candor in the early years of Daniel Payne's African Methodist association pertained to choral music and musical instruments. Many bitter controversies had to be resolved before Church musical standards reached such a high level in the 1870's that Payne expressed optimism. At that time he observed:

In a musical direction what progress has been made within the last forty years! There is not a Church of ours in any of the great cities of the republic that can afford to buy an instrument which is without one and there are but few towns or villages where our Connection exists that are without an instrument to accompany the choir. 73

This was a far cry from 1848 when Payne faced an uncommitted membership at Bethel Church in Baltimore. Spurred by necessity as well as conviction, he succeeded in persuading the Bethel membership to invite the prominent musical director James Fleet for a concert in sacred instrumental music. Payne observed that he had written the lyrics for the occasion so that "I might be certain that nothing incongruous in sentiment to the sanctuary should go into it." Although this initial performance met with tremendous success, stubborn opposition was not overcome until another concert was performed shortly thereafter under the direction of William Appo, reputedly the most learned musician of the race. 74

Just as White church membership in the eighteenth century had rebelled against innovations in musical practices, so in the nineteenth
century Black A.M.E. old-timers fought similar battles. Apparently, the first contention arose when forward looking forces attempted to bring in trained choirs to join the congregation in singing during the worship services. Bethel Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania took the leadership between 1841 and 1842. As a result, many of the older members used this pretext to withdraw their membership. Payne indicates that some of them did not return.  

Payne at the time a local preacher and schoolmaster was asked to preach a special sermon on sacred music. After careful examination of John Wesley's writings in this respect, Payne defended the musical trend principally through Biblical references. Seemingly excitement was reduced and irritations soothed as many in the remaining congregation sought out further reading matter on the sensitive issue.

To be sure, Bethel was not the only congregation to display hostile reaction to the introduction of music. Payne observed similar "excitements" and "irritations" when choirs appeared in other churches. This was true "not only in the cities but also in the large towns and villages." The impact reached critical proportions in some places with large congregations breaking up over the issue. In Chicago during the year 1857, the Rev. Elisha Weaver was actually impeached by his members for introducing vocal and instrumental music into the Church.  

Equally distracting to Payne was the quality of sermonizing in the Church. His attack on this was forthright and sharp. Through example, Payne made reference to the good sermon as defined by John Wesley. After a while, he felt he made definite inroads toward eradicating numerous
weaknesses. Payne was also especially irritated by the screaming and yelling he often encountered at revivals. He was sure such preachers needed to acquire the precious thing he called "unction." Accordingly, he referred to some preachers as "voodoo" dancers in the pulpit, preaching primarily for desired effect. To Payne these individuals failed to manifest the spirit of Christ. 78

It was unnecessary, reasoned Payne, that preaching consist of "loud declamation and vociferous talking," or "whooping, stamping and beating the Bible." He denounced the preacher who measured quality performance by the one who "halloes the loudest and speaks the longest." 79 Not only did these individuals violate God's command but also the counsel of John Wesley who made it perfectly clear that a preacher should "Preach to invite, to convince, to offer Christ, to build up." 80

As a consequence, Payne became directly involved in a concerted effort to minimize rhetorical excesses. Hence, he scheduled preachers for "protracted" meetings. His aim was to evaluate preaching in closed conference and from the pulpit. He listened to voice quality, made notes about content and logic, and observed methods of delivery. Later on, this valuable information was used by Payne as a means of realistic appraisal and recommendation for a ministerial educational program.

Even more important was the positive use Payne made of the sermon. Although he made use of many speeches of a secular nature, the sermon was without a doubt the most powerful rhetorical weapon in his arsenal. In truth, Payne used the sermon to achieve many and varied objectives. First and foremost, it was designated to achieve salvation of the soul.
In addition, it was used to help bring about economic, social and political adjustment. Payne thoroughly understood the potential of the pulpit sermon; therefore, he made careful study of its use.

The Bible was his principal source of authority. Bible quotations and Biblical words were frequently used in most of his sermons. In one of his major sermons, twenty-five scriptural references were applied in a comparison of the Old Testament priesthood to that of contemporary preachers. Payne advised preachers to search the Scriptures for explanation, confirmation and illustration.

Essentials to the good sermon in Payne's estimation were content, organization, and meaningful argumentation. At times he used words such as "eloquent, apt, beautiful," as well as "scientific, philosophical, evangelical" in explaining the makeup of a sermon. Phrases like "organic symmetry" and "lucid exposition" were expressions he used when aiding young preachers in preparing sermon outlines. He was convinced that the best organized sermon was one that "abounded in thoughtful and practical suggestions." His sermonizing made use of contrast through exposition, analogy, rhetorical questions, together with emotional and logical appeals. Equally significant was the application of prayer and pride as the occasion required. Perhaps by design Payne frequently resorted to the use of short sentences and two syllable words with the kind of clarity easily grasped by his audience.

Payne's concept regarding delivery was typical of his philosophy. He referred to "things of the spirit:" good intent, conviction, and purity of the heart as basic ingredients in the power of delivery. These
were indicative of "walking with God," which Payne believed was a prime necessity to achieve satisfactory rapport with the congregation. Payne was not likely to regard mere platform appearances as particularly significant to effective delivery. In spite of his own physical attributes that seemed more a liability than an asset, he most often held the rapt attention of his audience. As is already clear, he was an unusually small man, not more than five feet tall and weighing less than one hundred pounds. He carried his body on a slender frame, supporting hands and feet smaller than those of an average man. Payne's facial features were sharp and delicate, rather deep lined with cheeks somewhat sunken. His olive complexioned face was bordered by a narrow beard, topped off with long and bushy hair. From out of this came keen black eyes glinting behind pince-nez glasses and a small mouth that seemed always to twitch. 82

Payne's frailty did not noticeably affect his delivery. Somehow he managed to transform a shrill voice into one that was forceful and clear. This in later years induced a former pupil to describe his speech as "plain, clear, earnest, faithful and affectionate." As school teacher, minister, college president and Church bishop, while pursuing a career that spanned two eras in the history of the Black experience, Payne's many sermons and speeches reached a vast and varied audience. The topics of his sermons suggest a thoughtful selection such as: "The Christian Ministry: Its Moral and Intellectual Character;" "Welcome to the Ransomed or Duties of the Inhabitants of the District of Columbia;" "Organization Essential to Success;" "The Moral Significance
of the Fifteenth Amendment;" "The Divinely Approved Workman, or the Ministry for Allen Temple during the Next Fifty Years;" "Domestic Education the Highest Duty of Parent and the Citizen;" "What God is Doing for the Redemption and Reconstruction of Africa."$^{83}$

An important step in Church expansion also occurred in 1852 when the first Episcopal Districts were organized. $^{84}$ Payne was instrumental in this development. Each bishop was now assigned a presiding district. The occasion was reason for special celebration because of the creation of a new Third District embracing the Indiana and Canadian conferences. From this point on the A.M.E. Church was firmly planted in the West.

Four years after his election to the bishopric Payne figured prominently in still another Church problem of major consequence. Suddenly, the simmering controversy over Church membership and slave-holding surfaced in hot protracted debate. $^{85}$ Historically, slave-owning by free Blacks dated back to 1619, when at least one of the survivors of the first twenty Blacks transported to the English colonies, Anthony Johnson, acquired a slave named John Casor. $^{86}$ Evidence of slave ownership by members of the free Black population appeared in deeds, wills, records of suits for freedom and census reports. It was believed that the majority of Black owners of slaves had some personal interest in their property. $^{87}$ Such things as a husband purchasing his wife or vice versa; or slaves as children of a free father who bought his wife; also, relatives or friends were sometimes acquired by an affluent free Black to rescue them from bondage. This was not always the case, however, since some free Blacks had an economic interest in the institution of slavery. $^{88}$
In 1830 records show that 3,777 Black heads of families owned slaves. Most of these lived in Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina and Virginia.\textsuperscript{89} In fact, 130 free Blacks living in Charleston, South Carolina in 1860, were assessed with taxes in 390 slaves.\textsuperscript{90} As the A.M.E. Church emerged in the early 19th century many individuals who owned slaves became members of the organization. Some lived in Southern regions, particularly, New Orleans, Louisiana, while others resided in the North. In the mid-19th century a representative group of the A.M.E. Church launched a bitter attack against the A.M.E. Church because of its posture on slavery.\textsuperscript{91} About the same time a formidable segment of the A.M.E. denomination called for a re-examination of slave-holding within its own membership.

From the time of organization in 1816 the Church's book of Discipline\textsuperscript{92} included a statement designed to deny membership to prospective members who owned slaves and to expel those who did not dispose of their holdings. In 1852, a strong faction of delegates at the General Conference argued that the wording of the provision was too mild and ineffective. Hope for resolving the conflict was placed in a committee, directed to report at the next Quadrennium. When the delegates assembled in 1856, the committee locked in conflict rendered a majority and minority report.

The majority report proposed stronger language condemning all slaveholders as "sinners and criminals." Moreover, the statement made by this group to the General Conference severely criticized the phraseology in the Discipline allowing for an indefinite time for members to dispose of slaves. Of particular concern was the part that prescribed "due
notice" by the preacher in charge before expulsion could take place. In practice this had provided members with the opportunity to delay and procrastinate. Accordingly, the majority insisted on the usage of immediate emancipation with immediate expulsion following in case it was not carried out. Many of those who supported the report argued that the A.M.E. Church harbored and protected slaveholders and in essence was pro-slavery.

Of all the arguments advanced by those who favored revision, none was so damaging as the pro-slavery charge. Yet the Church voted to retain the original statement in the Discipline. Although Payne as a bishop did not participate directly in the debate, the group who argued for more forceful legislation quoted from his 1838 address before the Frankean Synod of the Lutheran Church. At that time he had said "he who enslaves a fellow man sins as much against God as though he had enslaved an Angel." Payne's position was in keeping with his strict Christian principles and thus unequivocally condemned any and all who were slaveholders. He maintained that slavery assumed "that it is right for one man to hold property in another." In still another area, Payne displayed the missionary zeal of his mentor, Bishop Paul Quinn. He showed considerable satisfaction in 1856 when the Church extended its borders of service by establishing Africa as a mission field and appointing J.R.V. Morgan as missionary. So far as the African continent was concerned, however, Daniel Payne never identified himself with the vigorous colonizationist sentiment so clearly demonstrated by one of his colleagues, Bishop Henry M. Turner. Payne's
interest in Africa had, as usual, a religious orientation. The people he would encourage to make African contacts would be those who would carry the "cross of redemption" to the natives of that continent.

Payne was also involved in the separation request of the Canadian conference of the Church. He had served as presiding bishop of the "Province of Canada" since 1854. The Canadian branch chose the General Conference of 1856 to petition for an independent church. The membership gave as the principal reason an oath of allegiance required by the government of England. In addition, the congregation cited legal disadvantages, in the matter of obtaining grants of deeds, because of affiliation with the A.M.E. denomination. Before separation was granted, an extensive debate ensued. The Canadian Conference had been in operation for seventeen years, and so there were many who felt the church should not dissolve its investment. Subsequently Bishop Willis Nazrey, one of the three prelates on the bench at the time, was elected head of a newly organized British Methodist Church. It remained for Payne to finalize the division and to supervise the preparation of the organizational framework in the early stages of development. Perhaps the single important contribution of Bishop Payne to the organizational aspect, was the revision of article twenty-three under the Articles of Religion of the A.M.E. Church, to relate to the British Methodist Episcopal denomination. In this respect the following substitute article was prepared:

We acknowledge her majesty, Queen Victoria, as our rightful sovereign, possessing supremacy over all the British Empire as it exists in Europe, and other islands of the ocean, and over the Governor-General and Provincial Parliament of Canada.
We also believe that no foreign potentate should exercise authority within the boundaries of her vast dominions, and inasmuch as British law throws the broad shield of equal protection over the life, the liberty, and the personal happiness of all its loyal subjects, without regard to the clime in which they were born, or the color of their skin, therefore, we believe it our duty ever to pray that most high God may make the reign of her majesty peaceful, prosperous and happy; that every member of the royal family may be wise, holy and useful; and that the British Empire may continue to increase in power and prosperity till Christ himself descends to reign on earth.99

The 1856 General Conference dealt with four additional issues of primary interest to Payne.100 Indeed, they were points of difference that would absorb the interest of the Church for years to come. Projected, more or less, from conflict between liberal and conservative forces over the years, such issues as divorce, dress, the use of tobacco, and the dominance of bishops brought long and protracted debate.

Before the 1856 General Conference adjourned, Payne experienced a memorable self satisfying honor, when Bishop Paul Quinn assigned him to supervise the procurement of an Episcopal seal.101 The finished product, which became the official mark of the Bishops' office, displayed on its face an open Bible from which Divine light radiated. Lying upon the book was the heavenly cross, with the Eternal Spirit in the form of a dove hovering over it. Below the Bible was spelled out the name of the denomination, and upon the border of the seal the motto: "God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, Man our Brother."

One of the most rewarding experiences of Daniel Payne's life, was the opportunity to return to his native Charleston, South Carolina in 1865. He was convinced the occasion fulfilled a two-fold mission. First,
it enabled him to carry out a promise to return, made when he departed thirty years previous. Second, it opened the way to reestablish the A.M.E. Church in areas formerly denied by the ante-bellum South.

Payne was received joyfully in Charleston. His coming had been announced to the young who knew nothing of the youthful teacher who left three decades before. Smiles and tears brought Payne mixed emotions. Immediately he sensed widespread suffering of the population as the horrors of war were clearly reflected on all sides through devastation and destruction. 103

Payne had no illusions about the critical days ahead. His purpose in South Carolina was to push further the ever expanding boundaries of the A.M.E. Church. On May 15, 1865, he firmly planted the standard of the Church in his native state by organizing the South Carolina Annual Conference. 104 Even before this time Payne was instrumental in sending Church missionaries to Southern regions. Moreover, three ministers selected for mission work accompanied the Bishop on his Southern trip. 105

True to his activist nature Payne made visitations outside of Church circles to gather information and render assistance to the Black population in the mammoth task of post-war readjustment. Education as usual was one of his major concerns. Consequently, contact was made with schools staffed primarily with teachers from the North functioning in Charleston, as well as in Savannah, Georgia, and the numerous small islands off the coast. Payne was overwhelmed with "gratitude" and thanksgiving when told that in Charleston "three thousand colored children" were receiving the
rudiments of an education.

It is likely that the educational efforts Payne witnessed in his native South Carolina in 1865 led the rebellion country in this respect. Fortunately, the events of the Civil War opened the way for public and private education of ex-slaves as early as 1862. Primarily a volunteer action, schools were opened in Port Royal, after a Union victory on November 7, 1861. As the Union troops moved into the island fortifications defending Charleston, in their wake came men and women whose interest was education of the freedmen. Although Charleston itself remained in Southern hands until it fell before General Sherman's forces in February, 1865, educational facilities were close at hand, and the Black population of the city was destined to receive the benefits.

Daniel Payne did not restrict his Church activism to his native country. In fact, unflinching firmness and indefatigable energy led him in two successful trips to the Old World. Unlike many of his Black brethren who traveled for secular purposes Payne never deviated from a religious orientation. In the course of each visitation he was primarily the churchman, the religious leader, the minister of the flock. Afterwards, he had only praise for the contacts made. Fruitful discussion with the great and near great in the fields of religion, education and politics broadened his world view. He considered it a golden opportunity to see and talk with the European man in the street and learn more about his customs, traditions, and way of life.

Of equal significance was the wealth of information coming from theological minds in the countries visited. In like manner, Payne
imparted thoughts he possessed on religion and various other subjects of interest. He lectured, preached, read papers, and carried on fireside chats with people in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, and Denmark. Aside from discussion of religious views he was afforded an opportunity to talk about the social and economic condition of Black people in the New World.

Even the disastrous voyage in 1846 had its reward. When only five days out to sea the ship he traveled on was struck by a violent ocean storm. It was completely disabled with the foremast and the main topmast snapped off, and the sails ripped away. The boat almost capsized, and Payne characteristically sought Divine sustenance in the hour of travail. He thought of the scene as "sublime and terrific," but he knew God was there. His thoughts were of God holding the "tumultuous waves in his fists." To Payne's mind came an old hymn which tended to lift his downtrodden spirits:

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

After repairs were finally made, the captain wisely decided to return to port. The return trip took thirteen days. Payne, unlike many of the other passengers, hesitated to take another vessel to resume the trip and decided to inform his Baltimore membership of the event.111

Perhaps the most valuable result of the incident came from the people he met and talked with on board the ill-fated vessel. Undoubtedly, the most memorable result was the destructive force imposed by the long arm of American race prejudice. Of the people Payne engaged in conversation
most were English, Scotch, and Irish returning home from disappointing ventures in America. Payne's easy conversation with many of these passengers gave him a worthwhile insight into the multitudinous problems of their intricate lives, and he regarded the experience as a valuable lesson.

It was more than twenty years later before Payne decided to travel abroad for the second time. He was then a bishop in the Church and president of all-Black Wilberforce University. In fact, his primary decision for making the trip was in the interest of the financial woes and faculty needs of Wilberforce. Payne considered the possibility of raising funds through solicitations in England, the home of abolitionist William Wilberforce, for whom the school was named. At the same time, Payne forever faithful to the needs of the Church, planned to attend the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam, Holland.

It was a fruitful trip in respect to numerous meetings and contacts with prominent personages, most of whom were religious figures. But he also met notables in other areas of endeavor like John Bright, British M.P.; Lord John Russell, philosopher; George Thompson, abolitionist; and Charles Frances Adams, United States Minister to the Court of St. James. Payne also preached in a number of churches and chapels in and about London, and addressed meetings of the "peasantry" in the rural districts. On the other hand, Payne had little success in his main concern, financial aid for Wilberforce. He complained about the poor response to his solicitations. He said he found "English Christians just like American Christians: they give power only to the powerful,
and wealth only to the rich."\textsuperscript{112}

Exactly three months from the time Payne arrived in England he left for Amsterdam, Holland. Nine remaining months were spent in Holland and in alternating between France and England; but Payne was unimpressed with the Evangelical Alliance even though "some of the first men and women of Europe" were present. He cited among his complaints a seemingly endless succession of speeches including his own, as well as a language problem.

In the remaining months spent in the Old World, Payne counted as precious experience the contacts made. Yet, the French were as cold toward his appeals for assistance as the English. He found the observation of the American consul quite accurate that, "The French people were very weary of the applications which agents of America had made for assistance in behalf of the freedmen."\textsuperscript{113} Likewise, he had no success in securing a professor for Wilberforce, although he "advertised freely" and had received applications.

Undoubtedly, the 1876 General Conference was the most significant for Daniel Payne in twenty years. At that time, two decisions were made directly affecting his future. After thirteen years he resigned as president of the first college operated by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Payne had been the principal administrator of Wilberforce University since the A.M.E. Church purchased the institution from the M.E. Church in 1863. His activities in this regard are discussed in a later chapter. Secondly, he was reassigned to a different Episcopal District. It was customary to change the Episcopal assignments of
bishops periodically. In keeping with this arrangement, it was believed that Payne would receive a new District in 1872. But because of his affiliation with Wilberforce University as president, the General Conference that year followed the recommendation of the Episcopal Committee, and voted to retain him in the Third District which encompassed the school. Indeed, there were many who felt that the school needed the strong hand of Payne for at least another four years. By 1876, however, Payne was feeling the weight of years as he endeavored to perform the dual role of bishop and college president.

At the same time, it became necessary for him to direct more attention to the needs of the Church. In 1873, with the death of Bishop Paul Quinn, Payne became Senior Bishop, a position of added responsibility in the supervision of the Church. Even more compelling was the significant growth of the Church from 1860 to 1876. This was reflected in (1) an increase in the bench of bishops from three to six; (2) a membership suddenly expanded as Southern congregations were organized; (3) expansion in the mission fields through direct contacts in West Africa, the West Indies, and the Pacific coast regions of the United States. Finally, Payne expressed much concern over the relative slow progress in writing the history of the Church, a project initiated in 1848, when he was named historian. He was, therefore, hopeful that the change would afford ample opportunity to complete this urgent task.

With much hope and satisfaction, Payne looked ahead to still another trip abroad in the interest of world-wide Christian fellowship. The opportunity presented itself five years after he left Wilberforce, when
he was selected as delegate of the A.M.E. Church to the 1881 Ecumenical Conference in London, England. Payne was distinguished by his many years as a bishop. It is not surprising then, that he was among the list of notables who were frequent participants in the Conference. He was asked to preside over sessions of the Conference, to speak and preach on numerous occasions, and to attend special meetings. 116

On this, Payne's last trip across the Atlantic, he spent three months filled with renewing acquaintances both in England and France; viewing the widespread changes made over thirteen years absence, and participating in religious enterprises both large and small. He was now seventy years of age, and the rest of his years would be spent in meeting the challenges of an expanding Church, and the changes precipitated in the Black world by the hectic political, economic, and social upheavals of the last quarter of the 19th century.
FOOTNOTES

1Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 69. Also see, the correspondence of Martin Delany to Frederick Douglass reported in the North Star, (Feb. 16, 1849); and John Mercer Langston, Selected Letters and Addresses (Washington, D.C., 1883), 135.

2August Meier and Elliot M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto, (New York, 1966), 74. Meier informs us that in the post-bellum period, distinguished Black ministers in Methodist and Baptist churches came to regard the segregated church almost as a positive good. Many felt that to have remained in white churches would have "dwarfed the Negro." Payne shared these views. See Meier, Negro Protest Thought, 131.

3Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago, 1961), 196. Litwack points out that the Church "... proved to be the most dynamic social institution in the Negro community, affording its members all too rare an opportunity to assemble freely, vote for officers and express themselves spiritually, socially and politically."

4Talented Black clerics such as Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Lemuel Haynes, and John Chavis pastored all-white congregations during the ante-bellum period.

5Payne, Recollections, 45.

6Ibid., 65.

7Payne, Recollections, 109-110. Nothing more sharply defines the sanctity with which Payne regarded the holy office of bishop than his statement to Bishop Quinn in 1848 that he felt himself unworthy of the office. Thus, he respectfully declined to accept nomination.

8Ibid.

9"Journal" (September, 1837).

10"Journal" (November 4, 1837).

12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., 70-71.
14 Daniel A. Payne, "Memories of Three Score Years and Ten," unpublished diary, found in the archives of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio.
15 "Journal" (February, 1892).
16 Ibid. (January, 1893).
19 Ibid., 58.
20 Ibid.
21 Payne, Recollections, 109.
22 Official Sermons, 26-40.
23 Repository of Religion and Literature, II (1859), 4.
26 "Journal" (September 13, 1892).
27 Brown, Pen Portraits, 10, 11. There are numerous stories indicating Payne's near obsession against the use of both tobacco and alcohol. Brown speaks of an occasion when Payne demanded a student user of tobacco leave the campus "at once." Apparently, one of the first questions he asked students who desired to enroll was "Do you use tobacco?" He was even known to stop individuals he passed on the roads of Wilberforce and lecture them on the habit.
28 Greene County Probate Court, Xenia, Ohio (January 3, 1894).
29 Discipline of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a reprint of the first edition, edited by Carlton Tanner (Atlanta, 1917), 5. Richard Allen, the first bishop and founder of the A.M.E. Church, in 1816, initiated
the stance of the newly organized religious body in respect to Methodism by the affirmation that "we do acquiesce and accord with the rules of the M.E. Church for our own church government and discipline, and with her creeds and articles of faith."

In fact, the differences that developed between Allen and Absalom Jones, co-leaders in the exodus from St. George Methodist Church and the subsequent formation of the Free African Society, developed when Allen insisted on keeping the group Methodist affiliated and Jones thought otherwise. Jones later led his followers into the Episcopal Church. See Reverdy C. Ransom, Preface to the History of the A.M.E. Church (Nashville, 1950), 80.

Bishop Wesley J. Gaines seemed to speak for Payne when he wrote that John Wesley ordained Thomas Coke; Coke ordained Francis Asbury; Asbury ordained Richard Allen; Allen ordained Morris Brown; Brown ordained William Paul Quinn; Quinn ordained Daniel Alexander Payne. See Wesley J. Gaines, African Methodism in the South (Atlanta, 1890), 232.

Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 163, also states that the book of discipline adopted by the A.M.E.'s was similar to that of the Wesleyans.


31. Ibid., 177.


33. Payne, Recollections, 64. It appears that the attitude of the A.M.E. congregations to the educated minister was a primary deterrent to Payne's affiliation in the early years. He also heard through inquiry that the preachers oftentimes introduced their sermons with the boast that they had "not rubbed their heads against college walls."

34. Ibid., 65.


36. Ibid., (November 4, 1837).

37. Payne, Recollections, 69.

38. Ibid., 67.

39. Ibid., 69.

41 Payne, Recollections, 74. Writing in the Lutheran Observer, XLVI, No. 20 (May 17, 1878), 6, on "Brother Bishop Payne," Henry Dox, a fellow student of Payne's at Gettysburg, lamented his loss to the Lutheran Church. Dox felt a "source of regret" for Payne's decision. Dox said of Payne: "His loss to the Lutheran Church has always been to me a source of regret. He left it not because he did not love it, he left it because it had no place for him, because he felt that he had no right to expect any cooperation from the denomination at large, in behalf of the colored people. Were he with us now, it is hoped he would fine it otherwise."

42 Payne, Recollections, 72.

43 "Journal," (April 7, 1843).

44 Payne, Recollections, 75.

45 Benjamin Tanner, Outlines of the History of the A.M.E. Church (Philadelphia, 1883), 171. Payne carried his appeal for an educated ministry to the very heads of the Church. In the final essay he asked the venerable fathers to "swear eternal hatred to ignorance. . . ." To them he issued an ominous warning "The calamitous fact that our people are entombed in ignorance and oppression forever stares us in the face; it shall be the fuel of the flames that consumes us. . . ." See Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 195, 196.

46 James A. Handy, Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History, 162. The report adopted by the Conference was as follows:


Second year - Original Church of Christ, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Watson's Life of Wesley.


Second year - Schumucker's Mental Philosophy, Paley's Natural Theology, Schumucker Popular Theology, and Watson's Institutes.

Third year - Ecclesiastical History, Goodrich's
Church History, Porter's Homiletics, and D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.

Fourth year - Geography and Chronology of the Bible, with a review of the above studies. The report was signed by the committee. It was adopted, and ordered printed in the back of the Discipline as an appendix."

47Woodson, *The Works of Francis J. Grimke*, I, 8. Although slandered, hated and even persecuted in the immediate years following 1844, by 1852 the opposition had sharply declined. Thus, Payne could say after being elected a bishop that year "Is it not right that I should seek the improvement of all my young brethren, that they may be intelligent, well educated and holy men?" Payne, *Recollections*, 50. By 1856, his ideas were openly accepted and an episcopal address on ministerial education became a part of the proceedings of the General Conference.

48Hardy, *Scraps of African Methodist Church History*, 160-162.


51Ibid.

52Ibid.

53Ibid., 232.


57Payne, *Recollections*, 100-101. The case of Daniel Croker was one of the better examples of color sensitivity generated within the Black community. Although Croker was elected April 9, 1816 as the first bishop of the new church, he was pressured to withdraw in favor of Richard Allen, because of the hostile opposition of the so-called "pure Blacks." Croker, who was perhaps the best prepared of any of the candidates, was the son of a White English mother and a Black African father. There was no question of his work and leadership in pioneer church circles. Apparently, he was the victim of the divisiveness created within the Black population by a racist society.

59 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, I, iii, iv.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., 268-271.

62 Payne, Recollections, 110.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Benjamin Brawley, Early Negro American Writers (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), 150; J. R. Coan, Daniel Payne: Christian Educator, 21. Coan believes that Payne had more to do in shaping the policies of the A.M.E. Church than any other man of his time; W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in The Negro Church, 131, that the A.M.E. Church owed more to Payne than any single man.


67 Ibid., 90-91.

68 Ibid., 90.

69 Ibid., 90-91.

70 Payne, Recollections, 248-257. Also Southern The Music of Black Americans, 134.

71 Payne, Recollections, 254.


73 Ibid., 132.

74 Payne, Recollections, 235-236.

75 Ibid., 233.

76 Ibid., 234.

77 Southern, The Music of Black Americans, 133.

78 Payne, Recollections, 255. Also "Journal" (December 12, 1892).

79 Payne, "Who is Sufficient for These Things," History of the A.M.E. Church, 269.


82 This was so obvious that William Sanders Scarborough referred to it after Payne interviewed him for a teaching assignment at Wilberforce University. Scarborough observed that later on he adjusted to Payne's use of "plain speech" and learned to "interpret the twinkling eye and twitching lip that accompanied his utterances." See Francis P. Weisenburger, "William Sanders Scarborough: Early Life and Years at Wilberforce," Ohio History, Volume 71, (October, 1963), 217.

83 Payne's preaching these themes so effectively over so many years induced Bishop Thomas Ward to comment, it was his "excellence in the pulpit" that propelled a new era in the A.M.E. Church and helped improve conditions in the Black community. See Charles S. Smith, History of the A.M.E. Church, II, 167.

84 Arnett, The Budget, 171.

85 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 335-345.


87 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 224.

88 Ibid.


91 Payne, Recollections, 132.

92 Carlton Tanner, ed., Discipline of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Atlanta, 1917).

93 Payne History of the A.M.E. Church, 344. Frederick Douglass wrote in his Frederick Douglass' Paper, June 10, 1852 and September 23, 1853, that the fear of those members who lived in slave territory had much to do with the adoption of the milder version.

94 Ibid.

95 Arnett, The Budget, 171.
It is safe to say that Bishop Turner was the only major Black colonizationist spokesman in the last quarter of the 19th century. Men like Payne and Alexander Crummell thought of the movement of Blacks to Africa from a missionary point of view. See Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor, 1968), 66.


Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 383.

Ibid., 375-376.

Ibid., 346-354.

Handy, Scraps of A.M.E. History, 212.

Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 359.

Payne, Recollections, 161-162.

Ibid., 163. Payne is said to have carried with him on his return to South Carolina fifty teachers and preachers of his own training. See Edward A. Clark, "An Estimate of Daniel A. Payne" (a paper read at Wilberforce University Founder's Day, February 24, 1905), 1. Clark was Payne's step-grandson.

Ibid., 161.

Ibid., 162.

Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten (New York, 1967), 32. The way was open when Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, selected Brigadier General Rufus Saxton as his agent at Fort Royal, South Carolina in June, 1862. Charlotte Forten, granddaughter of the wealthy anti-colonizationist James Forten, was one of the teachers who volunteered to go into this war-stricken region. Also, Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction (New York, 1964), 229-235.

Ibid., 36.

The number of Black churchmen who traveled abroad was considerable, particularly in the ante-bellum period. Most, however, were interested in social action problems. Those before the war, for the most part, worked in the interest of the anti-slavery movement. See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 116-142.

Payne, Recollections, 186-189.
112 Ibid., 201-202.
113 Ibid., 201.
114 Ibid., 211.
CHAPTER FOUR

SLAVERY AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION – A MAJOR CHALLENGE

If Daniel Payne had elected to follow militant abolitionism, his student days at Gettysburg would have offered the best opportunity. Actually, evidence of such a trend was visible in his post-enrollment challenge and a subsequent contest involving church affiliation. In the first instance, the impulse to question colonizationist motives of the Society on the Inquiry of Missions was satisfactorily resolved. Soon afterwards, Payne discovered he faced a difficult choice in the matter of church affiliation. His preference was the Methodist Episcopal to which he belonged in Charleston. Unexpectedly, in Gettysburg he encountered a pro-slave Methodist congregation and a pastor who openly defended the slave cause.¹ He then turned to the African Methodist but found no congregation at Gettysburg. As the decision narrowed down, he finally united with the Lutheran Church, a choice having important future implications.

Although Payne's acquaintance with the abolitionist crusade practically coincided with his arrival in New York, he did not become seriously involved in the movement before matriculating at Gettysburg. There he joined the Frankean Synod probably the most radical anti-slavery Synod in the Lutheran Church.² Later on, as a member of the
Synod's committee on American Slavery, Payne helped draft a report that repudiated slavery because it "opposed civil religious liberty."\(^3\) The statement contained such phrases as abhorrence for "the right in one man to chattelize another man;" toleration of "unrelenting cruelty;" merchandizing "bodies and souls of men;" and "bartering the children of God--." In this significant release, Payne and his fellow students not only branded a church that tolerated slavery as hypocritical but also declared the Bible "the universal and only infallible rule and standard of moral duty."

Payne's speech before the Frankean Synod supporting this anti-slavery report was the one action when he most nearly adhered to the clergyman abolitionist tradition. In a direct attack he condemned slavery as an institution that brutalized man, destroyed man's moral agency, and subverted the moral government of God.\(^4\) What he said on the occasion was long remembered. Not the least of the elements that preserved it for posterity was the theological rationalization used to support Payne's argument.\(^5\) He saw the "black man as a man, endowed with a certain deity" but debased by a cruel corrupt system of slavery, a process that created a brute level and brutalized the man. The Black slave's moral agency was severely damaged by yielding his will unreservedly and exclusively to the dictates of the master. Finally, if "the master controlled the body and the spirit" of the man, then "man's will is fettered and obstructed" and "God's moral government is subverted."

Characteristically, Payne turned to the Bible to more clearly enunciate his contention that "slavery mocked Christianity."\(^6\) He proclaimed
a violation of the scriptural command, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," when the helpless slave woman is compelled to disobey this moral injunction of God. Payne also insisted that slavery violated the Biblical directive on children by classifying them as property dedicated to serving the master whereas the Bible says "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Moreover, the command by the slaveholder that children should obey "the master and him alone" nullified scriptural obedience to parents.

Payne saw other obvious violations of "God's word" under the code of enslavement. Observance of the Sabbath was neglected as the slave was compelled to work on Sunday. The sacred institution of marriage was discarded since slavery disregards "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." In conclusion, and perhaps more important than any of the others to Payne, slavery made it impossible to fulfill the command "search the Scriptures" and "go into all the world and preach the gospel."

Even though this critique bore some resemblance to the abolitionism of his Black clerical brethren, still there were some rather sharp and distinct differences. Most obvious, Payne's pronouncements bore the stamp of religious orientation, a technique seriously modifying the secular social action almost always used by the true militant. Another mark of distinction was Payne's contention that he envisioned the fight against slavery as non-racial. Hence, he contended that "the sight of an enslaved man, regardless of color, went contrary to God." Moreover, "even if all the slaveholders were men of color . . . ," said Payne, he "would be as thorough and uncompromising an abolitionist as I am now."
Payne minced no words in asserting that his challenge to slavery was "because it was contrary to God" and God had commanded him to "plead the cause of the oppressed." 9

It is clear that Payne's philosophical approach to the problem of human bondage was to attack through God's word. Payne saw slavery as a crime against humanity. He opposed slavery because it enslaved human beings not just Black people. Institutionalized slavery to Payne was vicious and cruel because it deprived human personality of the God-given right to think, act, and speak as a person.

This was certainly far from the fire-breathing militant like David Walker or Henry Highland Garnet, and some distance from a Frederick Douglass, Samuel Cornish, or Charles Remond. As a matter of fact, Payne's posture as an abolitionist, particularly in his post-Gettysburg Seminary days, compares favorably in philosophy and intent with the pre-militant abolitionist. Of course, he vigorously denounced slavery, but so had the conservative group. "Relief of the oppressed by God in His own time," and "love thine enemies" were recurring themes in his preachments against bondage. Payne seemed to trust in the "slow but inevitable operations of religious and equalitarian principles" and the gradual increase of an abhorrence of slavery. 10 Moreover, Payne advised free Blacks to exercise restraints on income expenditures, to thank God for the blessings they enjoyed, and to impress on their Black slave brothers the expediency to maintain a kind of behavior that would result in gentle and humane response from their masters. 11

While his thoughts were crystalizing on a course of anti-slavery
procedure Payne became aware of still another sharp contrast between his anti-slavery thrust and that of the abolitionist. Quite obvious was the unusually aggressive role assumed by Black women and even juveniles in the struggle against Black bondage. At the time Payne arrived in New York, Black women were already in the movement on their own. It was only ten days after the American Anti-slavery Society was organized in 1833 that Lucretia Mott, a White leader of the "women's righters" called for the formation of a Female Anti-slavery Society.¹²

As the campaign grew in intensity, more and more was heard from the Black women who signed the charter for the new organization. None of this was surprising, since the three daughters of the redoubtable James Forten - Harriet Purvis, Sarah Forten and Margareta Forten - together with school principal Sarah M. Douglass, were all products of the best aggressive Black anti-slavery tradition.¹³ Four years later, at the first national convention, two Black women were participants; while at the second, in 1838, Susan Paul was chosen as vice president and Sarah Douglass, treasurer.

Equally impressive were the juvenile anti-slavery societies, sometimes with all-Black membership, while others operated on an integrated basis.¹⁴ During the period of Payne's study at Gettysburg, juvenile societies were formed at Pittsburgh and Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Troy, New York and Providence, Rhode Island. These juvenile groups oftentimes cooperated closely with state societies and raised money to support a reformist weekly, the Colored American.¹⁵

In particular, two racial discriminatory experiences were remembered
by Payne during his student days at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The first related to the franchise of the Black citizens of Pennsylvania.16 Many Blacks were permitted to vote in that state down to 1838. Then came a sudden change when a Constitutional Convention added the word "white" to the suffrage requirement. This was followed by a famous lengthy Black protest called an "Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania." Turbulence and unrest continued with strong anti-abolitionist overtones; nevertheless, the decision prevailed and disfranchisement was finally consummated.17 Another incident occurred in 1837, and was the first time Payne encountered outright personal discrimination. When traveling by steamship via the Hudson River to Albany, New York, Payne questioned officials about a berth. He was shocked to be told there was none for "niggers" on the boat.18

In general, Payne made use of six instruments in his attack on slavery. They were prayer, poetry, and written articles together with the sermon, platform speech, and occasionally, the technique of direct action. Even before he left Charleston, Payne's talent for writing poetry served as a means to express protest, challenge, and criticism, as well as a vehicle of personal relief. He used it frequently in the struggle against racial inequality. Poetic utterances of Payne appeared in newspapers of the time and in his speeches and sermons. As early as 1835 in his lengthy poem, "The Mournful Lute," challenge and protest were co-mingled.19

Six years later, Payne's poems appeared in both the *Liberator*, edited by William L. Garrison, and the *Christian Recorder*, the publication
of the A.M.E. Church. In one published in the *Liberator* on May 7, 1841, he called on God to crush the oppressor:

Long have they scorned and mocked thy regal crown,
Despised thy laws, and cast thine image down:
O hasten then, in thine appointed hour,
And crush to nought the proud oppressor's power.

In another also printed in Garrison's paper May 28, 1841, he showed deep sympathy for Africa and her uprooted population:

Say, Righteous Sire, shall Africa ever mourn
Her weeping children from her bosom torn?
Chained, sold, and scattered far in Christian lands.

When the Christian Herald of the A.M.E. Church became the Christian Recorder in July, 1852, Payne, as a newly elected Bishop, wrote an anti-slavery poem for the first edition. It was one of hope and prediction as it said in part:

The chains of mental bondage shall decay. With might
The bounding spirit then shall snap each yoke
Asunder, as old Samson did the ropes
That bound his giant arms.

In the last two decades before the Civil War, Payne made frequent use of his chosen instruments to combat slavery and discrimination. He demonstrated the use of direct action in the case of Charles Torrey, a White clergyman abolitionist, who died in a Maryland penitentiary while widespread pleas were being made to the Governor for a pardon. Payne was a personal friend of Torrey and so had written the abolitionist zealot on two occasions about a Baltimore plot to arrest him. Torrey failed to heed Payne's advice, and was apprehended in 1844 and charged with helping slaves to escape. While in prison Blacks on all sides rallied to his cause, protesting and raising funds for defense, but to
no avail. Thus, Torrey died a prisoner two years later, under circum-
stances highly suggestive of brutality. 20

In an 1850 visit to the cemetery where Torrey was buried, Payne re-
called this tragic affair. It was an unforgettable moment, a time of
sadness and yet a joyful occasion, for after several unproductive attempts
a worthy monument had been erected to the memory of this avid anti-
slavery patriot. Emotionally consumed by the occasion, Payne thought
the monument a fitting tribute. It was, he said, designed as a "prism"
with a "bas-relief" on one side. Another told the story of Torrey's
arrest and death, and a third showed a female slave sitting in the dust
with downcast vision and feet bound with chains. Far more touching was
the inscription which read:

Where now beneath his burden
The toiling slave is driven
Where now a tyrant's mockery
Is offered up to heaven;
Then shall his praise be spoken
Redeemed from falsehood's ban
Where the fetters shall be broken,
And the slave shall be a man. 21

At various times Payne felt compelled to exercise direct action be-
cause it served an immediate purpose. His interest in the famous Vigi-
lance Committees organized in numerous Northern centers as a direct aid
to runaway slaves is a case in point. Payne became a member of the Phila-
delphia Vigilance Committee founded in 1838 and operating until 1844. 22
After the group disbanded, he continued to assist escaped slaves in an
individual capacity.

Perhaps a rather mild version of direct action was demonstrated by
Payne when a new and more stringent fugitive slave law was passed as a
vital part of the Compromise of 1850. By the passage of this law ten years before the outbreak of the Civil War disrupted the non-slave Black community almost to the point of chaos.\textsuperscript{23} Such a reaction is clearly understood with the realization that under its provisions any and all non-slave Black men were faced with return to bondage. The law was so stringgent that the oath of any two claimants was enough to consign a man to slavery. Moreover, no Black could testify in his own defense or seek trial by jury. The vicious consequence of its passage caused numerous reputable Blacks to flee to Canada, since the law was \textit{ex-post facto}, reaching back to fugitives who could hardly remember when they were slaves.\textsuperscript{24} For this reason, a Canadian exodus touched every Northern city with a Black population of any consequence.

Blacks sought advice from friendly Whites of stature, turning to such White friends as ex-Judge William Jay and Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, neither of whom had any words of hope.\textsuperscript{25} As a result, even from the traditionally liberal Boston area forty former slaves departed within sixty hours after the fugitive slave bill became law. Not all Blacks moved with the exodus, however; most stayed and held protest meetings, a sight beheld in numerous cities. Nor was the upheaval free from threats of violence. Outstanding Black leaders like Martin Delany and mild-mannered Robert Purvis threatened to kill any slaveholder who crossed the threshold of their homes.\textsuperscript{26}

Payne was thoroughly disturbed, especially because the Black churches were particularly affected. In Boston alone the African Methodist Church lost eighty-five members.\textsuperscript{27} It was at this point that Payne visited his
friend Frederick Douglass to consult with the great man on the course Blacks should take. In truth, he wanted to discuss whether it was best for Blacks to stand their ground or flee to Canada. Douglass, recognized leader of the Black community, noted orator, and dedicated militant, was unequivocal in his answer, telling Payne he would remain until he could no longer hold his "post." Payne, although fearful of the consequences, promised Douglass he would remain but discouragingly remarked "we are whipped, we are whipped, and we might as well retreat in order." This reaction from Payne so shocked the stoical Douglass that he later remarked: "This was a stunning blow. This man had power to do more to defeat this inhuman enactment than any colored man in the land for no other could bring such brain power to bear on it. I felt like a besieged city at the news its defenders had fallen at the gate." 28

Payne seldom displayed erratic moments as he did during the visit with Douglass. More in keeping with his nature, was the calm approach, demonstrated at Bethel Church, Philadelphia, in 1852, as he presided over a reception honoring William L. Garrison, the abolitionist. 29 This was a practice started from the time he pastored Israel Church, New York, and opened the doors to a saddened company of Blacks and Whites, to memorialize the death of Elijah Lovejoy, martyred abolitionist. 30 It should be observed that service of this kind was quite necessary to the abolitionist cause, since they were oftentimes denied access to public buildings and even White churches.

About the same time, Payne was sorely distracted as the infectious "Black Laws" spread throughout the Northern states. Perhaps his greatest
shock came in 1850 when Connecticut, a member state of the more liberal New England area, passed a law disfranchising Blacks. 31 Payne, visiting the environs of Yale college at the time, could not conceal his painful reaction. Immediately he recalled a similar condition in his native South Carolina. Although he considered the South Carolina restriction a more serious breach of rights, yet the Connecticut violation to him was far more tragic, inasmuch as the state fostered one of America's proudest seats of learning, an institution preparing minds which are to give character to the American Church and American State. In view of this thinking and the sentimental impressions Payne had experienced from his first summer visit to the New England region, he could not depart New Haven before directing a plea to the learned of Yale in behalf of the Black oppressed: "Go tell thy statesmen to wipe from their Constitution and statutes those laws which prosecute the hapless sons of Ham, and thou shalt be just what a Christian State ought to be."32

As a prelate of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Payne took the initiative to encourage Church-wide days of prayer for the abolition of slavery. Payne firmly believed that a denominational pronouncement in 1850 to this effect was "the church's most potent force, the believer's cooperation with the Almighty."33 In fact, prayer to Payne was the Black man's power. He earnestly felt that no one could block the Black man's approach to the "Holy of Holies." Black men, though poor and ignorant, argued Payne, could come into God's presence "with the same assurance and acceptance as the whitest; the most cultivated; the most wealthy."34
Perhaps the prayer most frequently used by Payne in fighting discrimina-
tion, was the kind that appealed to the Almighty for direct inter-
cession, to abolish discrimination:

0, God! Jehovah! Híreh! wilt thou not hear us?
We are, poor, helpless, unarmed, despised. Is it not
time for Thee to hear the cry of the needy? To judge
the poor of the people to break in pieces the oppressor?

Stand between us and our enemies. 0, Thou Angel of
the Lord! Be unto us a shining light; to our enemies,
confusion, and impenetrable darkness. Stand between us
till this Red Sea be crossed, and they redeemed, now
sighing—bleeding—weeping—shall shout and sing for
joy the bold anthem of the free.35

He also admonished Blacks to pray for the White population. Payne
felt that this would be a means of helping Whites to see "that the only
security for the continuance of republican institutions is found in the
observance of law by all." Prayer in this respect was also designed to
make Whites aware of the Black man's "toil without requital upon the fields
of their fathers." Finally, prayer was deemed a means of evoking aid
from Whites to assist Blacks to rise to a level of intelligence and
virtue which "marks the character of a good citizen."36

Neither travel by transoceanic ships, nor elevation to the distin-
guished office of bishop, significantly deterred demonstrations of racial
prejudice against Daniel Payne. During an abortive trip to Europe in
1846, he was disturbed to find American segregationist policies at work
even in inter-continental travel. Payne voiced his resentment by de-
claring that "the standard of manhood was the color of the skin." On
this occasion he had paid the same price as other passengers for the com-
forts of a stateroom. No sooner was he aboard the vessel, however, when
anticipated accommodations were denied him and he was asked to repair to
the steward quarters, situated between the first and second cabins "with
no seat but our trunks, no towels, no looking glass, no soap, bowls or
necessary convenience." 37

Three years after he became a distinguished bishop in the A.M.E.
Church, Payne soon learned that status made little difference where
racial prejudice was concerned. As a bishop, church duties carried him
over the vast expanse of the United States east of the Mississippi from
Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. While on a trip to Chicago in December,
1855, he was denied sleeping accommodations; consequently, he spent the
night in a railroad passenger waiting room. 38 Payne reported the cold
was so intense he suffered "excessive pain from being nearly frostbit-
tenten." Nor did the fact that Payne was a "man of God" spare him the
humiliation of rank discrimination in the Christian Church. During the
same month of the Chicago visit he was invited to preach at a Methodist
Episcopal Church in Bloomington, Illinois, whereupon the pastor refused
to join him in the pulpit or introduce his guest speaker to the congre-
gation. Moreover, the minister departed for the evening after announcing
a collection in Payne's behalf. Payne deplored this humiliation and the
considerable discomfort inflicted on his person. 39

Quite often there were times when prejudicial state and local of-
officials deliberately interfered with the exercise of Payne's Episcopal
duties. A case in point occurred during a St. Louis church controversy
in February, 1856. 40 Payne was called to the scene to settle a congre-
gational disagreement after the mayor of the city had padlocked the church.
Even though written permission was accorded the bishop in dealing with
the conflict, reason was found to arrest him as an outside agitator
coming into the state to preach the gospel. Payne's friends rallied to
his aid, posted bond for release, and secured a lawyer who succeeded in
having the charges dismissed. Just as suddenly, a new warrant was is-
sued, whereupon Payne took to flight in an available wagon pulled by a
"swift horse" as the city constable cried aloud "shtop tat horse! shtop
tat horse! shtop tat horse!" 41

The War years found Daniel Payne moving on several fronts in the in-
terest of the race. He was noticeably active in the drive to abolish
slavery in the District of Columbia. Agitation against slavery in the
nation's capital began as early as 1828. 42 The matter was so steeped in
morality that it was made to order for abolitionist attack. Congress
saw the wisdom of abolishing slavery in the country's nerve center while
at the same time retaining Lincoln's specific requirements, colonization
for the freedmen and compensation for slave owners. 43

At the time this action took place, Payne was residing in Washington
as presiding bishop of the Second Episcopal District of the African Meth-
odist Episcopal Church. He, like so many other Black leaders, was deeply
concerned over the fate of the April, 1862 bill passed by Congress and
sent to the President freeing 3,000 slaves in the District. 44 It was
concern for the bill that brought about a request by Payne for an audience
with President Abraham Lincoln. After the meeting Payne expressed the
highest praise for Lincoln and referred to the President as a person not
"stiff or formal in air and manners." He was particularly impressed by
the atmosphere of "comfort and ease," and thought the entire affair a "perfect contrast" with one he experienced when meeting President John Tyler, to whom he was introduced in the White House some years before.45

Present at the session with Lincoln was Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, who was already conversing with the President when Payne arrived, and General Carl Schurz, who entered the room moments later. Payne notes that he went straight to the point and spoke to President Lincoln in direct language: "I am here," he said, "to learn whether or not you intend to sign the bill of emancipation?" Lincoln responded by advising Payne that a group had visited him that same day requesting "me by no means to sign." At that instance, General Schurz joined in the discussion arguing in favor of signature. Payne went on to tell Lincoln how, at his request, "colored people" had been praying for him. Reacting warmly to the report of prayers, Lincoln assured his visitors he had been helped by overtures made to the Almighty but gave no definite answer on the pending bill. Payne did not have to wait long to learn of the results, however, for Lincoln signed the bill April 16, 1862, only three days following the audience.46

It was from the pulpit that Payne thundered forth his most potent anti-slavery gospel. As a consequence, his sermons became a powerful vehicle in many respects. Through them he talked to God, interceded for his fellow man, cautioned, advised, and reprimanded his Black brethren, exhorted the White population and fought against institutionalized slavery and segregation.

Payne's sermons, speeches and writings reflect an intense, religiously
oriented challenge for Black people. His thinking along these lines seems to have been influenced by his early readings of Caleb Bingham's *Columbian Orator*, a book he read when in Charleston for training in the art of speaking. It was Payne's firm conviction that the Divine applied a direct hand in breaking the bonds of slavery and He would surely act, in His own time. Essentially important, however, was the application of love and compassion by the oppressed and Payne reminded his people of this repeatedly.

A classic example was the sermon he preached on the occasion of the slave abolition bill referred to above. Speaking before a motley group of all social and economic levels, brought together April 13, 1862 at the instigation of all the Black churches in Washington for a meeting of thanksgiving and prayer, Payne advised that a better social order would evolve if life and practices were based on the teachings of Christ. In fact, Payne anticipated Martin Luther King, Jr. by a hundred years with his emphasis on love as an instrument of social change. He urged the Black audience to pray for Congress, the President and his cabinet. To support his request, he reminded them that St. Paul had advised Timothy to offer "supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving thanks for all men." When speaking before the delegates to the Philadelphia Annual Conference of 1853 Payne advised his listeners that the Apostle Paul had called upon the Christians of antiquity to pray for the "bloody emperor" Nero. Certainly a "Christian government was even more deserving." In Payne's sermon on this occasion was a note on Christian obedience to law; a word on freedom of soul and spirit and Christ's power in this respect.
Payne wanted hate to be replaced by love, patience, hard work, and law
and order as primary virtues in attaining liberty.

Seemingly, Payne was never free from racial incidents either in the
North or the South. In March, 1860, he and the Reverend James Lynch,
traveling between Xenia, Ohio and Baltimore, Maryland, were ordered to
move from their Pullman berth accommodations after a White passenger
voiced a complaint. Although Reverend Lynch clearly explained that
Payne was a church bishop, the conductor and porter seized him by the
collar and a White bystander pushed him from behind as he was forcefully
moved "from the sleeper and ushered into the smoking car." 50 Ironically,
discrimination dogged Payne's path even on the occasion of his 1865 tri-
umphal return to his native South Carolina. After the Emancipation Pro-
clamation was issued, Payne chose the occasion to re-establish the A.M.E.
Church in his native South Carolina. In the course of the return trip
North the captain of a government transport ordered the bishop to the
forward deck. Payne related that he submitted "rather than lose the
opportunity of sailing for New York the next day." 51

In approximately three months from the day President Lincoln signed
the District of Columbia Emancipation Act, he presented the famous
Emancipation Proclamation to his cabinet for the first time. 52 In retro-
spect, Payne was inclined to exclaim "how varied and wonderful were the
events of this year." Actually, only a handful of individuals knew of the
transpiring action behind the scenes that would eventually lead to a
Preliminary Proclamation issued through the offices of the Chief Executive,
September 22, 1862, proclaiming freedom for the majority of Blacks still
in bondage. Later, Daniel Payne, fresh from the capital city success, shared with the Black contemporary leadership a period of watchful waiting for more hopeful signs.

Almost immediately following the publication of the Preliminary Proclamation, hostile critics charged that the President had changed the original war policy. There were those who contended that the policy of "preservation of the Union" had been made subordinate to one of "freedom of the slaves." In the ninety day period between the time the Preliminary Proclamation was issued and January 1, 1863, when the final proclamation would become effective, providing the eleven states of the confederacy continued their rebellion, the Black leadership hopefully awaited the outcome.

As 1863 approached, enthusiasm in the Black community increased. Black churches throughout the country were in the forefront of plans for celebration when the 1862 New Year's Eve clock struck the hour of twelve. Israel A.M.E. Church, where Payne once pastored in the early days of his ministry, held one of Washington's major celebrations. The current pastor, youthful Henry M. Turner, later elected a bishop of the Church, left his congregation momentarily as he hastened to the office of the Washington Evening Star which carried a text of the Proclamation.

Turner described the scene as the first sheets came off the press containing the Proclamation. Several anxious hands grabbed for it when an active young man got possession and fled. The next sheet was torn in little pieces as many hands sought to possess it. Although several had hands on the third sheet, Turner was able to retain the part containing
the Proclamation and hurriedly returned to his church. He mounted the
pulpit, excitedly waved the newspaper containing the good tidings, and
then began to read. When he finished, an unrestrained celebration gripped
the audience as men squealed, women fainted, dogs barked, and Whites and
Blacks shook hands. Payne received the news at Wilberforce where he was
seriously considering the future of his beloved school.

The several incidents of personal discrimination Payne encountered
failed to deter his near fanatical belief in "God's Plan," and the thought
that the Divine was at work in writing the history of mankind, with a
justness and fairness that could not be denied. Nothing indicates this
more vividly than a sermon preached before the Ohio Annual Conference
soon after the 15th Amendment was ratified in 1870. He chose the occasion
to talk about "The Moral Significance of the Fifteenth Amendment" and to
relate its passage to the intimate and active work of God. In fact,
Payne felt that the Amendment was a manifestation of the Almighty in
action. He reminded his audience that the Amendment, like God Himself,
divided darkness from light, blotted out the decrees of slavery, pro-
claimed equal rights for all and touched the heart of the nation with
Divine power. The Fifteenth Amendment, said the bishop, "is a living,
powerful germ" in utilizing the Christian idea and principle toward
accomplishing the full development of civilization and the perfection
of mankind.55 Payne spoke as the "dominating shepherd" and "prophet of
an era." Here as on other occasions, Payne voiced prevailing attitudes
of optimism and faith.

Probably the classic case of Daniel Payne's bouts with Jim Crow
came as a result of a railroad trip from Jacksonville to Fernandina, Florida in 1882. Payne cautiously checked with railroad officials before boarding the train in order to avoid racial embarrassment. Nonetheless, after the conductor examined his ticket, he was told to move "to the front of the car because there were no accommodations for Negroes elsewhere." Payne's reply was sharp: "I'll not dishonor my manhood by going into that car." Furthermore, he asked that the train stop and allow him to get off "rather than submit to indignity." The train conductor obliged and Payne disembarked five miles from Jacksonville, but he was not to be outdone, and so, addressing himself to the conductor, he pointedly exclaimed: "I have traveled over many portions of foreign lands, and found no such treatment." Payne protested his treatment and published his reaction in the Jacksonville Times. Interestingly enough, a local judge wrote a censure of the railroad. Incidentally, public pressure forced the jurist to submit a subsequent article branding Payne as a spy or emissary with a mission to test the "civil rights law."57

As segregation became firmly institutionalized, Payne joined contemporaries in issuing an appeal "To the Colored People of the United States and Their Friends" calling for a day of special prayer. The communication was signed by many of the leading Black men of the day.58 Apparently, thousands met in their respective places of worship in response to the appeal. It called upon the "farmer to leave his plough, the mechanic his bench, the businessman his shop, let the schoolmaster secure for himself and pupils a vocation, let those employed as household servants get leaves of absence."
In truth, however, the message carried a feeling of hopelessness quite often experienced in a final appeal. It asked the victims of abuse "To whom then, can we turn, save to the Lord God; to Him who has the power to enlighten and soften men's hearts; to Him, who brought Israel out of bondage with signs and wonders; to Him, who recently in our country caused the wrath of man to praise him, and forced from the unwilling hand of Abraham Lincoln the Emancipation Proclamation." 59

Daniel Payne's approach to Anglo-America's rapidly maturing institution of segregation bore many similarities to his struggle against bondage. Certainly, personal resistance was quite evident as he spoke out against many vicious oppressions nurtured by racism. Yet, forever present was a strong reliance on God to make things right. On the whole, Payne's behavior toward racist incidents affecting him personally was resentment and even outright refusal to abide by the rules. At the same time, neither his several distasteful confrontations nor the entangling discriminatory web against his people could alter the belief that a moral solution was the best one.

In the main, conservative views and pious indoctrinations emerged as important factors in Payne's conceptual approach to the problem of discrimination. Without a doubt, White abolitionist ambivalence in the matter of integration and "mealy-mouth word mincing," was a disturbing factor to him as well as other Black leaders. 60 Quite obviously, Payne was disillusioned by the act of Episcopalian Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, who forced the venerable Rector Peter Williams to resign from the Executive Committee and Board of Managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society.
This certainly cast some doubts in his mind on the strength of mortal man to achieve victory in the cause, and as a consequence, encouraged him to choose a closer union with God.

Frankly, organized abolitionism as a direct action technique in removing the chains of bondage always remained a secondary instrument for Daniel Payne. He regarded religion as more positive consideration for both slavery and oppressive segregation. While other leading Black religious and secular leaders plied the Atlantic in quest of financial and moral support to abolish slavery in Anglo-America, Payne's trips across the Atlantic were religiously and educationally oriented. Thus, it was not unusual that Payne’s first trip to the Old World was planned for the purpose of attending the organization of Evangelical Alliance in London. A second trip in 1867 had both a religious and educational objective. Payne hoped to solicit funds for Wilberforce University and also to attend the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam, Holland. Without a doubt, religion and education continued to represent for Daniel Payne the most promising avenues of approach to battle against the Black man's inequality in Anglo-America. Altogether consistent with this emphasis was Payne’s apparent belief that the Black man's uplift would be realized as the hearts of men changed in accordance with the legacy of the Savior.

As the century moved toward a close and Reconstruction gave way to institutionalized segregation, disfranchisement, and lynching, many of Payne’s associates expressed a desire for a religion concerned with the here-and-now. In truth, the gradual shift was from belief in an all-
powerful God who had absolute control over history toward the view of a benevolent but weak God who could do little of practical value for the Black man. The theory that meekness would carry the Black people into heaven if hostilities were held in check met vigorous challenge from some quarters. It was believed that somehow a religious posture must be found that demanded equality and civil rights. In this respect it should be said, that in spite of rhetorical acclamations uttered by Payne from time to time in support of those responsible for civil rights legislation in the 1860's and 1870's, he was fully aware of the prodigious nullification of these measures. As is already clear, like every other Black American of high or low station, Payne was quite often a personal victim of de jure or de facto segregation.

Payne's view that God was ultimately just and would in time remove the yoke from the neck of his Black children was frequently at odds with his colleagues in the Church as well as writers of articles in the A.M.E. Review, official church periodical since 1884. Progressive editors of the Review had opened its pages to controversial views, and articles of strong protest appeared almost a decade before Payne's death. Hence, considerable doubt was expressed in God's ability to handle the situation. All of this notwithstanding, Payne remained remarkably consistent on the most certain way to dispel rank discriminatory practices in the society. The central theme he continued to emphasize was Christian character, and he never varied the slightest from the role of God in the process or lost faith in His ultimate solution of the race problem.
FOOTNOTES

1 Payne, Recollections, 58.


5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 114.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., 113.

9 Ibid.

10 Fact of the matter is, Payne failed to see the abolitionist movement as a rallying point for Black activism. In this respect he would most certainly hesitate to agree with William Whipper, a Philadelphia lumber merchant and abolitionist leader "who viewed the abolitionist crusade as having a more powerful effect on Negro life than all other influences combined." Whipper was certain that participation in the movement gave Blacks a "heightened sense of self respect" by "checking their evil dispositions and inculcating moral principles." Equally as adamant was Sarah Forten who credited the cause with "shedding light into a mind which had been too long wrapped in selfish darkness." See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 41; also Gilbert Barnes and Dwight Dumond, eds., Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimke Weld and Sarah Grimke, 1822-1844 (New York, 1934), 1, 379.


13. Ibid., 27.


15. Ibid.


17. Ibid., 174.

18. Douglass Stange, "A Note on Daniel A. Payne," Negro History Bulletin, XXVII (1964), 10. Payne was on his way to visit a Lutheran pastor in Rensselaer, New York. He was denied both food and cabin conveniences and forced to sleep on the deck.


20. Payne, Recollections, 98-99; and Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 164-165. The death of Torrey, a White Clergyman-abolitionist shook the entire Black community. He was credited with helping in the freedom of 400 runaways over a two year span.


22. Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 155.

23. Frederick Douglass, The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (New York, 1892), 279-281.


25. Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 199.

26. Ibid., 201. Martin Delany and Robert Purvis were two of the most powerful Black Americans in the ante-bellum America. Lincoln once referred to Delany as the most intelligent Black man he had ever met. Delany was physician, writer, soldier, statesman, world traveler. Purvis was a wealthy Black man and a prominent abolitionist and anti-colonizationist leader. Delany and Payne were well acquainted. See Recollections, 53.
27Ibid., 200.

28Douglass, Life and Times, 279.

29Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 83.

30Ibid., 40.

31Payne, Recollections, 97.

32Ibid.

33Daniel Payne, History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Nashville, 1891), 237-238. While attending an anti-slavery prayer meeting in 1840 under the direction of the anti-slavery philanthropist, Lewis Tappan, Payne was asked to speak and pray. He comments that the scope of his remarks were to show the power of prayer as applied to all great moral evils. See Recollections, 50-51.


37Payne, Recollections, 90-91.

38Ibid., 126.

39Ibid., 128.

40Ibid., 128-129. Also, Coan, Daniel Payne Christian Educator, 93.

41Payne, Recollections, 128-129.

42Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 249.

43It was difficult for Lincoln to dispense with the urge to colonize Blacks and compensate slave owners. In fact, so persistent was he in this respect that both were included in the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. See John Hope Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation (New York, 1963), 103.

44Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 281.

45Payne, Recollections, 146-148. Payne had been called to the White House during the term of President John Tyler to preach a funeral sermon
for a trusted body servant, who was killed during the explosion of a gun on a warship, along with several cabinet members.

46 Ibid.

47 This anti-slavery and anti-Southern book was forbidden in the South. See Rich Johannesen, "Caleb Bingham's American Preceptor and Columbian Orator," The Speech Teacher, XVII (March 1969), 142. Without a doubt the book influenced Payne's thinking in the matter of slavery and discrimination. One of the essays represents a case in point. In Caleb Bingham, Columbian Orator (Boston, 1817), a master-slave dialogue had the master boasting that he treated his slave with dignity having fed, lodged and attended him with "humane care" when sick. The slave in response observed: "Since you condescend to talk with me, as man to man, I will reply. What can you do for me that will compensate for the liberty which you have taken away?" This same view is expressed by Payne many times over. Note, Payne, "The Moral Significance of the Fifteenth Amendment," 3.


49 Daniel A. Payne, "Annual Address to the Philadelphia Annual Conference," 17. This sermon was preached on May 16, 1853, at Bethel Church in Philadelphia.

50 Payne, Recollections, 140.

51 Ibid., 165.

52 Franklin, The Emancipation Proclamation, 42.

53 Contained in a sentence of the Preliminary Proclamation were the following words: "... on the first day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward and forever free;..." Franklin, Emancipation Proclamation, 50. This would involve the eleven deep southern states where the majority of Blacks resided, except for parts of Virginia and Louisiana already under Union control, and Tennessee.


55 Payne, "The Moral Significance of the Fifteenth Amendment," 8. It should be said that Payne's thinking on the Fifteenth Amendment was typical of the way he looked at issues beyond church and school in the broader areas of living.

56 Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York, 1958), 106. This
occasion was of such consequence that blacks of national stance took exception. T. Thomas Fortune, prominent editor of the powerful New York Age expressed the sentiments of the Black leadership. Writing in the New York Globe, March 31, 1883, Fortune denounced the Southern railroads for giving respectable Negro travelers miserable accommodations in smoking cars "where the vilest of impudent White scum resort to swear, to exhale rotten smoke and to expectorate pools of stinking excrementation of tobacco."

57 Payne, Recollections, 289.

58 Woodson, Works, 280-281. The approximate time for this release was 1890. Most significant were the signatories. Among them were individuals representing the best church and secular Black leadership of the day. Along with Payne they included: Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. S. Scarborough, John H. Langston, J. C. Price, Benjamin Tanner, A. W. Wayman, Peter Clark, Albion Tourgee, T. Thomas Fortune, Frances Harper, and George T. Downing.

59 Ibid., 280.

60 Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 53. Moreover, some White abolitionists were imbued with a martyrdom complex which may have subordinated the principle objective. See Robert V. Haynes, Blacks in White America Before 1865 (New York, 1972), 374. Also see Jane and William Pease, Bound with Them in Chains (Westport, Connecticut, 1972), 66-67; 312-317.

61 Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 71.

62 Payne, Recollections, 82, 169, 265. Actually, Payne's approach to abolitionism had a tendency toward abstraction. In a sense, to strike a moral posture rather than to strike directly at slavery seemed more feasible. Most Black abolitionists had little fondness for abstraction. Their interest was more personal and earthly. See Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 53, 80.

63 Significant statements with reference to this trend can be found in August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor, 1968), 19-25; and Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayer of the Negro (New York, 1954), 105-124.

64 This trend is particularly noticeable after L. J. Coppin becomes editor in 1888. Editor Coppin was inclined to open the pages of the publication to other than those who stuck rigidly to orthodoxy. Examine such articles as: William H. Thomas, "Till Another King Arose, Which Knew Not Joseph," A.M.E. Review, Vol. 5 (October, 1888), 337; R. R. Downs, "The Negro is known," A.M.E. Review, Vol. 7 (April, 1891), 412; S. Martin, "Education before the Christian Era," A.M.E. Review, Vol. 8 (October, 1891),

Right up to the day of his death Payne enjoyed major support of the Black masses in this thinking. Particularly within A.M.E. Church circles and even beyond, Blacks of a religious bent emphasized the role of God and trusted in him to solve the race problem. In truth, it was widely held that in God's Plan, Blacks would emerge victorious in a struggle with their oppressors to enjoy a glorious future as a result of their suffering. Consult: *A.M.E. Review*, XI (January, 1895), 431-435; Benjamin Mays, *The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature* (Boston, 1938), Chapter 11.
CHAPTER FIVE

STRIVING FOR EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE

There was no question of future pursuit in the mind of Daniel Payne when he left his native Charleston and his beloved pupils. Education was his first love, and in 1835 it had no serious rival. He was imbued with the thought that the North provided a better opportunity to educate his Black brethren. Even so, departure from Charleston was not considered a matter of leaving forever; but rather, a kind of exile to await the time when conditions would not impede his ambitious desires to impart meaningful instruction to oppressed Blacks. Indeed, scarcely more than thirty years from the day he left he would return as a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.¹

In the meantime, his preoccupation with teaching suspended for a while his leadership involvement in the church. After a while, church activity became the dominant work and education secondary. Throughout his days in Charleston, however, providing formal educational training to members of the race was by far the more important, and when he reached the North, it seemed only natural to remain steadfast to this commitment.

In the pre-Civil War period, while Blacks of the South were struggling against great odds to acquire knowledge, escape of slaves and migration of non-slaves to Northern centers occurred with increasing
frequency. In some states, non-slave Blacks like Daniel Payne were forced out by hostile legislation, and numerous others migrated to ameliorate their condition. As for the Black slave, particularly in the urban centers, the stepped-up action to restrict city concentrations brought threats of sale to planters of the lower South. Slaves feared this possibility after experiencing a greater degree of free movement in these areas. Eventually, the problem of runaways contributed to the enactment of a more stringent fugitive slave law as part of the Compromise of 1850.

Almost as soon as he arrived in the North, Payne experienced a severe jolt to his vision of unimpeded educational instruction for his people. He was soon to learn of the various impediments to the educating of Blacks nearly everywhere in the North. Proposals to educate Blacks invariably aroused bitter controversy. A formidable group of opponents expressed the fear that admission of Blacks to White schools would result in violence and prove fatal to public education.

Both New York and Pennsylvania, the states where Payne spent the better part of his first eight years in the North, were scenes of an increasingly complex controversy over the education of Black Americans. In 1823 New York adopted the policy of organizing schools exclusively for Black people. A report in 1847 showed that schools for Blacks were operating in fifteen counties in the States. In following this pattern, schools for Blacks in New York City were oftentimes entrusted to ward officers whose neglect and little concern brought about considerable deterioration. Unfortunately, some of the schools were
located in areas where bitter prejudice and even pro-slave attitudes were openly espoused.

In 1834, when Pennsylvania established a system of public schools, the claims of Blacks for a share in public education were neither affirmed nor denied. Afterwards, a law passed in 1854 made provisions for separate schools for Negroes and mulatto children but established a minimum enrollment of twenty or more. On the whole, the law was interpreted to mean that Blacks could attend schools with whites in areas with less than the quota. But many repulsive situations existed, and even the light skinned children of the distinguished Robert Purvis were turned away from the public schools of Philadelphia on the grounds that special educational facilities had been provided for them.

Equally as discouraging was Ohio where Payne was to live most of his life. Evidence of race prejudice was reflected in a state law passed in 1829 forbidding Negro children from ever entering the public schools. It was almost twenty years later before the State recognized that Negro and mulatto children should be educated at public expense. At the same time the separate school concept was emphatically proclaimed. The 1848 law stated that "every city, incorporated town, village, seat of justice, or organized township in the State containing twenty or more colored children of an age desirous of attending school should constitute a district, appoint directors of their own number, erect and repair school houses of their own, procure suitable teachers and manage the schools according to the same standards that existed in white schools."

Financial support for the schools was to come from taxes collected
from Black property owners. The communities where there were fewer than twenty Black children they could attend White schools if no legal White voter filed objection. A substitute law was passed in 1849. Although it did not alter the segregated school concept more responsibility was placed on public elected trustees to provide for the separate facilities. Laws were passed in 1853, 1854, and 1878 making minor changes with questionable benefits but holding fast to the separate school plan that invariably produced inferior instructional facilities.

If anything, Payne observed more deteriorating conditions farther west. Indiana was so thoroughly influenced by anti-Negro sentiment that it provided in 1837 that Whites alone of each congressional township would constitute the local school corporation. Four years later a small sympathetic group petitioned for school funds to educate Blacks. This request, however, was abruptly turned down by the committee of referral with the comment "legislation on that subject was inexpedient." The Indiana legislature in 1853 followed precedent by ruling that children of Blacks and mulattoes "should not derive any benefit from common schools of the state." That same year a resolution of the house of Representatives instructing the educational committee to provide for schools to educate Black children was overwhelmingly defeated. Interestingly enough, opponents expressed fear that such a course could lead to embarrassing interracial relationships.

The situation in Illinois was not much better. The state constitution in 1847 restricted benefits of the school law to White children. What is more, the word "white" was repeated frequently throughout the
act to avoid any misunderstanding. Reacting vigorously to the official policy of the state, Blacks and their White friends protested that one-half of six thousand school age Black children were denied opportunities for education. Despite meetings and petitions sent to legislators asking for repeal of an amended 1847 law, it was not until 1874 that the state abolished this particular caste distinction.

As the Whites in the Old Northwest viewed the ever increasing number of non-slave Blacks and fugitive slaves moving into their section, they began to express fears of miscegenation and "dumping ground" concepts. The race problem was debated by politicians from the legislative halls of the state down to the smallest political sub-division. Sometimes conflict developed and was resolved by peaceful means, while on other occasions violence erupted with concomitant injury and death.

Nor was public school education the only area where educational restrictions functioned with reference to Blacks. Severe obstacles stood in the way of those desirous of pursuing higher education. In view of the fact that there were no Negro colleges incorporated before the mid-1850's, Blacks had to turn to White institutions to attain higher learning. In the middle 1830's Oneida Institute, located at Whitesboro, New York, was the only literary institution east of the state of Ohio with an official policy admitting Negroes. Both Lane Seminary and Oberlin in Ohio, however, showed liberal tendencies, and as a consequence, some Black students were enrolled.

The bare fact was evident, however, that the American college where a Black student could enroll and study without intimidation was indeed
rare, even down to the closing years of the 19th century. Charles G. Finney rather accurately appraised the condition when he noted that although many colleges had no stated policy barring Negroes "they encouraged a prejudice which created an atmosphere in which a colored student could not live." To Daniel Payne, the evidence of Black exclusion from White colleges was clearly apparent when promising students like Alexander Crummell, Thomas Paul, Charles B. Ray, Amos Beman, and James McCune Smith, among others, were rejected by prominent White colleges. 20

All of this suggests that Payne found a real need in the Black community for special schools and teachers. Fortunately, several Black and White men were at work trying to fill the need, but such private sources were at an extreme disadvantage. Apparently, this discouraging picture failed to dampen Payne's enthusiasm. He arrived in New York fully convinced that it was the "will of God" for him to become an educator. It was his firm conviction that this was the pathway the Divine had chosen to enable him to break the Black man's chains of bondage. Education was the powerful motivating factor Payne brought from his native Charleston. Hence, on nostalgic occasions while reflecting on friends left behind, he rededicated himself to the task of acquiring and imparting knowledge, so that he could be useful among his "oppressed, despised, and ignorant brethren." 21

For a time after Payne first considered the ministry as a career possibility, the minister and educator in him were in competition. After he had overcome the eye problem that cut short his Gettysburg stay, he became a minister. Then another physical ailment resulting
in a throat rupture induced him to answer the call of education. Thus, in the fall of 1839, he opened a school on Spruce Street in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.22

Starting with only three pupils, Payne soon recovered the magic touch he had acquired in Charleston, and in one year's time he reported an enrollment of sixty pupils. By 1843, Payne had the largest primary school for Blacks in the city.23 At this point he was gradually gravitating toward a combined ministerial-educational career. Reluctant at first to dispense with either of the two important concerns, Payne finally accepted a church assignment in Washington, D.C. without losing enthusiasm for teaching.

Payne was quick to envisage this Israel Church pastorate as an opportunity to execute a direct attack on a poorly educated clergy. This formed the basis for the publication of eight controversial "essays" designed to improve the educational standards of ministers in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Published in Quarterly Magazine in 1843 and 1844, Payne's "Epistles on the Education of the Ministry" called upon the "highest ecclesiastical assembly," meaning the General Conference of 1844, to set up priorities and to legislate on the "momentous question" of education.24 The reaction was sharp and bitter from both clergy and laity as an avalanche of epithets were hurled at the ministerial "upstart." Such phrases as "infidels could do no more;" "full of absurdities;" "reckless slander on the character of the church;" and "Payne is a devil" were used with reckless abandon.25

The controversy was so charged with emotion that careful observers
invisioned a possible division in the membership, resulting in withdrawal of a formidable segment and creation of another church congregation. The principal group who opposed an educated ministry were those who placed almost blind reliance in the "call" to preach. To them, education was not a primary factor in the interpretation of the word of God, but rather Divine inspiration was the basic essential.

Although Payne wavered at times under the attack, the timely assistance of Bishop Morris Brown revived a faint heart, and so he introduced his revolutionary proposal before the A.M.E. General Conference in 1844. The bombshell measure, a recommendation calling for "a course of study for ministers," met overwhelming defeat the first day. Fortunately, the succeeding day when tempers had cooled, Abram D. Lewis, a minister highly respected by the delegates, called for a reconsideration in a deep and moving oratorical presentation. His speech became the rallying point, and the historic resolution then passed without a dissenting vote.

Bishop Morris Brown, although an illiterate, sensed the educational need among the clergy of the Church and immediately appointed Payne chairman of a select committee on education to prepare a ministerial course of study. In later years, distinguished Presbyterian cleric Francis Grimke saw this as a commitment to a policy of education that opened a new epoch. To Grimke, a contemporary, Payne had the insight to comprehend the evil of ignorance and the courage to publicly express his disapproval.

Payne soon realized his opportunity to exploit the historic decision of the 1844 A.M.E. General Conference. He continued to write
articles emphasizing the urgent need for an educated ministry. At almost the same time, the Baltimore Annual Conference called an educational convention in October 1845. At Philadelphia a representative group took up the question of providing facilities to educate Blacks both nationally and locally, but debate provoked a heated and violent discussion, forcing a hopelessly divided group to settle on several proposals. Payne felt that little could be achieved inasmuch as many representatives insisted satisfactory educational facilities already existed in both the East and West. His frustration induced him to decry the "ignorance" and "disunion" that prevailed. Finally, the convention adjourned with nothing substantially achieved.

Payne was undaunted, however, and so kept his pen and voice busy attacking his choice target, an uneducated ministry in the A.M.E. Church. One thing seemed certain: he was convinced that God sanctioned knowledge, and if men neglected the opportunity it would bring Divine displeasure. In this respect, Payne equated ignorance with wickedness and the work of the "devil." Another theme emphatically stressed by Payne was the disadvantage faced by an illiterate Church membership. If members were unable to read the hymn books or the Bible, the "greatest knowledge" was missed. Moreover, Bible reading did more than dispel ignorance. It conferred on the beneficiary "sanctified knowledge" that would crush the "strong-holds of the Empire of Satan!" Payne had always believed that Christianity and knowledge complemented each other. For one thing, he asserted, "only as we educate ourselves will we rise to the position
destined by reason and heaven;" and for another, one's name and achievement are commemorated through education because "he places in heaven such monuments as will live and shine when the blazing stars shall be blotted out from the map in the skies."32

Finally, Payne used his poetry as an instrument in the contest. In Pleasures and other Miscellaneous Poems he wrote:

There's pleasure in the culture of the mind,
Sweet as the drops of honey bees do find
Hid in the nectaries of smiling flow'rs
That grace the meadows or the fragrant bow'rs.33

Even though Daniel Payne pursued his educational objectives with indefatigable vigor in the years immediately following the General Conference of 1844, his most profitable accomplishments awaited both a geographical change and a position of greater power in the A.M.E. Church. Thus, his elevation to the bishopric in 1852 and his move to Ohio opened a golden opportunity. Payne moved his family to Tawawa Springs, Ohio in July, 1856, after a careful search to avoid the "corrupt" conditions of urban living such as he had experienced when he resided in Cincinnati.34 The location, later known as Wilberforce from the college of the same name, became a permanent residence where Payne lived until his death. As the years passed, its solitude and scenic beauty proved an ideal environment for Payne to raise his family and also rekindle faltering spirits in moments of pressure and distress. His residence, known as "Evergreen Cottage" was a place where notables of the period gathered singly and in groups to pass the time with the learned bishop.

Since Ohio attracted emigrating non-slave Blacks and was also a choice spot to establish settlements for manumitted slaves, it emerged
as a battleground over the issue of the education of Black people. Provisions for educational facilities in the several settlements of ex-slaves and the demand of nonslaves for the right of education brought numerous mid-century conflicts through the state. Race prejudice reached such intensity in some sections that hostile Whites burned school houses, and sympathetic Whites who taught Black children were oftentimes mobbed or mistreated. Enraged persons even attacked private dwellings were Blacks were being taught. In spite of the opposition, private efforts were diligently pursued, especially in the larger urban centers like Cincinnati and Columbus.

Before 1836, Alfred Lee maintained a school for Blacks in the southern section of Columbus near Peter's Run. Subsequent to that year a subscription campaign was launched to build a school for Black children. Eventually, a building was erected in the North end of the city at the corner of Oak and Fifth streets, and a successful school was maintained.

The Ohio Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church pioneered the initial organized effort of a denominational character in the state. Paralleling secular action and following close behind Payne's 1844 General Conference presentation, a conference committee was instructed "to select a site for a seminary of learning on the manual labor plan." Interest developed for an area outside the city of Columbus. It was the thinking of some that family living quarters could be erected in the vicinity of the school to provide for a more satisfactory operating arrangement. Thus, approximately 180 acres of land were purchased some fourteen miles north of Columbus and Union Seminary
was opened in 1847.  

Theoretically, the plan had excellent promise. It was designed for students to work and help pay their way while spending a reasonable amount of time in the classroom, studying such subjects as literature, science, agriculture and industrial arts, but the experiment was a failure. Several factors combined to render it a rather useless venture. For one thing, the family living plan was not compatible with the distance from Columbus, where most families secured their regular income. A more important deficiency was failure to carefully appraise the anti-Black sentiment among the rather prosperous White population of the area. Most serious, of all, however, was the quality of the educational program which prompted Payne to comment that no intelligent parent would send his child so far away when better schools were "at their command." Hence, a school that seemed to open with a glowing promise in 1847 was all but inoperative by 1855. Even so, it was not until 1863 before it was finally phased out by transferring what was left of monetary value into the newly purchased Wilberforce University. As the bishop of the district, Payne shared primary responsibility in the transaction.

The 1850's, the decade that produced the founding of Wilberforce University, was probably the most crisis-ridden of any since the founding of the Nation. It opened with a Congress almost hopelessly divided, and destined to attain the dubious distinction for legislation forcing hundreds of the Nation's Black citizens to flee the country. Then followed the likes of Fredrick Douglass who noticeably accelerated his bombast against slavery from platform and through the press. A new
political party was organized and the Kansas territory was the scene of a savage conflict predicting things to come. Nor was this all that directly concerned the Black community. As the decade drew to a close, Blacks studied carefully the shocking decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott.\footnote{41} At Harpers Ferry, Black militants joined John Brown in an uprising with repercussions without parallel.\footnote{42} By this time, the schism of the Union was foreshadowed and the Black population heard the news of the clash of arms with mixed emotions.

By the 1850's, it was clearly apparent from the paucity of opportunities for Blacks to secure a higher education in White controlled colleges that separate Black institutions would yield the only meaningful returns. Equally perceptive was the realization that much would depend on a small group of foresighted Blacks, and an even smaller number of White allies, who viewed education as a measure to both elevate and Christianize the Black population. Furthermore, Blacks had only the Christian Church with enough organizational power and membership needed to achieve a worthwhile experiment in educational separatism.\footnote{43} Payne sensed the opportunity. Meanwhile, he and his associates were encouraged by the zeal of a few White individuals and groups who opposed the widespread restrictions on education endured by the Black community.

In the forefront, the Quakers were signally significant, not only for their denunciations of slavery and exploitation of Blacks but also for a conscientious concern for their education. In several other ways White supporters rallied to the Black cause.\footnote{44} An organization called the Ohio Ladies' Society for the Education of Free People of Color was
founded at Massillon, Ohio in 1840 "to elevate the Negro and thus under-
cut the opposition to the abolitionist movement." Richard Humphrey, a
Boston Quaker silversmith, left $10,000 in 1832 toward founding a school
for Negroes. A Homer Treat of Litchfield County, Connecticut, joined the
supporters with a $4,000 contribution. Still more impressive was the
effort of an Allegheny, Pennsylvania clergyman who gave a donation of
$25,000 in 1849 "to train young Negroes for teaching and the ministry."
So appreciative was the Black A.M.E. Church for Avery's concern that
special commendation was bestowed on him at the 1852 New York General
Conference.45

Thus, there was ample precedent for the 1853 action of the Cincin-
nati Conference of the White Methodist Episcopal Church North, when a
small group of anti-slavery activists led the way in a proposal to pur-
chase land and build a college of higher education for Blacks. During
the two years following, the Methodist Church approved a report of their
project committee and purchased a site to erect the new institution.
The area was located two and one-half miles east of Xenia, Ohio. It
consisted of fifty-two acres of land "finely timbered and abundantly
watered with mineral springs." A deep ravine traversed the proposed
campus area. The front shaded with "forest trees" and evergreens pre-
sented a picturesque setting. An Indian name, "Tawawa Springs," was
aptly applied to the region, abundant in spring water with components of
magnesium sulphate and oxide of iron, believed to be a health tonic.47
In fact, prior to this time it had been a health resort, and buildings
used for this purpose were still standing.
The Methodist committee was impressed with the historic background as it related to the Black experience. The vicinity was an important location in underground railroad activities. Moreover, it had already been chosen as the site for an important Black settlement. About this time Noah Spears, a benevolent Kentuckian, opened the way for the nucleus of this group when he purchased small farms in the area for sixteen of his former bondsmen.\(^{48}\)

Intensely excited over the prospect of the founding of the school, Daniel Payne was quick to report to the annual conferences under his jurisdiction and thence to present the information to the General Conference of the A.M.E. Church. The Ohio Annual Conference in 1855 gave its approval, but his hopes were shattered in a confrontation with the sovereign body of the Church. Payne sensed the strong opposition to his proposal even as he made a dramatic appeal for its adoption in 1856. In an unusually forceful speech he said in part, "No man should be more enlightened than the Ambassador of the cross... Of all the ministers of Christ there are none who have more need of being thoroughly educated than those of the A.M.E. Church."\(^{49}\) His masterful presentation was ineffectual, however, as two emotion-tinged issues dominated the final decision.

The Rev. W. N. Clarke, an able and respected minister, was the powerful leader of the opposition. In a highly "inflammatory" speech, stimulating considerable emotional response among the delegates, Clarke made use of a two-pronged attack. The first was a bitter criticism of the Methodist Episcopal Church's stand on slavery; the second was a charge
that the school idea was a colonization scheme on the part of the Methodist Church "to expatriate the colored people and send them to Africa." 50

Even the forceful pleas of the Reverends John P. Wright and Mansfield French were unable to stem the tide of delegate dissent. Both Wright and French spent hours in response to questions concerning the policies, objectives, and intentions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but to no avail. French, a resident of Xenia, Ohio, had worked to secure educational assistance for Black families who had settled in the area some time before the Methodist Church plan had evolved. 51 Furthermore, Wright and French were members of the committee to locate a college site, and French initiated the motion for the Methodist Church to purchase the Greene County location. Both men were highly regarded by Payne, and he had relied on them to help sell the plan to his fellow church members.

Although it was particularly heartbreaking for Daniel Payne to have the A.M.E. General Conference of 1856 refuse endorsement of "the beneficent proposition by a large majority" it was not at all surprising for colonization to emerge as an issue in the controversy. Ever since the three thousand Black people, representing all shades of opinion and walks of life, gathered at Bethel Church in Philadelphia in late January 1817 to protest the program of the newly formed American Colonization Society, colonization had been a highly sensitive issue to the Black population. 52 Black people, on the whole, were sure that White people were trying to remove the best Black talent and settle them in a distant and strange land. It was little wonder, then, that all White proposals were suspect.
Payne himself was not without colonizatonist fears. This was clearly apparent at the time he enrolled at Gettysburg when he sought to clarify the school's official view on colonization.

As a matter of fact, colonization had split the Black community, and many Blacks and organizations which favored emigration were isolated by friends and associates. The able journalist John Russwurm was forced to withdraw as a co-editor of Freedoms Journal because of his views in this respect.53 What was more frightening, many White national leaders had expressed sympathy for the cause. It was a threatening and fearful problem and to Blacks a quite real one. Thus the charge that the M.E. Church supported both slavery and colonization, was sufficient to block A.M.E. affiliation in the proposed Tawawa Springs educational enterprise. None of this dampened Payne's educational initiative. He felt that the Methodist educational experiment was above suspicion, and certainly no one could label him a colonizatonist in the traditional sense.

The Methodist Church, however, moved ahead to effect its school plan. Fortunately, Payne was affiliated with the project. In the initial organization he joined three other Blacks - a minister and two laymen - as members of the board of trustees.54 Two of those selected, Lewis Woodson, a minister, and Alfred Anderson, a layman, were members of the A.M.E. Church, while Ishmael Keith was of Baptist persuasion. As a member of the Executive Committee Payne aided in the actual management of the college and his residence at Wilberforce greatly facilitated participation.55 Among other things Payne found himself supervising the establishment when the teachers left in the Summer to recruit
students.

In the years ahead, Payne's presence on the campus provided a desirable advantage. For although he was not the key figure who guided the Tawawa Springs experiment in its beginning days, he was certainly the individual who almost single handed saved the new project. His foresight and persistence led him to maintain vital ties even in the face of a temporary rejection by his own church membership. As a result of this concern, the opportunity emerged in 1863 for Payne to bring Wilberforce under the auspices of the A.M.E. Church.

Almost immediately the Methodist Church faced three major problems relating to Wilberforce. First of all, it was necessary to secure a capable individual to administer the new school. During seven years of operation under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church three different persons served as heads of the school.56 The first two, M. F. Gaddis, Jr. and James K. Parker, were classified as principals and the third, Richard H. Rust, an alumnus of Wesleyan University, was regarded as the first president. Seemingly, the deep concern of the Church for a school of "higher order" was not realized under either Gaddis or Parker. Due to administrative weaknesses and various problems associated with the years of beginning, the educational experiment for the most part operated on the primary level, and at most on the beginning secondary level.57 It remained for the very capable and active Richard Rust to revise the curriculum and move the school's classification upward to include the early years of collegiate instruction.58 In the days of President Rust such subjects as the classics, mathematics, French, and
theological studies formed the basis for a curriculum of higher education.59

The work of Richard Rust was equally successful in student recruiting. Although some students were enrolled from northern states, the great bulk of those enrolled during President Rust's tenure were "natural children of Southern and Southwestern Planters."60 The satisfaction of Daniel Payne in the Wilberforce experiment during the Rust years is clearly stated in his observation with regard to the Southern influx:

"These came from the plantations, with nothing mentally but the ignorance, superstition and vices which slavery engenders; but departed with so much intellectual and moral culture as to be qualified to be teachers in several of the Western states, and immediately after the overthrow of slavery entered their native regions as teachers of the freedman."61

Dampening the enthusiasm of both Rust and Payne was the racism of an influential segment in the nearby Xenia community. Led by Williams B. Fairchild, editor of the Xenia Torchlight, strong opposition was displayed against the large numbers of Southern "mulatto" children among the enrollees at the new school. Fairchild saw these "mulatto" children as potential recruiters for ever-increasing numbers of mixed blood offsprings "regarded as half-breeds" and "worthless."62 Local thinking in this respect was much like that prevailing in states throughout the Old Northwest where demand for exclusion of non-slaves and slave Blacks from the South had reached the proportions of intense fear and even hysteria. Ironically, Wilberforce University founders, working to build a school because Blacks were excluded from White schools in Xenia, still faced opposition two-and-one-half miles outside of the city limits.
Nonetheless, enrollment increased and serious decline did not set in before the hectic days of the Civil War. Apparently local opposition moderated with a change in Southern recruiting emphasis from non-slave to slave Blacks. In 1862, Fairchild editorialized in the Torchlight that the school's agents ceased recruiting among "free Negroes" as was the "original purpose" and sought slave-children enrollees from among slave-holders.63

Financial complications eventually became the major difficulty in continued operation of the institution under Methodist Church auspices. From the very beginning financial problems were encountered. At the time of purchase disparity between the $10,000 sum authorized by the Methodist Church to be paid for the property and the $13,000 asked by the owners threatened to forestall the deal.64 It took a tremendous effort on the part of the dedicated John F. Wright, presiding elder of the East Cincinnati District of the M.E. Church, to mount a major subscription campaign in Ohio and other eastern cities with the personal assistance of W. G. Palmer, an interested physician. During this time, Payne was most often busy with Episcopal duties, traveling throughout the Connection, preaching in various churches and holding conferences. He returned periodically to Wilberforce, at which time, he usually applied himself to tasks in the best interest of the school.

In subsequent operation the school's major financial support came from the Southern slave aristocracy.65 This kind of dependence appeared to function well before the country became engulfed in a civil war which sharply curtailed and eventually completely cut off income from the
Southern planters. Thus, in the dismal year of 1862 when a Union victory looked hopeless, the board of trustees had no choice but to suspend operation. Hence, a precipitous end marked the first phase of the Wilberforce educational experiment, three months before President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

For over a year no educational activity of any nature took place at Wilberforce University. It was not until March 10, 1863, that a meeting of the old board of trustees took place in Cincinnati, Ohio to dispose of the Wilberforce property. Before attending the meeting, Payne had received advanced notice of the intended sale and forthwith expressed interest and concern. Even so, he was not prepared for the urgency of the transaction. The A.M.E. bishop requested three months time to seek a decision which would allow ample time to contact the spring conferences of his district, but the Methodist board would grant only one day. Payne learned that the demand for immediate sale was due to a proposal from the state of Ohio to purchase the property for "one of its asylums" which had to be completed before adjournment of the legislature then in session.

Payne faced a difficult "now or never" decision. It was at this point he gained support from a few influential Church members, and proceeded to purchase the school, without the required Church conference confirmation. Afterwards he said he made the decision to buy the institution after humble consultation with God and not even a ten dollar bill in his pocket. This kind of courage was not new with Daniel Payne and most often it was undergirded with a fundamentalist religious philosophy of the "mustard seed" variety, capable of "moving mountains."
Not only did Payne receive Church approval at a later date for his unauthorized purchase, but he also became the first president of a re-organized Wilberforce. He had no illusion concerning the strenuous task that lay ahead for one administering an Episcopal District and a school struggling to survive. For thirteen years he remained at the helm successfully guiding the institution through several crises, while at the same time, efficiently performing his duties as a bishop of the church. Much should be said for the able assistance of the Rev. James A. Shorter and Professor John C. Mitchell in the beginning years. Shorter, pastor of an A.M.E. Church in Zanesville, Ohio, became treasurer of the new enterprise; while Mitchell, an Oberlin graduate and principal of the Eastern District School in Cincinnati, accepted the position of Principal. In addition, both men served with Payne as agents and principal fund raisers in retiring the original mortgage.

Far more important in nursing the infant school back to full health was the board of trustees. Anxious to have all Conferences of the Church represented on the trustee board, Payne and others who made the rules recommended the selection of two laymen and three clergymen from each Annual Conference to serve on the board. This representation bulked to an enormous size by 1876 as new conferences were added to the church structure. Because the board was unwieldy with twenty-three annual conferences, 115 denominational trustees, nine honorary trustees and six bishops in ex officio capacities, Payne doubted the wisdom of maintaining such a large group and made recommendations for changes. For one thing, no more than twenty-four had attended meetings, and fewer
still were truly interested.

Payne succeeded in retiring the original debt. Three months after
the deal was consummated, Payne was able to pay $2,500 of the debt and
by the end of two additional years $7,500 had been paid. Yet, as
gratifying as all of this appeared, Payne and other school officials
faced financial problems of crisis proportions year after year. Dire
poverty among the Church membership and enrollees was the foremost
enemy of solvency. When the school opened its doors a second time, many
Blacks were just out of slavery while others were still enslaved. An-
other segment were poor because of the restrictions imposed by racial
segregation and discrimination. Many who were financially capable re-
 fused to aid the new venture.

Matters became even worse with the destruction of the main building
by fire on April 14, 1865, the same day Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. Immediately, an ordeal of mammoth proportions faced Payne. As the center
of operation the building contained recitation rooms, dormitory space
for teachers and students, culinary and bathing apartments, a laundry and
a chapel. Again, Payne seemed to harbor the needed inner strength, and
even though his heart ached as he gazed on the smoldering ruins, yet his
"spirit soared to heaven" and his "faith laid hands upon the strong arm
of the Almighty." As a consequence, he was not deterred in his deter-
mination that a "nobler building than the first" would be built. Prayer
was obviously a primary factor in whatever Payne set out to accomplish;
nevertheless, in the real world he seldom completely deserted a practical
turn of mind. As a result, he contacted scores of people to aid his
struggling school.

The Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education, an organization designed to assist church schools, advanced a sum of $1,800 for the two-year period from 1867-1869. At the same time, Payne developed a friendship with General O. O. Howard, director of the Freedmen's Bureau, which resulted in 1869 in a contribution directly out of Bureau funds. General Howard was so impressed by the little bishop that he induced Congress to make an additional $25,000 appropriation. Payne regarded this as a crowning achievement, and he frequently referred to his numerous appearances before the Committee on Education and Labor in Congress as well as the Ohio Legislature and groups of prominent citizens. Added to this list of financial contributors was the American Unitary Association, an educational aid society, which gave $4,000 between the years 1868 and 1875.72

Occasionally, Payne was able to win an important benefactor as a friend of the institution. Perhaps the most important was the Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, who was a member of the board of trustees under Methodist auspices and continued to serve after the African Methodists acquired the institution. Chase warmly proclaimed his friendship, gave to the institution, induced others to give, and bequested $10,000 to the school.73 Payne was also able to win support from the wealthy abolitionist Gerrit Smith who donated $500 on one occasion.74 Finally, Charles Avery, a wealthy Pennsylvania clergyman, who left $300,000 "to be applied to the education and Christianization of the African race," made provisions for Wilberforce to share with other schools in his will.75
The transfer of Wilberforce University to the A.M.E. Church in 1863 attained added significance because this was the first institution of higher learning sponsored by an all-Black church. Needless to say, the financial responsibilities of such a venture were not readily apparent to either the majority of the ministerial leadership or the laity. In the beginning years, Payne expressed dissatisfaction with the assistance rendered by various segments of the Church and individual Church members. Not all of the Church conferences honored pledges made in the original purchase price of the institution. Furthermore, Church members who were men of some wealth, such as Stephen Smith, a leading A.M.E. layman, showed reluctance when asked to support the college.  

Education of a high order were among Payne's priorities when he became president of Wilberforce in 1863. Thus he was prompted to direct considerable attention to both curriculum and faculty. Of course, the many months of suspended educational operation had left the school without teachers. Fortunately, Payne had at his disposal a veteran educator in Professor John G. Mitchell, who at the time was serving as principal of Eastern District Schools in Cincinnati, Ohio. Payne placed full confidence in Mitchell and left the immediate direction of the academic program largely in his hands. As president, pressing financial matters occupied the bulk of Payne's time. Still, he was never far away when any phase of the school's program was being seriously considered and he even served as a teacher after 1868.  

Payne displayed more than the ordinary zeal and determination in building a qualified and reputable faculty. Race or religious denomination
was never a determining factor in the final selection of a candidate, and Payne was emphatic in this respect. Evidently stringent efforts were made to add faculty as the student body increased, since only three comprised the faculty in 1863, but there were thirteen in 1869. In keeping with his determination to assemble a quality faculty, Payne sought individuals who were graduates of such noted colleges such as Oberlin, Amherst, and Mt. Holyoke, together with others from schools in England and Scotland. Some Wilberforce graduates remained with their Alma Mater to teach. In such subjects as law and theology Payne sometimes relied on those who actually performed the work in the field. Finally, Payne had at his disposal the Antioch College faculty some ten miles distant in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and on numerous occasions called on them for special lectures. So enthusiastic was the response of Antioch teachers that they delivered forty lectures in specialized fields at Wilberforce during the school year 1873-1874.

Despite the rather exacting qualifications Payne applied to the active faculty he seemed somewhat dilatory in devising evaluation methods. Up to 1876 it was traditional to conduct an annual election of the faculty. Over the years this practice had opened the door for personal conflicts. As a result, oftentimes malice, envy, and arrogance rather than competence or experience emerged as decisive factors in the discharge or retention of a faculty member. It should be said, however, that Payne recognized the weakness, and by the end of his presidential tenure he had assessed this practice and forthwith recommended a change of method.
From all indications, the problem of curriculum posed a serious difficulty for Payne and Professor Mitchell when classes began in July, 1863. Contrary to expectations there were only six students enrolled. Their deficiencies were so great that "They were put upon the study of elementary English." Payne's sights were set on a school of higher education, and doubtless President Rust had approached this goal during his tenure. Unfortunately, suspension of the school had played havoc with the total school program, and the Payne administration was facing many of the identical problems confronting the founders seven years previously.

It was a slow beginning, and Wilberforce seems not to have reached full college status before 1866. In that year, two of the four college departments were organized, followed by the scientific department in 1867 and the normal department in 1872 with graduates of these departments receiving degree status in 1870. From that time to the end of Payne's administration in 1876, a total of twenty-nine students - thirteen women and sixteen men - received degrees. Under the four departments the school awarded the Bachelor of Divinity, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education, and Bachelor of Science degrees.

Payne maintained that the teaching methods at Wilberforce were quite similar to those found in other colleges of the country. He saw no discernible difference in the classics and mathematics instruction; however, certain techniques were probably at variance in the Normal Department. In orthography he explained that teaching at Wilberforce utilized analysis, which meant that immediately after a pupil had
spelled a word he was "required to tell how many vowels and how many con-
sonants it contained; to give the quantity and quality of every vowel;
and to distinguish the characteristics of the sub-vocals and the aspirates." Payne believed this to be the best technique for teaching the art of
spelling. To him it had two qualities that surpassed other methods.
It was the most thorough and when it was "continually applied" it re-
sulted in habit forming which made the individual dissatisfied with any-
thing "short of a thorough knowledge of any object which he may under-
take to scrutinize, or any subject he may begin to investigate." The
Theological Department employed both the inductive and deductive methods
of teaching. Payne contended that in theology the student was allowed
the "largest liberty of investigation and expression," but he quickly
added "excepting that which borders upon impiety and blasphemy." 83

Christian commitment and character building were two aims basic to
Daniel Payne's educational philosophy. Both his religious piety and
the needs of the newly emancipated Black man dictated this emphasis.
This does not mean that Payne disregarded the scientific or relegated it
to a meaningless role. He was too much of the scholar himself and had
such a broad exposure to the profession of education to forget about
the importance of the empirical approach. Yet, religion played a dom-
inant role in Payne's life and he regarded Christianity as the necessary
saving force for every individual. Thus it was in keeping with his philo-
sophy to assert:

Our aim is to make Christian scholars not mere book
worms, but workers educated workers with God for man,
to effect, which we employ not the classics and
mathematics only, but science and philosophy—the former for their discriminating, polishing and cultivating influences; the latter for the quickness and exactness which they impart to the cognitive faculty, and the seed thoughts which they never fail to sow in the mind.\textsuperscript{84}

Payne firmly believed that the Christian concept should be "uppermost" in imparting knowledge. For, as he put it, "the classics and mathematics as science and philosophy, can and must be consecrated to the human well being by teaching the sentiments and the spirit of Jesus."\textsuperscript{85}

Payne was particularly strong in his praise of those who displayed rare Christian attributes. Such was the case with Esther I. Maltby who joined the faculty in 1864. The fact that Miss Maltby was "an excellent Greek and Latin scholar" and a "good mathematician" seemed secondary. What struck Payne's fancy was her arrival at Wilberforce with a "Greek Testament in her hand; her zeal for moral purity; and her day and night labor to induce the youth to be Christians as well as scholars."\textsuperscript{86} Payne speaks of how Miss Maltby performed religious chores beyond the ordinary services by holding extra prayer meetings before classes every morning.\textsuperscript{87}

Nothing better points up the all-consuming religious atmosphere at the college than the 1872-73 University Catalogue. The "religious instructions" of that release clearly point out:

\begin{quote}
To all inclined to respect the Christian religion and its institutions, the welcome hand will be heartily extended; but to those whose influence is prejudicial to religion and good morals, no protracted stay can be allowed; believing, as we do, that the success of an educational enterprise is strictly proportional to its moral and religious tone.\textsuperscript{88}
\end{quote}

As a consequence of this belief, religious instruction became one of
the most important phases of the school work. Indeed, it was a matter of record that the religious element would receive "particular encouragement and protection" and "repulsive sectarianism" would not be "indulged." The results of this policy were reflected in the years 1870–76 when the Theological Department graduated more degree recipients than any of the other departments.

With respect to his emphasis on character building, Payne was quite in line with the prevailing concepts exercised by White society in devising guidelines for Black American higher education. Character building shared a primary berth with Christianity as a basic necessity for educational growth. For Payne, culture and character building were made from the same mould. If the Black man was to move himself out of his degradation, he must develop "moral" character even at the expense of intellectual development. Of course, Payne saw the environment as a contributing factor to character deterioration; whereas his White counterpart would almost always adhere to the belief that bad character was congenital. In either case, the effect on the learning process was the same, for in truth it meant less concern for information and considerably more for inspiration.

As is by now clear, Christian indoctrination and a fetish for moral uplift were two salient elements in determining the school's educational policies under Payne; but to understand the rather ascetic student policy at Wilberforce, one must also take into account Payne's idiosyncrasies and eccentricities. It then becomes less difficult to see discipline and the disciplinarian treated as things of beauty and to see conformity
and the conformer as the recipient of reward. In order to build Christian and moral character, Payne believed the rules should be harsh. Accordingly, discipline emerged as a key factor, and Payne both exercised the practice and condoned it in others. Little wonder that he approvingly referred to Miss Maltby, the pioneer teacher at the institution, as one who had "no superior" that "I ever saw as a disciplinarian."

Payne not only drove himself to achieve his objectives, but he also subscribed to a strict code of self-conduct. His peculiarities were remembered by students who attended Wilberforce under his administration and in accounts he passed on about himself. One student viewing him as a rather remote and mysterious man recalls that he was most abstentious in his diet, eating scarcely any meat and drinking uncolored tea and a beverage made from cocoa leaves. He arose every morning at four o'clock and retired at nine in the evening, and nothing would interfere with this routine. So exact was his tendency to conform to this requirement that he would leave any gathering no matter what its character to retire at his appointed hour. Students familiar with Payne's habits thought of him as both sentimental and severe, displaying a "kind and fatherly" attitude or a "stern and unflexible" one as the occasion demanded. Moreover, it was reported that Payne "believed ill of no one," but if deceived, "seldom reposed confidence in the offender."91

The eccentric element in his behavior was obvious on numerous occasions and sometimes probably to the extent of exasperation. There was the time when a distinguished gentleman whose acquaintance Payne had formed abroad visited him at his Tawawa Springs home. The visitor placed
his hat on a chair and found himself a seat nearby. Payne deliberately sat in the chair where the hat was placed and remained there throughout the conversation. When the gentleman rose to leave, Payne extended his hand and gave him his battered and crumpled hat together with enough money to purchase a new one. Afterwards he defended his own behavior as proper because "racks and not chairs were made for hats."92

In view of the Christian and moral emphasis that were so much a part of Payne's educational philosophy, it is not surprising that discipline became an authorized preoccupation. It was everywhere apparent at the school in both religious and secular activities. Religious discipline meant more than just proper observance of the Sabbath, compulsory attendance at Church or Sabbath School and "faithfully" preparing oneself by bathing on Saturday evening. It also meant extensive daily religious requirements intermingled with things purely academic. Students assembled for a religious chapel exercise twice a day and for a prayer meeting twice a week.93 Each student was told to bring a Bible for the eight o'clock morning exercise so that they could read responsively. If one did not comply with the rule he was promptly sent after the book.94

According to the annual catalogue this "Religious Instruction" was indeed a rewarding experience:

At 7:45 a.m. all the pupils assemble in the Chapel for religious devotions, which consist in reading a portion of the Scriptures, in singing a hymn, and prayer; at which all are required to be present. These exercises have a most happy influence upon the pupils, and have done much in making the labors of governing comparatively light. At eight o'clock
the classes retire to their respective rooms, and recitations commence. 95

The observation that "every student," but particularly such as are of immature years, receives the individual and prayerful watchcare of members of the faculty offers some insight into the strict rules governing academic studies and behavior patterns. The administration informed all prospective applicants that "great care" would be taken to guard students from "immoral habits, profane language, and reading improper books." As a consequence rules in abundance followed.

Annual catalogues specified prohibitions such as:

"... the use of intoxicating drinks, tobacco, firearms, games of chance, profanity and obscenity, the use and possession of any immoral books or papers, visiting each other's rooms during study hours, absence from premises, or visiting families without permission, and all improper conduct." 96

Students were promptly advised concerning:

Strict observance of the appointed study hours. Every room must be accessible at all times to the members of the faculty. The association with the opposite sex is prohibited without permission. Punctual attendance at prayers, recitations and exercises. 97

Then came a reminder:

The Government is inflexibly strict in excluding all practices tending to immorality, and in exacting a uniform regard for good order, studious habits and attention to the prescribed routine of duty. 98

All of this was capped off by an ominous warning that "a disposition to evade just and salutary rules will meet with special disapprobation."

A former student of the time writes that actual practice conformed to printed rules, for President Payne was letter strict and insisted that
every rule be obeyed "punctilio." Anyone who could not subscribe to the rules of the institution was not admitted; and those who broke the rules after subscribing to them were summarily dismissed.99

Payne for himself certainly observed "prayerful watchcare" quite literally. Although he was bishop of a district and president of a college, he still found time to exercise even minute surveillance of his student wards.100 He made certain that study periods be observed with regularity, free of outside interference. It was through his order that social life was kept down to a minimum and merely "necessary recreation" tolerated. Payne looked at frivolity through the eyes of the stoic, and infidelity to purpose as a breach of God's law, for either of which a student could receive a reprimand or even a suspension. Concern for even the trivial is seen when on one occasion he reprimanded a student for wearing a checked suit and a red necktie.101 Payne's emphasis on character building may have served to alienate the very academic element he felt so necessary to the Black man's success. In many ways he was more concerned about moulding the Black youth's character and relationship with the Divine than in acquisition of educational fundamentals geared toward mental improvement.

The source of recruitment for students had undergone some change when Payne became president in 1863. At that time primary attention was given to mixed-blood children of Southern extraction. Not only had local White antipathy toward Southern Blacks encouraged a change in sectional direction, but the Civil War had introduced a new ingredient and further modification of the original perspectives. Apparently, the
decision worked for betterment as statistical computation testified. In 1863, Wilberforce could count only six students enrolled but thirteen years later a jubilant Daniel Payne reported 153 students from seventeen states among whom were Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists.¹⁰²

In Payne's thinking the A.M.E. Church was a better source of student recruitment, especially for those entering the ministry. He appealed to the Church conferences to send young men "for the work of the Christian ministry" and young women to prepare themselves "in the work of Christian education." Payne informed the conferences that one hundred fifty dollars a year covered the yearly expenses of one student. He suggested that every large church could furnish that amount, since "twice that sum is spent annually for tobacco, and about four times that for picnics, bush meetings, and the like, notwithstanding these are the very churches that demand the best educated ministers."¹⁰³

As he came to the end of his thirteen years as president of Wilberforce, Payne offered no apology for the paternalism exercised toward students who sought education under his administration. Actually, he appears to have believed it a good thing and particularly so in the context of bringing "religion, culture and enlightenment to a benighted race."

A great deal can be said for the Wilberforce that Daniel Payne turned over to Benjamin Lee in 1876. He had been true to his promise that a "nobler structure" would arise from the destruction of the main building in 1865. The new structure was brick, the old was frame. Moreover, the college now had a comparatively strong course of study; its faculty
seemed competent; and six college classes had graduated.\textsuperscript{104} Payne reported that financially it was "free from debt" and its assets were valued at $60,000.\textsuperscript{105} Finally, its enrollment had soared to new heights.

Furthermore, the Church treasury appropriated an average of $1,000 annually.\textsuperscript{106} More important, however, were the student tuitions, fees and rents which Payne estimated brought an annual return of $5,000.\textsuperscript{107} In spite of this increased revenue there was never a time in Payne's administrative years when he could enjoy the luxury of financial optimism. As he sensed the exhaustion of American sources, Payne looked forward to the benevolent citizens of foreign lands to help bring about a measure of financial security for the institution.

His trip abroad in 1867, already referred to, had an educational as well as religious function. He had hopes of receiving assistance from people of England, France and Holland believed to be interested in the Wilberforce project. It was to no avail, however, since the disappointing trip was totally unproductive. Payne was hard pressed to explain this turn of affairs. Finally he concluded that "English Christians were like American Christians: they give power only to the powerful, and wealth only to the rich."\textsuperscript{108}

Although there were many crises in the thirteen years of Payne's supervision, good fortune predominated. Wilberforce survived as a school of higher education "while scores of others ascended and declined," this, in spite of the fact that Payne began his work as president when no other Black man in America performed a similar role. So it is not surprising that even as he planned his departure, Payne was firm
in original faith that Wilberforce would succeed and triumph if those
directing her destiny would only place their faith in "God's unchanging
hand."

It was in connection with this faith that he spoke to the race in
general:

Up to the present hour, God has committed no
greater work to us than that of founding an
institution of learning such as Wilberforce
promises to be . . . Wesley like, therefore,
let us work as though we are to be saved only
by works, and believe as though we are to be
saved only by faith . . . The unifying of
our races is only a question of time, and may
the Father of humanity make Wilberforce
instrumental in hastening on that glorious
consummation. 109

Finally, to those who represented the General Conference of the
Church that controlled Wilberforce, he advised:

If we be true and liberal to Wilberforce,
God will never leave it without friends to
work for its success. If we be wise in the
management of this institution which he has
so signally blessed every year by his con-
verting power, if we by a living faith will
commit Wilberforce to his care and consecrate
it wholly to his service, he will make it an
instrument of increasing usefulness unto a
thousand generations. 110
FOOTNOTES

1Payne, Recollections, 162.

2Carter G. Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (New York, 1968), 229.

3Wade, Slavery in the Cities, 207.

4Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, 331; Carl Wittke, ed., The History of the State of Ohio, III (Columbus, 1941), 173.

5Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, 311.

6Ibid., 312.

7Ibid., 314.

8Ibid., 309.

9Ibid., 310.

10McGinnis, The Education of Negroes in Ohio, 35.

11Ibid., 32.

12Ibid.

13Ibid., 33.

14Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, 331-332.

15Ibid.

16Ibid., 333.


18Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 112-113. No Black schools for higher education were established before Lincoln in Pennsylvania and Wilberforce
in Ohio. Lincoln was founded in 1854 as Ashmun Institute under Presbyterian sponsorship. Wilberforce was incorporated in 1856 by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Apparently neither one of these institutions maintained a college curriculum in the early stages. It should also be noted that a very real impediment was the feeling that college designation "bore the implication of high achievement by Negroes." See Quarles, 107.

19 Ibid., 112. In comment, Quarles says colleges feared enrollment of Negroes would cause the loss of White students, particularly from Southern regions.

20 Both Crummell and Smith, two of the most distinguished Black Americans in the mid-19th century, finally finished graduate work abroad. Crummell received a degree from Cambridge University, England, and Smith the University of Glasgow, Scotland.

21 "Journal." No date.

22 Payne, Recollections, 72.

23 Ibid. It was Payne's observation that pupils had transferred from other "select schools" to his.

24 Benjamin Tanner, Outlines of the History of the A.M.E. Church (Philadelphia, 1883), 171.

25 Payne, Recollections, 75-76.


27 This was not generally known at the time but Payne said he served as the bishop's private secretary several times. Payne comments that Bishop Brown, a man of mixed blood whose father was Scotch, grew up without an opportunity for intellectual development. Still, Payne had high praise for Bishop Brown who was one of the powerful figures in the early A.M.E. Church (he was the second bishop). Said Payne, "Though illiterate, he was by nature sagacious, and therefore largehearted; so that without education his common sense always led him to give a hearty endorsement to it." See Payne, Recollections, 94.


29 Payne, History of A.M.E. Church, I, 195, 196.

30 Payne, Recollections, 221-222. The controversy on this occasion was indicative of the formidable obstacles Payne faced in the Black community. Opponents of the effort argued that there were already sufficient
higher educational facilities accessible to Blacks. Moreover, it was further contended that Blacks could not raise sufficient funds to support a college.

31 Repository of Religion and Literature, III (October, 1861), 186.

32 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, I, 277.

33 Daniel Payne, Pleasures and Other Miscellaneous Poems (Philadelphia, 1850), 20.

34 Payne, Recollections, 149-150. Payne was encouraged to move his family to the Tawawa Springs area by individuals instrumental in purchasing the site for the M.E. Church. He was anxious to leave Cincinnati, Ohio and settle in a location more conducive to child rearing. At the time Payne had three step-children who were eighteen, sixteen and six years of age. He recounts that the oldest died in his arms at Wilberforce. The two younger were enrolled among the first students at the school.

35 McGinnis, Education of Negroes in Ohio, 36-37.

36 Ibid., 38.

37 Ibid., 40.

38 Frederick McGinnis, A History and an Interpretation of Wilberforce University (Blanchester, Ohio, 1941), 25.

39 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 399.

40 This was the Fugitive Slave Law in the Compromise of 1850 already discussed above.

41 Ibid., 230-234. This decision brought forth some of the most vehement protest yet seen in the Black community. It was marked by church meetings, newspaper and pamphlet releases, platform speeches from the lowly to the mighty Douglass filled with strong condemnation and bitter recrimination.

42 Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 239-240. Of Brown's eighteen followers five were Black: Osborne Perry Anderson; two escaped slaves, Shields Green and Dangerfield Newby, together with two recruits from Oberlin, Ohio - John A. Copeland, Jr., and Lewis S. Leary, his uncle.

43 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 309-310. The membership statistics are impressive on this point. The A.M.E. Church which had 20,000 members in 1856 increased to 75,000 by 1866. Equally significant were the Baptist with a totaly membership of 150,000 in 1850 and 500,000 in 1870.
Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 109-110.

Ibid., 110.

Benjamin W. Arnett, ed., The Budget (Philadelphia, 1886), 245.

Daniel A. Payne, Annual Report and Retrospection of the First Decade of Wilberforce University (Xenia, 1873), 4.

Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1865, 234. It should be noted that the underground railroad not only played an important part in settlement of Black people in the Wilberforce area, but it also had an impact on establishment of the school. The system operated quite actively in Ohio where 40,000 slaves had escaped prior to the Civil War. See Charles S. Galbreath, The History of Ohio (New York, 1925), 191.


Payne, Recollections, 132.


Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 3.

Ibid., 7.

Original Minutes of Wilberforce University (Xenia, Ohio, 1863), 8. Also, Payne, Recollections, 226; and McGinnis, History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University, 34.

Payne, Recollections, 226.

Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 421-422.

McGinnis, History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University, 36. Also, Payne, Recollections, 151. Payne recalled that the school in its beginnings centered in elementary English and could hardly be called a college. He observed, "It was more like a humble beginning."

Ibid.

Benjamin Arnett, J. P. Underwood, and Daniel Payne, eds., Laws and Historical Sketch of Wilberforce University (Cincinnati, 1876), 28.

220; McGinnis, *History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University*, 37.

61Payne, *History of the A.M.E. Church*, 428. McGinnis seems to have comprehended the trend quite well when he wrote: "All told, the enterprise of Wilberforce University was the most pretentious movement of its kind prior to the Civil War, and gave the most promise of offering the kind of service needed to elevate the Negro race," *History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University*, 37.


63*Xenia Torchlight*, January 15, 1862.

64McGinnis, *History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University*, 31–32.

65As indicated previously several Southern slaveholders who fathered mulatto children found this an opportunity to educate their offspring. No doubt the M.E. Church greatly influenced the decision. Also noted above, a rather formidable segment of the Xenia community reacted unfavorably to the enterprise because of this particular student population. See B. W. Arnett and S. J. Mitchell, *The Wilberforce Alumnal*, 30.

66*Original Minutes of Wilberforce University*, 53. The school had been closed since June of the previous year.

67Much has been said about Payne's purchase of the school on "faith and a prayer." It has become tradition to tell the story of his horseback rides through the hills of Ohio collecting nickels and pennies from the poor of his district. This is essentially correct but Payne did contact leading men of the Church "both young and old" and received financial pledges for as high as one hundred dollars even before purchase. For those who had the means and refused to contribute or endorse the project he was characteristically candid in his criticism. Of Stephen Smith who did not respond to his contact, he said critically "he was considered wealthy and the richest man in the A.M.E. Church." See Payne, *Recollections*, 152.

Afterwards, in respect to the purchase the Church made the following recommendation: "That we highly approve of the action of our worthy Bishop D. A. Payne, in negotiating for the said property at the time he did without which action it would have passed out of our hands," *Wilberforce Alumnal*, 7.

68Several students of the problem maintain that Payne was the first black president of a college in the United States. Although this is difficult to accurately ascertain, the claim appears to have considerable

69 *Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church*, 437.


73 Benjamin Tanner, *An Apology for African Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1890), 45. Chase was one of the distinguished men who sat on the board of trustees, others include General O. O. Howard and Frederick Douglass; *Wilberforce Alumnal*, 20.

74 *Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church*, 438.

75 Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, 270.

76 *Payne, Recollections*, 152.


78 *Antiochian* (July, 1874), 3.

79 *Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church*, 438.


88 *Wilberforce University Catalogue* (1872-73), 25.
89 The Wilberforce Alumnal (1885), 22-23.


91 Hallie Q. Brown, Pen Pictures of Pioneers at Wilberforce University (Xenia, 1937), 9-10.


93 Brown, Pen Pictures, 12.

94 Wilberforce University Catalogue (1872-73), 25.

95 Ibid.

96 Alumnal, 48, 49.

97 Ibid.


99 Brown, Pen Pictures, 10.

100 McGinnis, History and Interpretation, 45.

101 Brown, Pen Pictures, 14.

102 Laws and Historical Sketch, 19.

103 Annual Report and Retrospection, 9.

104 Laws and Historical Sketch, 20.

105 Ibid., 21.

106 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 436.

107 Ibid.


109 Laws and Historical Sketch, 20.

110 Minutes of the General Conference of 1876, 55-56.
CHAPTER SIX

THE DILEMMAS OF THE DECLINING YEARS

The last seventeen years of Daniel Payne's life brought him face to face with one of the most critical periods in the historical experience of the Black American. Soon after he left his post at Wilberforce, the race faced an avalanche of eroding freedoms. It became a serious ordeal for this little man, blessed with a powerful leadership position, to cope with the numerous adversities that engulfed the Black man in state, church, and school.

As he watched the enactment of favorable Congressional legislation in the 1860's and early 1870's, he was positively certain that the Almighty had raised a hand to help his oppressed people. In fact, Payne had said so in the most eloquent and glowing terms leaving very little room for doubt. As stated earlier, Payne told an audience in 1870 that enactment of the 15th Amendment was the result of "preaching and praying." He saw the "plastic finger of God" at work in its consummation. To Payne, the 15th Amendment was "a new fiat from the loving lips of the creator;" or better still, "the Omnipotent hand blotting out the decrees of slavery." God was surely lifting the veil "that hides from view the secret springs . . . of the secular and the sacred."

In this same vein, Payne expressed almost embarrassing praise for
the Republican Party. A few years before rank discrimination against Blacks struck with all of its fury, Payne saw the Republican Party as the instrument of God. He told his people that in "construction of an Empire," God also organized a Party to cooperate with him. In the United States it was the Republicans. No other Party, said Payne, had fought for liberty, justice, order, law, and government as the Republican Party. Payne even identified God as the "Commander" of the Party. Furthermore, he reminded Blacks that God would keep that Party in power until His work was finished.  

Payne could not have foreseen, however, that the Black man's hope for first-class citizenship so clearly apparent in the Congressional legislation of the 1860's and early 1870's would be rendered ineffective by judicial decision, economic trends, and political authority. Nor could he have reasonably predicted institutionalized segregation with its natural concomitants of disfranchisement, Jim Crowism, lynching, and widespread discrimination.

In spite of the fact that the A.M.E. Church was the most powerful institution in the Black community as the 19th century ended, it was ineffective in fighting Black oppression. Two formidable barriers stood in the way. The one, religious orthodoxy and fundamentalist thought, was basic in the Church approach to all problems of serious concern. The other, a Payne-led clergy, idealized American civilization and exalted optimistic thought in God's intentions. The net result was a concept of non-resistance, submission, and hope which was far more "other worldly" than "this worldly" oriented.
It is little wonder, then, that the new organ published by the A.M.E. Church in 1884, the A.M.E. Review, was infiltrated with conservative thought. From 1884 to 1896 L. J. Coppin was the editor, and his thinking subscribed to the traditional view already clearly charted by Payne. In 1888, Payne, in remarks directed toward the youthful recalcitrant ministers who disturbed him considerably, advised "Young man, follow the Lord Jesus Christ, develop your manhood as he did his, and then you will never make a mistake." That same year in a sermon, Payne cautioned that the "home should be a sacred pasture on which the children may be fed the truth and knowledge of God..." And if the home "was such a consecrated fold of God, their influence would reach out to the ends of the world, and our government would be cleansed of all that is unclean and corrupt."

On a later occasion, Payne was so certain of God's benevolent will as to confidently predict "the time is coming when all nations of the earth shall harmonize and live in peace to make way for the second coming of the Son of Man." Therefore, "For our own sakes, we should identify with Christ's manhood, for in Him, war-loving nations shall live in peace, internal strifes shall be solved, and races shall be harmonized."

Coppin, who later became a bishop, wrote in the July, 1890 Review that he was a personal witness of God's benevolent intent. Coppin was convinced that one day the week would inherit the earth. He urged Blacks to the Christlike, because, "if the Christian type of civilization is to be in the end the prevailing power, then the people who are the
receptacles of the true Christianity will be the dominant people."\textsuperscript{10}

Outside the A.M.E. Church other clerical leaders followed the same religious expression. An example was Charles T. Walker, a distinguished Georgia Baptist minister, who called upon Blacks to endure their fate. He was convinced that God was in His heaven since He made it possible for Blacks to obtain a Christian education, as well as wealth and advancement in the professions. In affirmation of the orthodox line Walker asserted "we would do well to copy the life of our Saviour. . . . He was sympathetic, tenderhearted, liberal, kind and generous. He was meek and, therefore, called a lamb; he was compassionate and charitable. He was content in poverty, patient in His deep afflictions. . . ."\textsuperscript{11}

Thus the near consensus among the Black clergy was discerned from writings in the \textit{Review}, books, speeches, sermons, and the like.

Yet, even as Payne and the ruling consensus were saying that God would make everything all right for those who conformed to his will and law, a vocal handful who displayed a more practical turn of mind began to question the power of God to do what was needed for the Black race. They were not sure that to be patient, submissive and wait for the favor of God offered a feasible solution to the Black man's degradation. This was indeed a dilemma for those who placed a complete faith in "God's Plan."

Although editor Coppin generally followed the traditional consensus, he opened the pages of the \textit{Review} to those with other viewpoints. Thus, Payne was reading in the October, 1888 issue an article by Rev. William H. Thomas who challenged orthodoxy. Thomas boldly implied that neither
God nor the White man was going to help Black people. He further shook the foundation of the consensus by asserting that this is not a moral universe at all, that "it is neither intellect nor religion that rules the world, but physical force - brute force, if you please . . . ."

"The Negro," continued Thomas, "must lay aside humility . . . and manfully protect himself, his family and his fireside from the lecherous assult of White invaders." 12

Thomas was joined by others whose rebellion was equally distracting to the old consensus. The Rev. Henry L. Phillips joined the dissenting group in his comments on General William Booth's Darkest England and the Way Out of It. In this work Booth compared London's slums with Dante's hell and with "darkest Africa." Phillips agreed with the comparison and went on to point out the foolishness of preaching the Gospel to those who are starving. Phillips emphasized that "Man's first business is with this life, Christ's first miracles were for the body." Consequently, the minister had a duty to surround people "with a new atmosphere, and give them an upward push!" 13 Others who dared to question orthodoxy were the Rev. S. Martin who declared that true Christianity demanded dignity for all; 14 and the Rev. R. William Fickland who, a year after Payne's death, warned that if the A.M.E. Church failed to lead the fight for civil rights, the progressive members of the Church would leave it and carry on the fight from without. 15 Although Payne refrained from such a secular approach, he did not hesitate to record ugly experiences when the sordid elements of segregation and race prejudice invaded his personal habitat.
Another dilemma that distressed and disturbed Payne in the declining years was the turmoil created by the "new breed," both clergy and laymen, who infiltrated the Church due to its ever increasing membership. The group felt almost none of the awe previously associated with the office of bishop. Moreover, they did not hesitate to make use of peculiar political methods and sometimes with a boisterousness that frequently shocked adherents of the decorum of the past. This was to be expected since the Church had pushed forward a vigorous missionary effort after the Civil War. The South, in particular, had added a vast membership following Payne's return to South Carolina in 1865. Indeed, a phenomenal geographical spread and new congregations had become an important transforming factor by 1880.

Officials of the Church seemed proud to report the unexpected enrollment. Payne observed that between 1863 and 1887 the church had more than trebled itself because of Church activity in the South during and after the Civil War. The annual conferences reported approximately 50,000 members in 1863, and by 1884 the enrollment was 245,597. Payne felt certain this number had increased to 300,000 by 1887 since the South Carolina and Georgia conferences alone had approximately 100,000 members as early as 1883. Equally significant to expansion and growth was the increase in the bench of bishops. In 1863 there were only three bishops presiding over three districts. At the time of the General Conference of 1884 nine bishops were recorded in as many districts.

As the membership increased, so did the delegates to the General Conference. In 1852, at the time Payne was elected a bishop, 139 delegates
were in attendance, but this number almost doubled when the tumultuous 1888 session convened. In view of these circumstances a challenge to the old leadership seemed inevitable. Evidently Payne realized such a possibility, but he was not prepared when it arrived. As early as the 1880 General Conference, Payne began to refer to riotous behavior of delegates, tumult of the sessions and disrespect toward the Church fathers. The climax was reached when the delegates gathered for the first time in Indianapolis, Indiana in 1888.

The senior bishop had faced a problem in 1884 that seemed challenge enough at the time. But it was in the head and not the body of the denomination. A roaring discussion developed as soon as the 1884 General Conference was called into session. It came as a result of Bishop John M. Brown's quadrennial sermon favoring the dogma of Apostolic Succession and sacerdotalism. Shock and excitement engulfed the Conference immediately. Strong opposition speeches were forthcoming, and the net result was a new chapter in the A.M.E. Discipline in eight declarations to counter the preaching and teaching of Divine authority so adamantly professed by the Roman Church. The declarations "expressed deep regret that the dogma of Apostolic Succession, and a distinct and separate priesthood and ministry had been preached" in the pulpits of the A.M.E. Church. The eight declarations made such preaching a breach of discipline, for which violators would be tried and if found guilty could face suspension or expulsion from the Church.

Tied in with this sensitive issue was also the matter of the bishops and ministers wearing robes, gowns, or surplices. Some years
earlier Payne had vehemently denounced this practice. As a result, the second section of the new chapter added to the Discipline further provided that the wearing of such apparel "was at variance with the simplicity of Methodist usage and should, therefore, be discontinued." Actually, the Church was divided on the wearing of robes. Some ministers argued that robes were prescribed by God and furthermore that they added dignity to the office. It was also asserted by others that John and Charles Wesley had worn them. To all this Payne shot back that "dignity - comes from within. . . . The monkey might put on robes and imitate man, but he is a monkey still." The robes controversy easily expanded to include the preacher's daily wearing apparel. Vigorous debate ensued, and efforts were made to pass legislation against excessive dress. Reference was made to gold watch chains and rings, articles that contrasted sharply with the Black man's poverty. There was also fear expressed of the alienation of the masses. Payne left no doubt where he stood, for as a champion of simplicity, living beyond one's needs was indeed a sin.

It is to be noted that the 1888 General Conference received adverse publicity far out of proportion to achievements worthy of notice. Without a doubt the press covering the occasion acted with truculence in many respects, and accordingly, minor issues were frequently stressed at the expense of the more important. In a sense, the Blacks who gathered for this important meeting were on trial before the White community. Never before had the city of Indianapolis played host to such a formidable gathering of Blacks. The entire city displayed more than
average concern, and there appeared to be a special interest in how the Black delegates would conduct themselves.

What the A.M.E. Church meant to the Black historical experience helped set the stage for the forthcoming event. The denomination had permanency as an institution in the Black community. It had functioned for seventy-two years; it included a reasonable proportion of the best Black minds.25 As a result, the Church had spread its influence to the continent of Africa and the islands of the Caribbean. Little wonder that newspaper reports pictured the group as the "most educated and refined portion of the colored race," for among them were several who had attained middle class success as lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and professors.26 The local press also let it be known that 225 of the delegates were once slaves and that forty fought in the Civil War.27 Much could also be said for the literacy rate of those in attendance. From a high of ninety-five percent illiteracy in 1853, abolition of slavery and zeal for education had reduced that figure in 1890 to fifty-seven percent.28

As the Conference progressed, the Indianapolis press was not nearly so kind. Descriptions of the proceedings were so candidly vitriolic that many members claimed outright distortion and some spearheaded a movement to transfer the Conference to another city.29 Payne and the bishopric consensus agreed in part with the adverse press reports. As for Payne the thing that disturbed his sensibilities most was what he viewed as the desecration of the holy office of bishop. Among other things, he considered the election "tricks" used by the candidates as
corruption of the rankest kind. Ambitions ran high, and numerous aspirants were standing for election. After prolonged debate a decision was made to elect four candidates. Seemingly nothing that happened at the Conference affected Payne so deeply as these elections, for the bishopric to him was a sacred office meant only for the true and tried. He thought of a bishop as a man who literally walked with God, therefore, some of the candidates were suspect. Midst utter confusion at times, all manner of charges and countercharges persisted. 30

Since the election was an act of shocking frustration to the pious bishop, he criticized the affair with severe candor. Sadly, he noted "such a state of confusion that sensible deliberations were impossible," Payne was sure that there were delegates who used unsavory methods to put their favorites in office. Among these proposals were "immoral solicitations" and outright sale of votes. Regretfully, Payne opined, moral excellence, wisdom, and superior knowledge were set aside and crushed out by bluster and brilliant rhetoric which made virtue appear as vice, and vice as virtue." 31 Nor were the newly elected bishops the quality Payne envisioned when he rejected the office in 1848 and shed tears over the "fearful responsibilities" when elected in 1852. 32 The despair of the venerable bishop was clearly reflected when he predicted the demise of the denomination in a generation. 33 Obviously such a prediction could only be made when hopelessness engulfed Payne's idealistic religious world.

In spite of Payne's distress, however, the four ministers elevated to the bishopric in 1888 were men of attainment. In fact, one or two
could have been classified as superior. Wesley J. Gaines authored two books and was founder of Morris Brown College, one of the Church's better schools. Benjamin W. Arnett held the very responsible position of Financial Secretary of the Church and was a long time editor of _The Budget_, a publication containing much essential information on the A.M.E. Church up to 1884. Benjamin T. Tanner, one of the better educated members of the Church, authored several books and founded the _A.M.E. Review_, a publication highly regarded for its well prepared educational, literary, and religious articles. Finally, Abraham Grant was perhaps the least worthy, but even he had been vice president of a Church school and had held responsible political positions in Florida during Reconstruction.³⁴

Truthfully, Payne was simply unprepared to cope with the conditions created by new men and new measures. Although the vocal minority within the Church who dared to challenge existing leadership was to some extent the result of growing pains, Payne viewed their actions in terms of destruction. Unfortunately, he failed to realize that the late 19th century Black Church was the one institution not dominated by Whites. This opened the way for Church politics to function and a power struggle to develop.

The opportunities were glaringly apparent in the vast A.M.E. domain. At the top was the bishopric, an office of power and prestige. Not only were there turnovers at this envied level, but church expansion created a need for more bishops and thus the numbers of elected prelates gradually increased. When Payne's career was drawing to a close, it was fast becoming the dream of every Black minister in the A.M.E.
Connection, no matter how low or high, to one day become a bishop of the Church.\textsuperscript{35}

High offices other than bishop were opening up in the Connectional Church, which was the level of national operation, as the years progressed. Since Payne joined the denomination in 1843, approximately ten such high official positions were made available.\textsuperscript{36} In addition, out in the field were hundreds who pastored churches, together with Presiding Elders, an office created after long debate to assist the bishop in operating his vast domain. Furthermore, social, economic and political conditions were becoming more intertwined with religion.

The motley delegation at the conference of 1888 was not to be denied the excitement of contest. Inroads were made on the authority of the old guard, a development noticeably disturbing Payne's concept of obligation. It was a far cry from the days when the bishop "reigned and ruled," whether for spiritual or temporal reasons. No doubt Payne breathed a sign of relief after weathering the storm of the 1880 and 1884 General Conferences but 1888 brought a fiasco that shocked his sensibilities almost to distraction. Not only was he witnessing a violation of the older day decorum but also open defiance and disregard for his traditional role to instruct, admonish, and exhort. In short, it was rank-and-file rebellion for the first time.\textsuperscript{37}

In 1888, the Church was also confronted with a request from the Methodist Episcopal Church, located in Canada, to rejoin the parent A.M.E. Church. Payne had participated, in a major way, when the Black citizens of Canada had applied for independent church status in 1856.
At that time he was a key figure in working out the provisions for separation. Although unenthusiastic in the beginning, after hearing the arguments, Payne seemed quite willing to support separation because he believed it was in the best interest of the Canadians.

As early as 1880, however, Payne had voiced opposition to reunion on the basis that the same forces were in operation that motivated previous separation. Payne reasoned that the A.M.E. Church would be looked on as an intruder by England, and furthermore, he was suspicious of un-Christian motives in the movement for reunion such as "deception, suppression, and absolute lying." The delegates listened to the vigorous discussion of their respected sage, but then voted in favor of union. Emotions ran high, and verbal clashes were frequent, but in the end Payne suffered a disastrous defeat with a vote of 106 to 5 against him. He could not even carry the majority of his colleagues on the bench since only Bishop James Shorter supported the "Old Warrior."

Payne's concern for education continued unabated in the declining years. He was interested particularly in Wilberforce but then, the educational trend throughout the Church was a matter that disturbed him considerably. From the very time of purchase by the A.M.E. Church in 1863, Wilberforce University faced continuous financial crises. During Payne's tenure, however, he managed to handle the school's day-to-day problems, largely by methods of his own. Payne was personally acquainted with numerous influential and wealthy people. Furthermore, his personality and intellectual bearing stood him in good stead as he successfully convinced would-be contributors to assist in
the enterprise. With Payne's departure in 1876 his successor, Benjamin F. Lee had little of his predecessor's stature.

Although no longer president after 1876, Payne as a bishop in the Church and a resident of the Wilberforce community continued his close association with the school. Moreover, to him, Wilberforce University seemed a rather personal responsibility. The school was a part of him, and its continued existence was a near obsession. So, as the financial burdens threatened the very life of the institution, Payne brooded over the future of his educational child. Even as he praised the work Wilberforce was doing in the education of Black people, his voice could be heard singling out weaknesses and hopefully trusting in God for a miraculous solution to the crisis.

In truth, President Lee's eight-year tenure can be characterized as a battle of the budget. As if this was not enough, internal friction further complicated the issue. To those who were concerned, S. J. Mitchell's appointment as president in 1884 was a welcomed sight. President Mitchell proved to be a more capable administrator. The most significant financial arrangement of these years came in 1887 when President Mitchell succeeded in formulating an agreement with the State of Ohio providing for a cooperative educational endeavor.

But even as better days seemed at hand, Payne sharply criticized what he considered an equally serious deficiency, the recurring turnover in personnel. He saw this as a weakness that sapped the strength of the school. It disturbed him intensely that thirty-four different instructors had participated in the teaching program of the institution
from 1863 to 1886. \(^{42}\) Far more serious, however, was the frequent high administrative changes. Payne was appalled that in twenty-two years Wilberforce had three presidents; nine lady principals; and seven different Normal Department heads. \(^{43}\)

Payne declared that these developments had an adverse effect on stability, peaceful relations, ability of students to meet financial obligations, confidence in the institution and the opportunity of administrators to properly assess their programs. He expressed hope that President Mitchell would be able to weather the storm. Still it was a mild optimism at best, and he adopted a wait-and-see attitude, fully conscious of the perplexing problems confronting a "poverty-stricken and debt-burdened institution." \(^{44}\)

In the last quarter of the 19th century Payne's educational misgivings were further enhanced by a wild scramble for educational institutions within the Church structure. Approximately twenty-five institutions ranging from elementary instruction to higher education evolved during these years. \(^{45}\) Payne's fears increased as he watched many of these ill-planned ventures mushroom throughout the Connection. It was clearly apparent that in most of the annual conferences where the schools had instantaneous creation, financial means to sustain them were nowhere in evidence.

Payne dwelled at length on the danger and futility of this trend. In the spring of 1881, as a result of his increasing alarm, he released an article entitled "Appeal to the Common Sense of the Clergy and Laity of the A.M.E. Church," designed to advise the church on "the impossibility
and danger of attempting to establish and support so many educational institutions." Payne indicated that the expansion was of such a nature that several of the projects were "only paper schools" while others had "no existence even on paper." He was quick to note that the projectors began before they were ready." Thus, "thousands of dollars" were uselessly spent toward the efforts.\(^4\)

Payne worked diligently to make it known that to found a college required forethought and preparation. This was all the more true, he said, in the case of "a poverty-stricken and illiterate people." Payne chided his colleagues and Church members about thoughtless action in the serious matter of building a school. Pointing to Garfield University as an example, he noted that it did not have so much as a paper existence. Resolutions, thundered Payne, were worthless in establishing and maintaining a college because they cost nothing "but a sheet of paper, a pen, and a little ink." To establish an institution of learning worthy of the name of college, he insisted, called for extensive finance and long-time planning.

As Payne faced the several dilemmas of his declining years, the "Old Warrior" in him was very much alive. He wondered why God had kept him around so long; but, at the same time, he was grateful for Divine preservation.\(^4\) So many times he had promised God to do His will. Certainly, at no other time in his life had it been so necessary to serve as a witness. As senior bishop, he conjured up full intentions to preserve the image he had shaped over the period of a half century.

Although it brought hisses from many of the impatient delegates
to the Church convention in 1888, he boldly tried to regain some semblance of the ethical purity he thought best for his beloved Church. In this regard he introduced several resolutions designed as corrective measures. The "Old Warrior" was quite in character when Payne proposed that appointments be withheld from ministers who imbibed intoxicants or had more than one wife. With equal vehemency he requested a resolution to unseat delegates who won their election through bribery or fraud. Finally, he contended that ministers should be tried and expelled if they wore surplices.48

In another activity portraying the role of the "Old Warrior," Payne enjoyed more success. He left an indelible impression when he delivered a thought-provoking sermon before a predominantly White audience at the Meridian Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Indianapolis. Playing the part of the noble sage and remaining true to established tradition, he talked of God's love and the Christian heart. As usual the Scriptures were his source of support. His remarkable presentation brought only praise from the press; reporters seemed particularly kind, and the congregation unusually receptive.49 Apparently the bishop was equally convincing when he preached the Quadrennial and Ordination sermons. Again, the Indianapolis press favorably reacted to such presentations as "The Church of the Living God" in the former and "The Manhood of Jesus and Its Influence Upon the Races" in the latter.50

A much more ambitious task in the sunset of Payne's career was the realization of his scholarship objectives. He did not allow his sagging spirits to deter his persistence to push ahead and complete
the three major works of his life. Payne incurred innumerable delays in completing The History of the A.M.E. Church, a valuable achievement. As early as 1848 he was directed by the Church to begin his study. In the midst of numerous activities, interruptions, and delays the history was published in 1891.51

Payne's methodology used in compiling his history compared favorably with contemporary trends. At first he made efforts to gather the necessary material through correspondence. When this approach failed, he was convinced that personal contact was needed. In one very important respect Payne was quite fortunate, for there were men still alive who were present at the inception of the church. In fact, several had attended the first organizational meeting in 1816 and others sat with Bishop Allen at the first Conference. This oral communication also proved invaluable in the study of subsequent developments, especially when minutes were not readily available.52 It assisted Payne immeasurably.

The care applied by Payne in striving for factual information is reflected in a delay he sustained because he encountered serious difficulty in securing a valuable set of minutes from the 1856 New England Annual Conference.53 It was this access to materials that helped in making his volume the standard work of the Church. Along with the minutes of both General and Annual Conferences, as well as oral sources, Payne personally examined manuscripts, pamphlets, letters, deeds, wills, books, programs, and other written matter. Indeed, Payne, in compiling his history, literally moved across the land encompassing town, city,
and state, visiting hamlet and household, and talking to scores of people from the humblest parishioner to the Bishop of a District.

Of equal importance to Payne were his *Recollections of Seventy Years* published in 1888. Behind this work was a precise design traced back to his youthful days. Payne hoped that the *Recollections*, an autobiography, would inspire some "slumbering boy" as Rev. John Brown of Haddington had awakened him to greater things many years before. In further comment on this work Payne made it clear that the youths he expected to "awaken" were a selective group with "strong, broad hearts through their entire body." Moreover, potential converts would be capable of performing "a useful life, pleasing to the Creator," and bringing "blessings to mankind." The fact-crammed semi-documentary *Recollections* records scores of experiences over a period of seventy years.

At the same time Payne was completing the *History of the A.M.E. Church* and *Recollections* he was writing his *Treatise on Domestic Education*. The book was to satisfy a life-long passion when he released it in 1888. Through both pulpit and press, Payne had long since emphasized the dire need of a publication on domestic education reflecting his personal views. In fact, he had decried what he had read on this important subject. In 1882 he shared some thoughts on the contents of the future book in a sermon preached during the observance of his thirty years as a bishop. For this significant occasion Payne chose to discuss "Domestic Education the Highest Duty of the Parent and Citizen."54

It was not unusual that Payne's theme in respect to domestic education
reflected a definite religious orientation. In essence, it was an explication of the scriptural command: "Train up a child in the way that he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it." Payne argued that the key to achieving this goal was the mother, but her success could only be achieved through "daily prayerful reading of the Bible."55

The Treatise placed special emphasis on proper home training. Payne's own experience led him to believe this was of basic importance. Thus, instruction of mothers in all matters pertaining to the proper care and management of the home, as well as the proper rearing of children was essential. The Treatise was written in a rather stilted catechistic and poetical form and was quite simple in theme.

In the last thirteen years of his life Payne approached the mounting criticisms of authority and the consensus with the strongest weapons in his arsenal. As in the past, prayer and the Bible were the most reliable. Payne supplemented these, whenever physical strength would allow, with action in the broad field of bishopric activity. But prayer became an even more powerful element, for Payne believed it had the power for a necessary regeneration. Moreover, prayer elevated his being to a higher plane and enabled him to rise above his tormentors; while at the same time, the A.M.E. Discipline provided the necessary instruments for authoritarian instruction. Time had allowed these ingredients to be tried and tested. Payne's faith remained strong in them:

O Thou who didst give me life in this sinful world, and didst place within my reach all of
its possibilities, I thank thee, O Lord, the
God of my father, the God of my mother, that
my unprofitable life is still prolonged. . . .
O destroy in me the love of sin, the power of
sin, the guilt of sin! Let my last days be
most holy and Godlike!56

On Thanksgiving Day 1891, a scant two years before his death, he
wrote in his diary:

The Lord, God of all the nations and races,
also the loving Father of all the families
of the earth, be praised, honored, and adored
for the various manifestations of his loving
kindness and tender mercies. . . .57

The following New Year's Day he recorded in the journal:

Lord, I thank thee for preserving me to see the
opening hours of 1892. O do thou help me to
live a life of increasing usefulness and in-
creasing holiness.58

When his eighty-first birthday arrived in February 1892, he again
sought special communion with God as he pleaded:

Through Him, make me 'the salt of the earth and
the light of the world,' O Rock of Ages, let
me hide myself in Thee!59

On the first day of the last year of his life he wrote another
prayerful conversation with the Divine:

Let me, permit me, and help me to walk with Thee,
O my God, as Enoch walked, growing more perfect
until I be permitted to ascend with Thee to heaven.60

A most important attribute of Payne, the "Old Warrior," was his
utter reluctance to compromise his belief in paternalistic authority
and instruction. In commenting on the attitude and behavior of the
clergy in the General Conferences from 1880 through 1888 Payne decried
rebellion against the authority of the old with its traditional privilege
to instruct and exhort. He recalled the General Conference of 1844 that took place forty-four years previously and observed a "strong and striking contrast." He perceived that those who went as delegates in 1844 were members with singleness of heart and only one aim. In Payne’s view the 1844 delegates sought merely to improve the condition of the Connection by some simple needed amendments to the Discipline.

Payne hastened to remind the clergy and laymen of the "great respect for moral character and great value set upon the knowledge which comes from the experience of age." He declared "that those who aspired to the episcopacy," in times past, "were innocent and ignorant of the intrigues and cunning of politicians." Payne was quick to point out that men were sure to differ and become excited but it should be done peaceably and without bluster.61

The message Payne labored to pass on was designed to avoid a repetition of the "shameful political tactics" of 1888 when "blind passion and still blinder ambition" prevailed.62 Moreover, he believed that the will of the majority delegates in 1888 was thwarted by the "ruthless bluster of a few." Most important, he was satisfied that such disregard of moral character was the result of failure of the younger generation to "take the advice of those older and more experienced than themselves." Payne had made his point crystal clear on a previous occasion when he chose to regard a young minister’s failure as fully illustrating "the wisdom of obedience to those who have the authority to rule over them and advise them."63

Even though the church trends of the 1880’s proved to be a major
disappointment, nature had not meant Daniel Payne for tragedy. He was too much a man of action, drive, and will. For a long time he dominated the consensus, but it seemed to be slowly slipping away at the end. Many times he had overpowered his adversaries, but now there was evidence he might be overpowered. Yet, undaunted by the challenge to his authority he moved about through the broad expanse of his Episcopal District playing the role of instructor, reminding his audience of the Church's destiny, and establishing organizations to serve the local needs of his people. Although the ever-recurring sick spells and physical handicaps were deterrents Payne showed remarkable strength and vitality for a man of his age.

Observation, investigation, and counseling formed a basic part of Payne's action. As he made visitations throughout the Southern regions, pockets of poverty were obvious. Although some areas showed evidence of satisfactory progress by Blacks, there were far more where deterioration was severe. Payne found Selma, Alabama an "interesting town" with "enterprising colored persons in it." He found eloquent evidence in such things as "a blacksmith shop, a livery stable, several family groceries, a commodious boarding house, a score of carpenters and of brick masons, several tailors and a dozen or two painters." In addition, Payne found in this community two elementary and secondary schools, along with a Baptist Theological and Normal College for the Black population. Several different denominations supported ten churches, and also, two newspapers were edited by "colored men." 65

In sharp contrast with Selma was the eastern shores of Virginia,
another of the several regions traversed by Payne. Here he found the "mental and moral" conditions of the people "lamentable." Payne referred to it as the "legitimate fruit of the house of bondage." Deeply saddened by the deplorable living conditions, Payne talked with and advised many families. Most often, Bible reading was his first recommendation. Adamantly, he proclaimed, "I urged everyone to go to night school, or to Sunday school in order that they might learn to read the word of God." There was nothing unusual in his advice. It followed precisely his domestic education thesis that a mother must be a "daily prayerful reader of the Bible" to train a child in the "right way."

Payne left for posterity evidence of his visitation. He made it a practice to organize Mite Missionary Societies and participate in the operation of schools. One occasion found him visiting Emerson Institute in Mobile, Alabama and commenting favorably on the progress of the pupils. Another, in Jacksonville, Florida, brought Payne into direct participation by naming him head of the board of trustees of a newly incorporated Scientific Normal and Divinity School.

Still another highly significant educational contact Payne maintained throughout the declining years was the Miner Normal School in Washington, D.C. The school was the result of the zeal of Myrtle Miner, whose self sacrifice and dedication to the education of Black women highly impressed Payne, especially since he had played some small part in her initial effort. In 1882, Payne delivered the commencement address at Myrtle Miner and in 1883 he sat on the platform during graduation exercises with President Chester A. Arthur among the dignitaries.
Payne was distracted by two distasteful incidents as Lincoln Hall in Washington, D. C., overflowed with spectators for the event. The first pertained to the huge financial outlay made for flowers and decorations. Payne felt that these funds could have been put to much better use if applied to scholarships for the education of Black youth. President Arthur was the target of attack for Payne's second criticism. He was greatly disturbed by the cold and indifferent attitude of the President as he passed out diplomas to the graduates.68

Of major significance were three remaining experiences that seemed to cap the role of the "Old Warrior." In the first instance Payne remained ever faithful to his Methodist commitment. This dedication was accompanied by moments of inspiration usually present as a propelling force when the physical seemed to fail. Finally, the bishop never wearied of his role as elder churchman, hence he carried it with dignity and with respect in spite of the rising opposition.

Rededication to Methodism was the substance of Payne's remarks at his last major public appearance. In October, 1893, he was invited to attend the World's Parliament of Religions, held in connection with the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Aside from presiding over one of the sessions, Payne was afforded the opportunity to speak of what he described as the "very spirit and nature of the A.M.E. Church."69 He had made known his beliefs that Methodism lifted the spiritual and educational level of the A.M.E. Church. Years had passed since he spoke in Baltimore on the occasion of the semi-centenary of his beloved Church and thanked God for Jesus "... who raised up educated, and anointed,
and commissioned these apostolic men to plant and train the Methodist family, whose branches are penetrating all nations, embracing men of every clime, and every race."70

Payne believed that Methodism was responsible for the success of the A.M.E. Church. Methodism, argued Payne, contained the proper ingredients as it "seeks out and lifts up the lowly, delighting in it, glorying it, because it is the will and work of God." In fact, Payne was so enraptured with Methodism that he even traced the moral and spiritual improvement of the Black population to this source. Frequently, his statements alluding to Methodism were sweeping and all-encompassing such as "It has elevated the Anglo-Saxon, the Anglo-American, and the Anglo-African."71

Indicative of personal inspiration as a powerful factor in Payne's perseverance was the experience revealed on the occasion of the May, 1886 dedicatory exercises of Metropolitan Church in Washington, D. C. Payne was selected to deliver the sermon but was so weak that it became necessary for a colleague, Bishop Shorter, to support him as he climbed the steps of the church and entered the pulpit. Payne recounts a fear of being able to stand much less be heard by an immense audience of 2,500 people. Yet, he preached forty minutes and was reportedly heard in all parts of the vast edifice.72.

In explanation Payne said it well: "The Spirit of the Lord spake through me, inspiring me with strength to do what I had felt to be utterly impossible to do on taking my stand at the sacred desk. Thus it has ever been. He has ever been my support...." Payne was sure
that his own powers of endurance and lengthened days were traceable to this kind of Divine inspiration, an ever present source from helpless infant days.

Payne approached the 1892 Conference (his last) in the role of the distinguished elder churchman. The occasion held a special significance for him for it was the anniversary of his fortieth year as a bishop. No other prelate before or since could claim that distinction. Although it disturbed him to find that delegates still overtly defied the wisdom of the old, he was more inclined to concentrate on his last speech before the highest legislative body of the church, together with the plaudits his followers conferred in honor of the historic moment.

On the afternoon of May 13, the Conference program was reserved for the noble leader. Bishop Thomas Ward was the principal speaker. He and others used beautiful words and phrases to express what their senior bishop had meant to them and African Methodism. Bishop Ward saw in Payne a symbol of moral excellence and an uncompromising foe of ignorance. Payne's response was principally directed at Church evils, such as the unbridled ambitions of so many to become bishop, the clamor for honorary doctorates and corrupt political incentives.

Perhaps the greatest single honor Payne experienced during the declining years was to witness the formation of a theological seminary at Wilberforce named for him. Although numerous members of the Church had called for a separate facility to train prospective ministers from the day Payne retired as president of Wilberforce University, several years elapsed before organization was realized.
In June 1890, a committee was formed by the board of trustees of Wilberforce University to consider the "propriety and feasibility" of establishing a theological seminary. Many church leaders had expressed the fear that the Theological Department, operating within the school from its inception, failed to answer the growing demands for an intelligent ministry. The plan of the committee was presented to the school trustee board a year later, June 18, 1891, and after some modification, was unanimously adopted. Not only was Payne honored by having the new institution bear his name, but he was also chosen as the first dean. Even though Payne Seminary was organized by the Wilberforce board of trustees, it became a separate facility, operating under a distinct board of trustees.

Nothing seemed more satisfying to Daniel Payne than spending his last days in his beloved Evergreen Cottage at Tawawa Springs, a place nature had beautified with forest trees of green oak, poplar, maple, hickory, and walnut. He had always considered himself fortunate in selecting this area of Ohio to establish a permanent residence. Indeed, Tawawa Springs had a therapeutic effect on him. So many times when the problem of church and school became almost unbearable, he sought solace in the silent comforts of his modest cottage. Here he seemed to experience a serenity that regenerated his being. It was the perfect setting to relax and revive his dwindling spirits, as well as nurse his emaciated frame back to strength when pressures were heavy and disappointments at their worst. Evergreen and its surroundings brought a fair share of happy moments to the Golden Years.
Payne became ill as he prepared for his customary trip to the Southland, a practice since 1883, when the rigors of the Northern winters began to affect him physically. Only two weeks before, Sunday, November 5, he preached at nearby Xenia, but the "Old Warrior" had to cancel a similar November 19 appearance at the Wilberforce community church. He made another public appearance when he presided over the combined faculties of all the college departments Tuesday, November 21. During the following twenty-four hours his condition rapidly deteriorated, but he remained fully conscious to the last. Even in the final moments Payne amazed his relatives and friends as he conversed with them in some detail on the subjects he loved best. Sensing the end was near, he dictated a message to his stepdaughter proclaiming God's judgment and calling sinners to repent. At 2:05 p.m., November 22, 1893 Daniel Alexander Payne died.

The outpouring acclamations that accompanied Payne's death were evidence enough he had performed his work well. Not only had he reached significant stature among contemporaries, but he carved an indelible niche for posterity. Even before burial there was not the slightest doubt that the little bishop had already gained immortality in the eyes of the clergy, membership of the church and community at large. Unfortunately, Payne's obsequies were not carried out according to his "Last Will and Testament." He was a man comfortable with simplicity in life and thus desired it in death. Those, however, who looked on him as the saintly little bishop were sure he had earned whatever pomp and splendor mortal man could afford. Yet the document Payne left
survivors to follow correlated with life as he had lived it. It contained the same forceful plainness that seemed to dominate his living and with which he was identified throughout the Church Connection. Payne specified burial in a pine box not costing more than five dollars. True to his respect for the Lord's Day, he did not want to be buried on Sunday. Finally, those who would dispose of his earthly remains were not to clothe him in customary black apparel. 80

It was surprising, then, to read that Payne was buried in "one of the most elegant caskets ever brought to Xenia." The local paper account described the exterior as "red cedar" and the interior copper with "smocked pillows" and "fancy white" lining. On the outside was a black broadcloth draped in heavy folds, with a hermetically sealed device adding a touch of the ultra-modern. 81 The rites that followed were filled with pageantry, quite inappropriate for a man like Payne, who was never one for fanfare, pomp, or ceremony.

Two funeral services were held, since Payne desired to be buried in Baltimore with an obsequy conducted at Bethel Church where he once pastored. The first at Wilberforce heard from a bevy of distinguished school and Church dignitaries, who extolled their revered leader with undying praise. 82 The second, held on December 5, 1893, drew an estimated 3,000 people as Bishop Alexander Wayman, a colleague on the bench, entoned the eulogy. With a huge picture of Payne in the background and a pulpit draped in black, Bishop Wayman delivered a sincere tribute to the deceased senior bishop. 83

The impact of Payne upon his day and time was readily apparent.
From across the nation, newspaper reports recounted society's loss by his death. Indeed, both the White and Black press joined in laudatory press releases about the beloved churchman. Of all that was said, the neighboring Xenia Gazette, in three impressive statements, encapsulated him best:

Bishop Payne was indeed a model man. He lived a life of spotless purity. Was honest and square with all men. He condemned sin in all places high as well as low. None knew him but to reverence and respect him though they might differ from him in matters of public policy. During all the years of his public life, his home has been associated only with that which is highest, purest and best.²⁴

A second comment was equally significant:

Payne's highest aim was to glorify God and benefit man. To this end he consecrated himself, and for this end he lived.²⁵

Finally:

The venerable man of God, though dead, will ever live in the hearts of his people and his name will be cherished by all who knew him and all who knew of his worth to the world as an elevator, a benefactor, and a Christian gentleman.²⁶

Two other distinct groups were intent on making sure that the achievements of Daniel Payne would be preserved for posterity. There were those in the inner-circle or the people of his own Church who held him in high esteem, even though they may have differed sharply with his views in his declining years. In another segment were the outer-circle churchmen, scholars, and public at large who truly extolled his contributions to mankind and service to humanity.

The A.M.E. Review, official periodical of the Church, provided the
principal forum for expression from the inner-circle. Under the editorship of L. J. Coppin, later elected a bishop, the Review sponsored a symposium on Payne in its January 1894 issue. Editor Coppin explained that contributors were invited to write what they saw best in Payne, and he added: "One of the chief characteristics of Bishop Payne was the strong influence he had on others."\textsuperscript{87}

Professor James F. Shorter, a student of Payne's and later a member of the Wilberforce faculty, thought that the deceased bishop "preached more effectually by his loving, symmetrical, Christian life,"\textsuperscript{88} than by all the other sermons that he uttered. From President Samuel T. Mitchell came the opinion that Payne was a "godly counsellor" who as a teacher was "clear, logical, forceful" and as a preacher displayed "exalted fervor" and "matchless power."\textsuperscript{89}

A minister, H. T. Johnson, who had served as a private secretary of Payne's, was impressed with his "remarkable memory and unerring judgment." Bishop W. J. Gaines, ordained by Payne as both a deacon and bishop, saw his actions as "always based upon the purest and noblest incentives and desires." One of Payne's most eminent colleagues, Bishop Abram Grant, confessed that he "never summoned up sufficient courage to call Payne colleague, in writing or otherwise."\textsuperscript{90}

Nor did this complete the praise bestowed by members of the inner-church circles. There was the group who viewed Payne in the light of the Biblical Moses. Among them was the brilliant Professor William S. Scarborough, member of the Wilberforce University faculty and later president. To him Payne was "the intellectual Moses of his race."\textsuperscript{91}
A similar view was expressed by a famous woman, Hallie Q. Brown, who attended Wilberforce when Payne was president. She compared Payne with Moses because he led a "mentally benighted race into intellectual freedom." Finally, a youthful colleague of Daniel Payne, fiery, militant Reverdy C. Ransom, described Payne as "a man of vision who stood at the strategic point in the history of the Black man's liberation," and "guided the uncertain steps of a race rising from degradation, ignorance, and slavery." 

The outer-circle was characterized by clerical and lay intellectuals, together with distinguished people in the world at large. As contemporaries of Payne their pathways had crossed many times, much as their thinking. Sometimes they were at odds with him and at other times in perfect unison. Despite conflict over the direction Black protest should take, there seemed to be none concerning ultimate objective, namely, the uplift of their Black brothers. If anything, whether foe or friend, these survivors seemed eager to inform future generations of Payne's legacy.

Francis Grimke, whose national reputation had long since been recognized, and a religious scholar who shared with Payne the same concept of the role of the church in agitation for Black rights, delivered two separate lengthy lectures on Payne, December 10 and 17, 1893. Grimke proclaimed that the underlying motive of Payne's life was the desire "to do good, to be useful, to leave the world better than he found it, to be of service to his fellow men."

Payne's old friend, the aging Frederick Douglass, thought it one of
his greatest tributes to be allowed to participate in the ceremonies for the unveiling of a monument to Payne erected in Laurel Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland, May 21, 1894. Only a short time away from the day of his own death, Douglass was still a great favorite and a popular attraction. Immediately after he began speaking on that notable occasion, the crowd was hushed in reverential silence with the words: "This is not my day nor my hour." Douglass left no doubt that he was there to praise another great Black man for his beautiful character and his struggle for the "principles of justice, liberty and humanity."^95

W. E. B. Dubois was only a youth when Payne died, but later on in the same decade he was to serve on the faculty of the institution Payne helped build. Dubois, a leading scholar even before the 19th century drew to a close, placed Payne in the forefront of the religious minds of the 19th century. In 1903 he described Payne as "a man of almost fanatic enthusiasm, of simple and pure life and unstained reputation, and of great intellectual ability." Dubois went even further in assessing the late bishop's impact on the A.M.E. Church. He declared that the Church owed more to Payne "than to any single man, and the class of bishops he represents is the salt of the organization."^96

Perhaps observation in this phase of Payne's life should not be concluded without a brief reference to Alexander Crummell, a cleric contemporary, intellectual counterpart, and a friend of long standing. When Payne died, Crummell was generally regarded as the most outstanding Black intellectual in the country. Just a year before Payne's passing, he had exchanged a significant letter with Crummell in a study on
the Episcopal Church. Crummell in his letter to Payne wrote congratulations on "your ripe vigorous and fruitful old age" and on an "earnest battle for righteousness in the gospel ministry."\(^{97}\)

For years to come Church periodicals and special services kept the memory of Daniel Payne fresh in the minds of the faithful. During the General Conference of 1896 a memorial program of great interest was conducted for Payne and three other colleagues who had passed away during the intervening Quadrennium.\(^{98}\) Few, if any, 19th century religious leaders surpassed Daniel Payne in a functional application of pristine Christian concepts. He used the Bible as a guiding principle, prayer as a means of contact with the Divine and a metaphysical rationalization as personal assurance of God's answer.

From the day of Payne's birth to the hour of his death his piety remained the guiding principle in all he said and did. He sought solace in the comforting arms of his religious piety. To Payne there must be a "Divine Plan" and within its operation the meek would surely inherit the earth. Perhaps more important, beyond was the other world, and the mundane, ephemeral at best, meant to God's earthly human creatures a brief sojourn before eternity. This worked well for Daniel Payne, especially because he held firmly to the concept of direct intercession of God in human affairs.

It was Payne's everlasting testimony that God was omnipresent throughout the hazardous journey from Charleston to Wilberforce. If evidence was necessary, it was truly abundant in his successful work of salvation and education. Moreover, there was the marvel of a frail
human frame repeatedly throwing off sickness and accident time after time. Indeed, Daniel Payne with his good intent, consecration, and unbounding love may have found the real way to the smiling favor of God.

As a consequence of his thoroughgoing piety Payne adhered closely to the policy that the church, as an institution, should not become the center for direct social and political action for the Black man's rights. Hence, he retained throughout his ministerial career a keen conception of church stateliness, along with the conviction that the congregation should not diverge from the ideal. Occasionally, he urged men and women in support of movements for equality and justice, but at the same time, he admonished them to operate through the channels established for this purpose. The church was God's altar, and this thought should be in the minds of those who sought the courts of the Lord.

To Payne human rights, equality, and justice were inviolable, and should be approached in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. Likewise, the ministry was something sacred to which Payne had a Divine call, and once committed, he easily rebuffed temptations to leave his post. In truth, Payne never became fully reconciled with the emerging element who favored a more worldly church and a social approach. Actually, to him this group represented desecration. Consequently, he was reluctant to join his many colleagues who openly denounced from the pulpit the creeping paralysis of institutionalized segregation.

In the long run this restricted view imposed serious limitations. The tendency of Payne to envision the solution of complex social and economic problems solely from a scriptural viewpoint, limited the church's
capacity to deal with the Black man's real world, beyond the periphery
of the institution. This proved an even greater liability in his de-
clining years, as the Black population faced an increasingly oppressive
society, and the Black leadership sought methods to combat suppression.
Nonetheless, until his death in 1893, Payne remained steadfast in the
belief that the answer to the corroding freedoms of the Black man could
be found in a theological solution.

One of the great principles that guided Payne's life was fearlessness to
stand for what he believed right, no matter how dire the con-
sequences. Although many times Payne felt his preachments were doomed
to failure, he was urged on by a sense of high ideals. To walk cir-
mpectly and live above reproach was a part of his daily code, and he did
not hesitate to oppose or sharply criticize members of the clergy who
were guilty of excesses or immoralities.

On one occasion Payne faced the condemnation of the church community
when he endorsed Booker T. Washington's statement that a "large class of
colored ministers" were intellectually and morally unfit. 99 Frequently,
he volunteered candid appraisal of men seeking the office of bishop in
the A.M.E. Church and those already elevated. Such was the case in 1880
when he opposed the election of the militant and able Henry McNeal
Turner. 100 Later on he unleashed his full force of candor with a frank
assertion that Bishop Richard H. Cain "was greatly lacking in moral
conscience." 101

There is room for some amazement in thinking of Payne as a scholar-
ly intellectual, who at the same time seldom lost common touch with the
masses. On numerous occasions churches were filled with the faithful who came to hear his words. It was said that when Payne spoke others listened. He was accepted by the masses of Black church people, many of whom had not a day of formal education. Yet, because Payne was such an able and enthusiastic scholar, he roused high hopes in others of this race. So at home was he as a linguist that his diary notes of the last two years were recorded in French. For in repartee Payne could more than hold his own in matching wits with the most brilliant.

For the most part Payne was considered compassionate and generous, as well as kind and thoughtful. Still, at times he was stern and vindictive and despite his quiet and humble demeanor Payne often displayed hardness and iron underneath. More than once he sacrificed his own feelings as a churchman to perform his duties as a prelate.

At times Payne had to employ his shrewd mind as a brake on his strong will and impulsive nature, a practice occasionally merged with the uncanny ability to rebuff a pastor or colleague more gracefully than many another would grant a favor. Perhaps this quality enabled him to maintain his hold, if not his power, over the Church leadership throughout most of his ministerial career. His most pronounced weakness in his declining years was failure to sense that old values were changing, that new forces were rising, and that the challenge to the old consensus was very real. In truth, as his life drew to a close, the voice of respected church authority was no longer adequate for the moment.

Payne lived long enough to see his name already inscribed for
posterity and to view a monument of brick, mortar, and spirit beneficial to future generations. He was both humble and full of demand for human perfection. He left a legacy in the church and educational worlds, but accomplished less than his own dreams. In the final analysis, he was a simple unpolished human being with a profound faith in God and belief that the Divine would make everything alright. His was a triumph of flesh, blood, and will. Fortunately, his many strengths overpowered his several weaknesses.

Finally, so far as the religious world was concerned, Payne was always the innovator, and to some the radical precursor, so persistent was he in demand for improved church standards. On the other hand he approached things secular with a fundamentalist view, always concerned with orthodoxy. Triumphant faith was among his most powerful instruments and he used it to successfully move the A.M.E. establishment into the forefront of Black religious denominations in the last quarter of the 19th century. At the same time, when a similar faith was applied to the secular, it often meant that earthly racial oppression against his people remain unchallenged, as he awaited rectification of injustice in God's own time. More important, however, Daniel Payne consistently displayed his mettle as a foe of immorality no matter where he found it, and by so doing, transformed the lives of thousands who felt the influence of his leadership.
FOOTNOTES

1Beginning with the Emancipation Proclamation, a January 1, 1863 Executive order, blacks were elated by a series of favorable Congressional enactments anticipating hope for fulfillment during the 1860's and early 1870's. Included was such legislation as the Thirteenth Amendment, December 18, 1865; the Civil Rights Act, April 9, 1866; the Fourteenth Amendment, July 28, 1868; the Fifteenth Amendment, March 30, 1870; the Enforcement Acts of May 31, 1870, February 28, 1871 and April 20, 1871; and the Civil Rights Act of March 1, 1875.


3Ibid. In truth, Payne had no grand design to successfully combat the deterrents confronting his suffering Black people. His approach was entrenched in simplicity. The most important ingredient was behavior as a child of God.

4Ibid., 5, 6, 7.

5Of course, Payne had little reason, at the time, to anticipate the Supreme Court rulings in United States vs. Cruikshank, March 27, 1876 or The Civil Rights Decision, October 15, 1883 and others, effectively nullifying Civil Rights strides of the Reconstruction period. Neither were the Black exclusion laws of the labor and farm unions clearly discernible. Moreover, the "Grandfather Clause," poll tax, white primary, and literacy test awaited the future. See such works as August Meier, Negro Thought in America; Rayford Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro; Loren Miller, The Petitioners; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States; Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America.

6L. J. Coppin, A.M.E. Church Review, Volume VII (July, 1890), 102-103. Coppin adhered to the conservative faith by instructing his people to "wait and be good." At best this reflected a passive role.

7Payne, Official Sermons, 55.

8Indianapolis Sentinel, May 7, 1888.

9Payne, Official Sermons, 61.


17. Payne, Recollections, 295.


19. Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 268; and Charles S. Smith, A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1922), 149. Smith estimates that 265 were in attendance at the 1888 Conference.

20. Payne, Recollections, 262.

21. Ibid., 299; Smith, A History of the A.M.E. Church, 140-144.

22. Ibid.


27. Ibid., May 13, 1888.


30. Payne, Recollections, 300.

31. Ibid., 329-330.
32 Payne, Recollections, 330.


35 Not only did this revelation sadden Payne in the declining years of his life but it also provoked a sharp criticism from such a distinguished Presbyterian cleric as Francis Grimke. Speaking of Payne and his deep sense of responsibility with respect for the office of bishop, Grimke observed "Today all that is changed. Every man now wants to be a bishop. Every man thinks he is fitted for it. And there is hardly anything that men will not stoop to do in order to obtain the coveted prize. Every form of demagoguery has found its way into the church. Every species of wire-pulling is resorted to, and even bribery itself, it is alleged, has been employed by the candidates for the sacred office." Woodson, The Works of Francis James Grimke, 12.

36 These included desirable assignments such as the editorship of Church periodicals, the Christian Recorder and the A.M.E. Church Review; Financial Secretary; General Manager of the Book Concern and Secretary of Missions.

37 Payne, Recollections, 262.

38 Indianapolis News, May 12, 1888. The contest to reunite the B.M.E. Church became a very sensitive issue with Payne. He vigorously enunciated his thinking as far back as 1880 when he released a document "Some of the Many Reasons for Opposing the Organic Union of the A.M.E. Church and the B.M.E. Church." An undated original copy can be found in the Moorland Collections, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

39 Payne, Recollections, 300-301. Benjamin Brawley comments that Payne's "dogmatic air," as well as his "untactful approach often resulted in rejection of his ideas," but his persistence oftentimes prevailed. See Benjamin Brawley, Early Negro American Writers (Chapel Hill, 1935), 148.

40 McCinnis, History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University, 33. President Lee did not have a harmonious relationship with his faculty, a condition that provoked the resignation of two capable administrators, Mrs. Alice Adams, lady principal, and Mrs. S. C. Bierce, head of the Normal Department. All of this reflected on the faculty, as suitable individuals could not be found to carry on necessary operations. The problem of securing a lady principal was particularly difficult, and Payne did not help matters by injecting sectarian bias into the controversy. He induced the board to pass a resolution restricting the position to only a Methodist woman. See Minutes of the 17th Annual Meeting of the
Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University (Xenia, Ohio, 1880), 27. To President Lee's credit, however, was the employment of William Sanders Scarborough, who in time became the institution's most noted scholar.

41 McGinnis, History and Interpretation of Wilberforce University, 56-57. Mitchell, who had a "splendid combination of personality traits" was convinced that assistance from the State of Ohio was necessary to combat the serious indebtedness incurred by the school. As a preliminary effort to achieve this end, he personally led a campaign to secure the nomination of the powerful A.M.E. cleric, Benjamin W. Arnett, for the Ohio legislature. See the Sixth Quadrennial Report of the President of Wilberforce University to the General Conference of the A.M.E. Church, Centennial Budget (Philadelphia, 1887), 386.

Unfortunately, Arnett was involved in the drive to repeal Ohio's Black laws when the bill to create the State's combined Normal and Industrial Department reached the floor of the legislature. The bill passed, however, and Arnett, together with J. A. Shorter and C. L. Maxwell were elected as representatives of the new State Board of Trustees. See Minutes of the 24th Session of the Trustee Board of Wilberforce University (June 15, 1887), 151.

The act provided the sum of five thousand dollars annually for two years. After that time financial appropriations were to be determined at the "discretion of the General Assembly." See General and Special Acts Passed and Joint Resolutions Adopted by the 67th General Assembly, LXXXIV (Columbus, 1887), 129.

42 Payne, History of the A.M.E. Church, 446-449.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 446.

45 Dubois, The Negro Church, 129.

46 Payne, Recollections, 231-232, 263. Also, History of the A.M.E. Church, 448.

47 Payne, Recollections, 284.

48 Indianapolis Sentinel, May 22, 1888.

49 Indianapolis News, May 7, 1888.

50 Official Sermons, 8-41.

51 Earle Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States (Baton Rouge, 1958), 125.
Payne was actually ahead of his day by including non-literary and non-written sources in his historical methodology. Today a representative school of historians including Orlando Patterson and Melvin Dummer urge this kind of approach if we are to obtain a meaningful grasp of the black historical experience. See Orlando Patterson, "Rethinking black History," Harvard Educational Review, (August, 1971), 297-316.


Ibid., 283.

Ibid., 291.

Ibid., 322-323. Payne wrote this on his seventy-fifth birthday.

Daniel Payne, "Memories of Three Score Years and Ten" (unpublished diary, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio).

Ibid.

"Journal," February 24, 1892.

Ibid., January 1, 1893.


Ibid., 330.

Ibid., 293-294.

Ibid., 291.

Ibid., 312.

Ibid., 290-291.

Ibid., 309.

Ibid., 296.

J. W. Hanson, ed., *The World's Congress on Religion* (Chicago, 1894), 1105.


Ibid., 177-179.

Payne, *Recollections*, 323.
"Journal," May 14, 1892. Payne still felt that many of the delegates "disgraced themselves" and that the Conference deliberations were "tumultous."

Smith, History of the A.M.E. Church, II, 167-169.

Minutes of the General Conference of the A.M.E. Church, 1892, 47.


Ibid.

Xenia Gazette, November 30, 1893.

Wilberforce Alumnae, III (December, 1893), 4.

"Last Will and Testament" (original is in the hands of Edward K. Clark, grand-stepson of Payne).

Xenia Gazette, December 1, 1893.

Wilberforce Alumnae, III (December, 1893), 2-3.


Xenia Gazette, November 30, 1893.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

AME Review, X (January, 1894), 343.

Ibid., 397-398.

Ibid., 396-397.

Ibid., 409.

William S. Scarborough, "The Late Daniel Payne" (in Archives, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio).

Brown, Pen Pictures, 20.


"Ceremonies Attending the Unveiling of the Monument to the Memory of Daniel Alexander Payne" (Program, May 21, 1894). The affair was held in Laurel Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland.

Dubois, The Negro Church, 131.

Letter from Alexander Crummell to Payne November 2, 1892, found in the Wilberforce University Archives. Payne was showing the feebleness of his years at the time, but Crummell was still vigorous and was regarded by most as the intellectual leader of the Black community. After twenty years spent in Africa, he had returned to his native land as the prestigious pastor of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Washington.

Smith, History of the A.M.E. Church, II, 190-194.


Ransom, Preface to History of the A.M.E. Church, 166.

Payne, Recollections, 332. Payne was a self appointed guardian of the bench of bishops. He was always intensely concerned about the quality and calibre of those who occupied the high office. Seldom did he hesitate to oppose those he felt unworthy or to bitterly criticize those he felt violated their trust.

This diary is in the Archives of Wilberforce University. The writing shows a nervous shaky hand. Perhaps at this stage it was easier to write in the French than the English.

Reverdy Ransom (later a bishop in the Church) maintains that from 1872-1888 Payne "was almost a dictator of the major policies of the A.M.E. Church. See Preface, 158-159."
APPENDIX A

Population statistics in Charleston, South Carolina and three other Southern cities from 1820-1860, based on official censuses of the United States government:*  

**Charleston, SC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Free Negro</th>
<th>Slave</th>
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<td>40,522</td>
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**New Orleans, LA**

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<td>144,601</td>
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**Baltimore, MD**

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<td>80,620</td>
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<td>14,790</td>
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<td>102,313</td>
<td>81,147</td>
<td>17,967</td>
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Richmond, VA

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<td>37,910</td>
<td>23,635</td>
<td>2,576</td>
<td>11,699</td>
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*Official Government Census  
(Washington, United States Publishing Department)
APPENDIX B

Substance of the law that brought to a close Payne's successful teaching career in Charleston, South Carolina. The bill to enact was presented to the General Assembly of South Carolina, December, 1834. It became a law April 1, 1835.*


Be it enacted by the honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives, now met and sitting in General Assembly, and by the authority of the same: If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or cause, or procure any slave to read or write, such person, if a free white person upon conviction thereof shall for each and every offense against this Act be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars and imprisoned not more than six months; or, if a free person of color, shall be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes and fined not exceeding fifty dollars, at the discretion of the court of magistrates and freeholders before which such person of color is tried; and if a slave, to be whipped at the discretion of the court, not exceeding fifty lashes: the informer to be entitled to one-half of the fine, and to be a competent witness. And if any free person of color or slave shall keep any school or other place of instruction for teaching any slave or free person of color to read or write, such free person of color or slave shall be liable to the same fine, imprisonment, and corporal punishment as are by this Act imposed and inflicted upon free persons of color and slaves for teaching slaves to read or write.

*Daniel A. Payne, Recollections of Seventy Years, 27-28.
APPENDIX C

One of Payne's most significant achievements in the early days of his African Methodist Episcopal Church ministry was the publication of eight essays on the "Education of the Ministry." Following is the last of the series completed in the autumn of 1845.*

ESSAY ON THE EDUCATION OF THE MINISTRY

By D. A. Payne

The Ministers of the Gospel ought to be well educated.

We now conclude our essays by an appeal to all who are concerned, i.e., the whole Church. And first: We appeal to the venerable fathers of the Connection, and call upon you to assist us in this glorious enterprise by giving your sanction to our efforts. While we acknowledge that your advanced life and domestic cares may present insurmountable barriers to your improvement, we hail you as the pioneers of the Church. You, with the enterprising Richard Allen, have gone forth, the broad arm of primitive labors upon your shoulders entered the forest, hewn down the timber, and erected the stupendous fabric which now constitutes our Zion. O, cheer us, then, while we labor to beautify and array it on to perfection! Let it never be said that you were opposed to the cause of sacred learning, or that you hindered the car of improvement. But while you are descending to your peaceful and honorable graves, let us hear your invigorating voices saying unto us: "Go on, my sons, go on!" Then shall the bright pages of history hand down your memories as a precious legacy to unborn generations, who, with hearts of gratitude, shall look to this period and thank heaven that their progenitors were not the enemies, but the friends of education. Beloved young brethren, we appeal to you, because a glorious career of usefulness lies before you—an un-cultivated field, long and wide, invites you to enter and drive the plowshare heavier throughout its length and breadth. Truth declares that the soil is deep and rich, and will yield an abundant harvest.

Up! Up! to the toil. The reward is in the fruits—your resting place is in heaven. Put forth every effort, employ every means, embrace every opportunity to cultivate your minds, and enrich them with the gems of holy learning. But not satisfied with little things, lift your standard to the skies, and your attainments will be great. Swear eternal hatred to ignorance, and let your banner float upon the breeze of heaven with this inscription:

Wisdom to silver we prefer,
And gold is dross compared to her.

All difficulties then will fade away before you, and knowledge will become just what the Creator designed it to be, an element of your manhood, in which you may live and move and have your being.

Venerable mothers of Israel! we call upon you to aid us in this glorious reformation. Give us your influence; give us your money; give us your prayers. Hannah-like, dedicate your sons to the work of God before they are born; then Samuel-like, they will be heaven-called and heaven-sent, full of the spirit of wisdom, and full of grace. Teach them from their infancy to value learning more than silver and wisdom more than gold. Teach them that the glory of their manhood consists not in eating and dressing, but in the cultivation of the immortal mind and the purity of their morals. Thus will you inspire them with the love of what is great and good, paving the way to their future greatness and their future glory. O, who can sleep when earth and heaven are in motion! Who can stand aloof from a work in which the angels find delight? Who will dare to oppose that which God himself has decreed? The fall of ignorance is as certain as the fall of Babylon, and the universal spread of knowledge as the light of the Son, for the Lord hath said, "Many shall run to and for, and knowledge shall be increased." And who does not see that this Divine declaration is daily fulfilling? The press is pouring forth its millions of publications every year, in every form, and almost in every language, so that books and newspapers are becoming as common as the stones in the street. Common schools, seminaries and colleges are being erected in almost every land and every nation. Lyceums, literary societies, are being instituted among men of all ranks and all complexions, so that it may truly be said that the beaming chariot of the genius of knowledge is rolling triumphantly onward to the conquest of the world; therefore, the oppressors of education must either ground the weapons of their unequal warfare or be crushed to death beneath its ponderous wheels.

A period of light has already dawned upon the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Its morning star was seen in the doings of the General Conference of 1844; its opening glories were manifested in the decrees of the Educational Convention of 1845. Blessed is the man or woman who will aid the enterprise of heaven! Yea, thrice blessed is the one who will hasten on this age of light! In relation to this subject
we can say with Moses, "O, that all the Lord's people were prophets!"

As for ourselves, we have dedicated our all to this sacred work. We have lain our souls and bodies, our time, our influence, our talents, upon the altar of our people's improvement and elevation; there we intend to bleed, and smoke, and burn, till life itself shall be extinct.

The calamitous fact that our people are entombed in ignorance and oppression forever stares us in the face; it shall be the fuel of the flames that consume us, and while we talk, and write, and pray, we shall rise above opposition and toil, cheered and inspired by that God whose lips have said, "The priest's lips should keep knowledge."
APPENDIX D

Payne considered the sermon "Who is Sufficient for These Things" among the most important of his career. It was delivered before the 1852 General Conference elevating him to the holy office of bishop. Not only is the sermon indicative of Payne's humility and deep sense of responsibility to the office of the bishopric but it sets forth ethical and moral obligations of others who choose to be Christian ministers.*

Who is Sufficient for These Things?

- II Cor., ii. 16

To comprehend the meaning of the Apostle in these words, it is necessary to remember that the cause of his writing the first Epistle to Corinth was the existence of certain evils in the Church therein located, such as the dissensions growing out of a preference on the part of some for Paul, of others for Apollo, of a third class for Cephas, and of a fourth class for Christ; also the incestuous person who had married his own father's wife, and that after reproving for the first, he commanded them to curse this latter evil by excommunicating the transgressor. After rebuking their spirit of litigation, with every other prominent evil among them, he showeth them the structure of the Church of Christ, briefly alludes to the manner in which this Church is to be governed, and then closes with a graphic description of the glorious results of the death and resurrection of Christ. But in this, the second Epistle, he seems to have written for the restoration of the incestuous person, who had heartily repented of his sin, and given the proofs thereof by an utter abandonment of his evil way. He then compares the law of Moses with the glorious Gospel of Christ, showed his faithfulness and diligence in preaching it, his power as an apostle to punish obstinate sinners, and concludes with a general exhortation and prayer; from all of which it is evident that the ministry of the Gospel and Church government were the themes that fill up his vision when he exclaims in the language of the text, "Who is sufficient

for these things?" Do not our hearts respond "Who is sufficient for these things?" To consider these things as clearly, and yet as briefly as possible, is our duty on this occasion, and may the Lord assist us in the important task.

First, then, the preaching of the Gospel. What do we understand by this? Various are the answers given. Some there are who believe it to consist in loud declamation and vociferous talking; some in whooping, stamping and beating the Bible or desk with their fists, and in cutting as many odd capers as a wild imagination can suggest; and some err so grievously on this subject as to think that he who halloos the loudest and speaks the longest is the best preacher. Now all these crude ideas have their origin in our education, for we believe just what we have been taught. But if any man wishes to know what is preaching the Gospel, let him not ask of mere mortal man, but let him find his answer in the teachings of Him who spake as never man spake, and whose wisdom is without mixture of error. Hear him in the matchless sermon on the Mount, teaching us to find blessedness in poverty and meekness, in peace and righteousness, in mercy and purity, and to find exceeding great joy in persecution for righteousness sake. See with what divine skill he expounds the moral law, and carries its application beyond the outward and visible conduct into the interior and invisible workings of the human soul. Behold him either in private houses or on the sea shore, or in the temple, by parables of the most striking beauty and simplicity, unfolding the great principles upon which the moral government of the universe is based, enlightening their understandings and warming their hearts with the sunbeams of eternal truth. This is preaching — preaching of the highest kind. We will do well to imitate it, in aid of which let us look for a few moments at the work of the Christian minister as a preacher of the Gospel; and

First. It is his business to make man acquainted with his relations to his God as a sinner.

To accomplish this he must re-echo the thunders of Sinai until the slumbering rebel is started into a sense of his danger, and looking into his own heart, he sees it a cage of unclean birds, or a lair of hissing serpents — the enemy of God by wicked works, and the enemy of his own soul. Listening, he hears the fearful sentence: "Cursed is every one that continueth not in everything written in the book of the law to do it," Looking below, he sees hell, as it were, moving from beneath to meet him at his coming; looking above, he beholds an indignant judge ready to pour out the vials of his wrath upon his guilty and defenseless head. Now, hear the cry of his anguish heart: "What shall I do to be saved?" The minister of the Gospel answers: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Immediately faith springs up in the soul of this trembling sinner, and looking to Calvary he sees there the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. With a bounding heart he exclaims, "My Lord and my God," and feels, pervading his whole being, "a peace that passeth all understanding, and a joy which is unspeakable and full of glory."
but the work of the Gospel minister stops not here - a flock of rich souls is committed to his care, and it now becomes his duty to train them for usefulness and for heaven. "But who is sufficient for these things?"

"'Tis not a cause of small import
The pastor's care demands,
But what might fill an angel's heart,
and fill'd the Saviour's hands."

Therefore, with all possible diligence, he must feed the babes with the sincere milk of the word until they are able to eat strong meat; then he must feed them with that until they have attained the stature of a man in Christ Jesus, and teach them by all manner of good works to glorify "Our Father who is in heaven." But this does not terminate his work; still he must, with untiring diligence, arm every soldier of Christ with the panoply of God, and then lead on the sacramental host from truth to truth, from grace to grace, from victory to victory, until each of them shall have laid down his armor to take up his crown in heaven. "But who is sufficient for these things?"

And yet, the work of the Christian minister stops not here; for he is to discipline and govern the Church. This brings us to consider:

Second. A very difficult and important part of a minister's duty. Some of us believe that to discipline the Church simply means to try and expel the incorrigible. Is not this a great mistake? Is it not the very last thing the pastor should perform? Nay, dear brethren, to discipline a church implies more than this. It means to indoctrinate, to instruct, to reprove, to admonish, as well as to try and expel. You see, then, what is the pastor's duty; he is to make his flock intimately acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian Church, instruct them in the principles of Church government, reprove them for negligence and sin, admonish them of their duties and obligations, and then try and expel the obstinate, so as to keep the Church as pure as human wisdom, diligence, and zeal, under divine guidance, can make it. "But who," I ask, "is sufficient for these things?"

Sufficiency is not to be found in man, but in God. Saith the apostle: "Our sufficiency is of God, who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." Yes; our sufficiency is of God! But how is this sufficiency to be obtained? Is man a mere passive being the matter; or does God require some action on his part? We answer, in this respect man is not like a seed placed in the ground, which can be developed by the morning and evening dews, together with native warmth of the earth and the sunbeams. He must use the mind that God has given him; he must cultivate this mind, and seek that aid which is given to every one whom he has called to the work of the ministry.
First, then, let him cultivate his mind by all the means in his power. With the light of science, philosophy and literature, let him illumine his understanding, and carry this culture and this illumination to the highest point possible.

Secondly, then, let him seek the unction from above, the baptism of the Holy Ghost; let him live the life of faith and prayer - the life of unspotted holiness; for such was our Lord and Master Jesus Christ the Righteous - his head was all knowledge, and his heart all holiness. He was as free from ignorance as he was free from sin. God grant that we may all seek to be like him as much in the one case as in the other. Then will we be able ministers of the New Testament, and be able with the illustrious Paul to say, "Our sufficiency is of God." Now, it is for teaching sentiments like these that I have been slandered, persecuted and hated. This has been the head and front of my offending. But brethren, am I not right? Is it not proper that I should seek the improvement of those who had not the chance of an early education? Yes; I have done it, and still will seek the improvement of all my young brethren, that they may be both intelligent, well educated and holy men. Like Moses, I can truly say: "O that all the Lord's people were prophets." Yea, indeed, I would that I was the most ignorant man among you, possessing at the same time the amount of information which God has given me, and I deem it very little compared with that which others enjoy.

But to return to the text, I ask: who is sufficient to preach the Gospel of Christ, and govern the Church which he has purchased with his own blood? Who is sufficient to train this host of the Lord, and lead it on from earth to heaven? Who is sufficient to guide it through this war against principalities and powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places, against all the hosts of earth and hell, and place it triumphant upon the shining plains of glory? Who is sufficient? I answer, the man who makes Christ the model of his own Christian and ministerial character. This man, and he alone, is sufficient for these things.
APPENDIX E

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION—WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY

(Auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856-1863)*

Know all men by these presents; that we the undersigned desirous of establishing a University at the place formerly known as Tawawa Springs, east of the city of Xenia, in the county of Greene, in the State of Ohio, for the purposes of promoting education, religion and morality amongst the Colored race, do make and establish these articles of association.

We hereby assume the corporate name of 'Wilberforce University' of the 'M.E. Church,' by which designation this institution shall be known and established for all logical purposes whatever;

That said university shall be located and established at the Tawawa Springs in said county of Greene;

That the purposes of said University are and shall continue to be to furnish educational means for a thorough course of education to the Colored race and to do all other acts and things necessary and usual to be done and exercised by other universities in the United States;

And also to confer the usual honors and degrees upon those deemed worthy;

That this institution shall be and forever remain under the management direction and control of the Methodist Episcopal Church and for that and a majority of the Board of Directors and Trustees shall always be members of said Methodist Episcopal Church;

That the business and pecuniary affairs of said institution shall be managed and controlled by a Board of Trustees or Directors of said institution and the officers and agents by them legally appointed.

It is provided that none shall be excluded from the benefits of said institution as officers, faculty or pupils on account of merely race or color.

*Frederick A. McGinnis, The Education of Negroes in Ohio, 92-94.
This done and agreed upon by us the undersigned at Tawawa Springs, Greene County, Ohio, this 30th day of August, A. D. 1856.

T. B. Johnston  
C. L. Merrick  
Dr. T. S. Fowler  
M. French  
A. Lowery  
M. D. Gatch  
M. Dustin  
F. Merrick  
Uriah Heath  
John Dubois  
John Pfaff  
Daniel A. Payne  
Wm. Wood

Ref: Articles of Incorporation, pp. 36-37, Greene County Court House, 1856.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION—WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY

(Auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1863)

Know all men by these presents; that we the undersigned, desiring to establish a university at the place formerly known as 'Tawawa Springs' east of the city of Xenia, in the county of Greene, in the State of Ohio, for the purpose of promoting education, religion and morality amongst the Colored race, do make and establish these articles of association.

We hereby assume and agree upon the corporate name of 'Wilberforce University' of the 'A.M.E. Church,' by which designation this institution shall be known and established for all legal purposes whatever.

That said university shall be located and established at the Tawawa Springs aforesaid, in said county of Greene.

That the purposes of said university are and shall be to furnish the educational means of a thorough course of education to the Colored race, and to do all other acts and things necessary and usual to be done and exercised by other universities in the United States, and also to confer the usual honors and degrees upon those deemed worthy.

That the institution shall be and forever remain under the management, direction and control of the African Methodist Episcopal Church,
and for that, and a majority of the Board of Directors and Trustees shall always be members of said African Methodist Episcopal Church.

That the business and pecuniary affairs of said institution shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Trustees or Directors of said institution, and the officers and agents by them legally appointed.

It is provided that none shall be excluded from the benefits of said institution; as officers, faculty, or pupils on account of merely race or color.

In Testimony Whereof, We, the applicants for the incorporation of said institution, have hereto set our hands this 10th day of July, 1863.

Daniel A. Payne
James A. Shorter
John G. Mitchell
David Blackburn
Robert Nichols

Ref: Articles of Incorporation, pp. 64-65, Greene County Court House, 1863.
APPENDIX F

At the conclusion of his thirteen years as president of Wilberforce University, Payne prepared an "historical Sketch" recording his impressions. The following summary of that statement is highly significant to both retrospect and prospect.*

Summary of Results from 1863 to 1876

Fully to appreciate the results of our efforts, it is necessary to remember:

First. That the 10th of March, 1876, will be just thirteen years since we purchased the real estate of Wilberforce University at a cost of $10,000, and the end of July, 1876, will be thirteen years since the school opened.

Second. That we had not a dollar when we made the bid for the property.

Third. That we opened the school with but six pupils in primary English studies, having but one teacher, and that we were burnt out about two years after we made the purchase of the property. Our dormitories, recitation rooms, library and chapel were all consumed, and our school almost broken up. We had to begin anew. Now we have so far completed our new building that we shall be able to dedicate it this summer. The burnt edifice was made of wood, erected on a light brick foundation - it was beautiful, but a light, airy thing. Our present edifice is of heavy brick on a massive stone foundation. The cost, when completed and furnished, will be about $45,000.

Within thirteen years from the time we opened our primary English school we shall have graduated thirteen young ladies and sixteen young men - total, twenty-nine. All our graduates have been engaged in the honorable and useful employment of the pulpit and school-room. Three have

been elected to full professorships in their Alma Mater, and one is principal of Lincoln Institute, a high and normal school in the state of Missouri for the secondary education of colored youth. In addition to these, scores of undergraduates have received partial education within the past twelve years, who are now employed, or have been, as teachers and preachers in the western and southern states, but chiefly in the latter.

Concerning the election of trustees and faculty. Inasmuch as Wilberforce is under denominational auspices, it was deemed prudent at the time of its organization to have each Annual Conference represented by two laymen and three clergymen, and therefore, inasmuch as there are twenty-three Annual Conferences, there are one hundred and fifteen denominational trustees. To these add nine honorary trustees and the six bishops who are ex officio trustees, and we have the enormous board of one hundred and thirty; but practically we have not more than twenty-four, the largest number ever present at an annual meeting. The lesson taught us at the end of twelve years is, that there is no need of having more than one clergyman and one layman to represent an Annual Conference, who may have alternates. These, with ten or twelve honorary members, and the ex officio, from whom a quorum can be convened within three hours' ride of the University, would be sufficient for all practical purposes.

Our own experience and observation for twenty years furnish strong objections also to the annual election of the faculty. The power and skill requisite to the successful working of a collegiate institution are attained only by the long experience and observations of many years, and is too important and valuable to be set aside for the gratification of the ambitious and arrogant or the envious and malicious, as has sometimes been done. Common sense dictates the abolition of such a rule, and the adoption of a better.

We will now finish this historical sketch by remarking that the charter of Wilberforce prohibits all distinction based on race or color. Like Christianity, of which it is an offspring, its advantages and facilities are free to all races. Though very poor, young and weak, all the leading denominations have been represented among its teachers and its faculty as well as its trustees. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Unitarians, Quakers and Roman Catholics have met here on common grounds.

To any thinking mind it may be clearly seen that if, without endowment and with very poor facilities, so much good has been accomplished as these pages make evident, a thousand fold more could be effected if amply endowed and able officered. To this end its real, intelligent and considerate friends should wisely plan and diligently execute.
APPENDIX G

In the last quarter of the 19th century the following key decisions of the United States Supreme Court helped to make possible de jure and de facto segregation of Black Americans. The rulings had a profound impact on the conservative minded fundamentalist Black clergy, who were still full of optimism and faith in God’s intentions, as the 19th century began to run its course. Daniel Payne was among the more prominent Blacks representing this prevailing religious consensus.* Extracts from the decisions:

United States v. Cruikshank
March 27, 1876
(Pertains to Enforcement Act May 31, 1876 protecting Negroes at the polls)

... To bring this case under the operation of the statute, therefore, it must appear that the right, the enjoyment of which the conspirators intended to hinder or prevent, was one granted or secured by the constitution or laws of the United States...

The government of the United States is one of delegated powers alone. Its authority is defined and limited by the Constitution. All powers not granted to it by that instrument are reserved to the States or the people. No rights can be acquired under the constitution or laws of the United States, except such as the government of the United States has the authority to grant or secure. All that cannot be so granted or secured are left under the protection of the States...

The first and ninth counts state the intent of the defendants to have been to hinder and prevent the citizens named in the free exercise and enjoyment of their "lawful right and privilege to peaceably assemble together with each other and with other citizens of the United States for a peaceful and lawful purpose." The right of the people peaceably to assemble for lawful purposes existed long before the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. . . . It was not, therefore, a right granted to the people by the Constitution. . . .

The first amendment of the Constitution prohibits Congress from abridging "the right of the people to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." This, like the other amendments proposed and adopted at the same time, was not intended to limit the powers of the State governments in respect to their own citizens, but to operate upon the national government alone. . . . They left the authority of the States just where they found it, and added nothing to the already existing powers of the United States.

The particular amendment now under consideration assumes the existence of the right of the people to assemble for lawful right was not created by the amendment; neither was its continuance guaranteed, except as against congressional interference. For their protection in its enjoyment, therefore, the people must look to the States. The power for that purpose was originally placed there, and it has never been surrendered to the United States.

The right of the people peaceably to assemble for the purpose of petitioning Congress for a redress of grievances, or for any thing else connected with powers or the duties of the national government, is an attribute of national citizenship, and, as such, under the protection of, and guaranteed by, the United States. . . . If it had been alleged in these counts that the object of the defendants was to prevent a meeting for such a purpose, the case would have been within the statute, and within the scope of the sovereignty of the United States. Such, however, is not the case. The offense, as stated in the indictment, will be made out, if it be shown that the object of the conspiracy was to prevent a meeting for any lawful purpose whatever.

The second and tenth counts are equally defective. The right there specified is that of "bearing arms for a
lawful purpose." This is not a right granted by the Constitution. Neither is it in any manner dependent upon that instrument for its existence.

The third and eleventh counts are even more objectionable. They charge the intent to have been to deprive the citizens named, they being in Louisiana, "of their respective several lives and liberty or person without due process of law." This is nothing less than alleging a conspiracy to falsely imprison or murder citizens of the United States, being within the territorial jurisdiction of the State of Louisiana. . . . It is no more the duty or within the power of the United States to punish for a conspiracy to falsely imprison or murder within a State, than it would be to punish for false imprisonment or murder itself.

The fourteenth amendment prohibits a State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; but this adds nothing to the rights of one citizen as against another. . . .

The fourth and twelfth counts charge the intent to have been to prevent and hinder the citizens named, who were of African descent and persons of color, in "the free exercise and enjoyment of their several right and privilege to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings, then and there, before that time, enacted or ordained by the said State of Louisiana and by the United States. . . ." When stripped of its verbiage, the case as presented amounts to nothing more than that the defendants conspired to prevent certain citizens of the United States, being within the State of Louisiana, from enjoying the equal protection of the laws of the State and of the United States.

The fourteenth amendment prohibits a state from denying to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws; but this provision does not, any more than the one which precedes it and which we have just considered, add any thing to the rights which one citizen has under the Constitution against another. . . . The only obligation resting upon the United States is to see that the States do not deny the right. This the amendment guarantees, but no more. The power of the national government is limited to the enforcement of this guaranty. . . .
The Civil Rights Decision
October 15, 1883
(Pertains to Civil Rights Act, March 1, 1875 providing for equal public accommodations for Negroes.)

It is state action of a particular character that is prohibited (by the Fourteenth Amendment). Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject matter of the amendment. It has a deeper and broader scope. It nullifies and makes void all State legislation, and State action of every kind, which impairs the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, or which injures them in life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or which denies to any of them the equal protection of the laws. It not only does this, but, in order that the national will, thus declared, may not be a mere brutum fulmen, the last section of the amendment invests Congress with the power to enforce it by appropriate legislation. To adopt appropriate legislation for correcting the efforts of such prohibited State laws and State acts, and thus to render them effectually null, void, and innocuous. . . . It does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects which are within the domain of State legislation; but it provides modes of relief against State legislation, or State action, of the kind referred to. It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights; but to provide modes of redress against the operation of State laws, and the action of State officers, executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the amendment. . . .

Until some State law has been passed, or some State action through its officers or agents has been taken, adverse to the rights of citizens sought to be protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, no legislation of the United States under said amendment, nor any proceeding under such legislation, can be called into activity: for the prohibitions of the amendment are against State laws and acts done under State authority. . . . In fine, the legislation which Congress is authorized to adopt in this behalf is not general legislation upon the rights of the citizen, but corrective legislation, that is, such as may be necessary and proper for counter-acting such laws as the States may adopt or enforce, and which, by the amendment, they are prohibited from making or enforcing, or such acts and proceedings as the States may commit or take, and which by the amendment, they are prohibited from committing.
or taking. . . .

On the whole we are of opinion, that no countenance of authority for the passage of the law in question can be found in either the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution; and no other ground of authority for its passage being suggested, it must necessarily be declared void, at least so far as its operation in the several States is concerned.

Plessy v. Ferguson
May 18, 1896
(In answer to a Louisiana statute passed in 1890 providing separate but equal accommodations for "white and colored races.")

. . . The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the States.

1. That it does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolishes slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. . . .

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races - a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color - has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or re-establish a state of involuntary servitude. . . .

2. The object of the (Fourteenth) Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state
legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

Laws forbidding the intermarriage of the two races may be said in a technical sense to interfere with the freedom of contract, and yet have been universally recognized as within the police power of the State.

So far, then, as a conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment that the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that, if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured
to the Negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane. . . .
APPENDIX II

No other single motivating factor is so dominant in Daniel Payne's religious and educational philosophy as ethical purity. It emerges in the days of his youth and is still very much in evidence in the final hours of his life. Although the forces of change are very much in evidence in the closing years of the 19th century, Payne's response to the recognition of his fortieth year as a bishop in the Church is a reaffirmation of his firm conviction in this regard. At the time, May, 1892, Payne was eighty-one years of age.*

RESPONSE OF BISHOP DANIEL A. PAYNE

"The Committee are solemnly determined in humble dependence upon divine strength to give the society's support only to mission agencies and mission agents, whether English or African, that are in their judgment 'vessels meet for the Master's use.' 'Earthen vessels' they may be; we do not look for perfection in human instruments or instrumentalities; but we do deeply feel that true missionary work is the setting forth of the Lord Jesus Christ both as Saviour and as King, and that this work must be done by those who, however feeble in themselves, do know him as their Saviour and obey him as their King, and who seek by the power of the Holy Ghost to be examples in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Missionaries and teachers employed by the Church Missionary Society must not be merely men who can rebut particular charges of open sin, still less those of whom it can only be said that such charges are not proven. They must be men who in word and heart and life are the true and faithful servants of Christ.

*James A. Hardy, Scraps of African Methodist Episcopal History, 295-301.
If the society in Africa or anywhere else has ever seemed to tolerate a lower standard than this, it has been either from ignorance of the facts or from a generous desire not to form harsh judgments. But now we feel it more necessary than ever to emphasize and to maintain the true standard of missionary character."

In my ears this announcement of the Committee sounds like the voice of the Saviour of the world. If any person who does not know, but desires to know, who is this Committee, I will tell you; it is a body of Christian gentlemen, representing the truly great Church of England in its missionary operations, to help in evangelizing the heathen world. The Church Missionary Society which the Committee represents, is composed of one hundred Bishops, four Arch-Bishops, many Deans, Arch-Deacons, Earls, Barons, and Clergymen. They have the experience of ninety-three years, which has imparted to them the soundest varied knowledge of the heathen world, and the most practical methods which can be used in securing success, both in planting and maintaining Missions. It is the richest missionary association in Christendom, for its annual income is over a million and a quarter of dollars, and its sphere of operations embraces all the races like a chain of gold; its stations, principal and subordinate, stretch from the rising to the setting of the sun.

With the experience of 93 years, such advices and such examples are not to be despised; cannot be rejected with impunity. Emphasis is given to their advice and example, because it is in harmony with the instructions of all the Apostles, every one of whom was inspired by the Holy Ghost to write as they have written.

These instructions were given to the first bishops and deacons and elders in order that they might know how they ought to behave themselves in "The House of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

And these Apostolic instructions were not only to govern their personal conduct, but also that they and that we might know whom we ought to admit into the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was sinless from his birth in the manger until he died upon the Cross.

Now, inasmuch as the Lord of Lords and the King of kings was sinless, every one of his ambassadors ought to be blameless before they are elected as well as after they have been ordained. Now, if the Committee of the Church Missionary Society does require blamelessness in the life of the candidates for their Missions and mission agents, shall this General Conference require less in those who are candidates for the office of a Secretary? And still more shall we require less in those who aspire to the Episcopate?

These interrogations are rendered the more important, in view of
the fact that candidates are pushed to the front by their admirers, who are well known in their localities, to be spotted back and front; at the same time, men of middle age who have been successful pastors, successful financiers, and of spotless reputation are overlooked as though they were mere ciphers.

I tell you, dear brethren, the time is come when the African Methodist Episcopal Church cannot afford to put incompetent men into the Secretaryship, and the still more important and high office of Episcopate.

Every intelligent and inquiring mind in Christendom will be watching our movements. Of all Negro organizations, none are so scrupulously watched and severely criticized as that of the A.M.E. Church. Therefore, she ought to be careful whom she makes Secretaries, Editors and Bishops. Not for his eloquence, not for his rhetoric should any man be elected to shoulder such great responsibilities. The time has come, I tell you, beloved brethren, the hour is at hand when the spirit of sectionalism ought to be trampled under foot. Not because he is in the South, nor in the North, nor in the West, nor in the East; but because he is competent, possessed of natural endowments, acquired ability, and he has given evidence of incorruptible Christian character. We have many such elders among us. Terrible will be the ultimate consequences if we ignore them. And moreover, the A.M.E. Church is in need of officers and Secretaries in all of her departments, whose character, intellectual, moral and spiritual, can command the respect and confidence of all Christian denominations. Let me tell you what was said to me by one of the editors of one of the leading weekly journals of Christendom: "We cannot understand the A.M.E. Church; her General Conference will convict a man today of malfeasance in office, and tomorrow put him in the highest office within her gift." Similar criticisms were made by leading private gentlemen of different denominations.

On another occasion a leading educator of our race met me on Lombard Street, Philadelphia, and said, "By the election of such a man to the episcopate, your General Conference has disgraced your Church."

What I am now about to call your attention to, is copied from the Christian Advocate of April 7th: "Bismarck's seventy-seventh birthday has been celebrated. Five thousand congratulatory telegrams and seven hundred registered letters and parcels arrived. Five thousand men were in procession, in his honor. Ten thousand miners sent a deputation to him. Floral gifts arrived from all parts of the Empire. Deputations were coming and going all day. At the close he made a speech, in which was one sentence that can be applied by every true man, wherever he lives, who receives any manifestations of the confidence of those who know him best. It was this: "That the good wishes of neighborly fellow citizens were more in his eyes than were the many orders that had been conferred upon him." Some men sneer at this utterance of the ex-premier of the German Empire; but such men may also sneer at the word than great riches,
and loving favor than silver and gold." - Prov. 22:1. So also, as your senior, permit me to say, I am jealous if the dignity of the ministry of the A.M.E. Church. I desire to see it so spotless, so noble, so holy, and so discriminating as to wield an influence, so enlightening and gracious as to be a benediction to all the races; to all the coming generations.

I conclude my remarks in this paper by a warning and advice.

First the warning. There are few things which threaten the purity, the unity and perpetuity of the A.M.E. Church, viz: (a) Free Masonry, (b) Politics, (c) The vaunting ambition of aspirants for Secretaryships and Bishops, (d) For honors in the form of titles -- D.D., LL.D., and per se. Such are the elements of my warning, to which I invite the attention of thinkers in our Connection, both male and female.

Second, the advice. The advice which I want to give is, first, to our young men in the Christian ministry. Do not seek office. If you possess qualifications the office will seek you. Second, do not desire honors; if you be worthy, honors will seek you, will find you, and will fasten themselves upon you. At best they are like a wreath of flowers, that soon fade away and become displaced for a crown of thorns. Third, desire not titles. They have no virtue in themselves, no power to make you wiser, nor better, nor more useful than before you might receive them. Should you appear in the presence of men with a D.D., a Ph.D., or an LL.D., suffixed to your name and come not up to the ideal of those titles, they will hold you in supreme contempt, turn their backs upon you with ridicule if not with scorn. Should you be worthy of them, institutions of learning will voluntarily bestow without money and without price. "A man's gift maketh for him room, and bringeth him before great men." So says the inspired Solomon, Chapter 18:16. By which is meant inherent gifts created in him, with a tendency to all that is good and ennobling. Such a gifted person will not seek to be known, his gift will bring him before great men -- will make room for him among the wise and godly. Fourth, be modest; for modesty is beautiful, attractive and commendable. Fifth, be humble. Be clothed with humility as with a garment. But do not confound it with servility, which is a mean thing; it is the badge of a slave or a sycophant. Humility is more than beautiful in its nature, it is divine and exalting. Humility distinguished the son of God. Righteousness was "the girdle of His loins," faithfulness the girdle of His reigns, and humility the graceful flowing robes that covered His body. "Therefore God also hath highly exalted Him and given Him a name which is above every name." Far above all principalities and powers, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world which is to come, and hath put all things under His feet. It was with this divine virtue, not with silk and satin robes glittering with tinsel, or adorned with the embroidered purple and scarlet mantels -- but with unfeigned humility, did Jesus clothe himself for the sublime work of salvation.
Permit me to warn you against the argument that we are great, because we are increasing in numbers. It is a fallacy. Numbers are to be dreaded when they are ignorant; because an adapt in politics can easily lead the ignorant multitude into disloyalty, treason and rebellion. To say the least, it is not strength; it is weakness, but weakness is not greatness.

As the strength of an army does not consist in its numbers, but in the excellent training and discipline; so, also, the Church of the living God does not consist in its numbers, but in its moral purity and righteousness. St. Paul in every one of his thirteen epistles teaches these truths; and it is the glory and burden of all his prayers. In his epistle to the Philippians he says, "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve the things which are excellent, that we may be sincere and without offense, till the day of Christ; being filled with fruits of righteousness." And to the Church of Ephesus he says: "For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that he would grant you according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God." Not in wealth and riches; not in science and literature, but in knowledge that discriminates; in holy love that purifies the heart. In righteousness must be the strength and power of every twig and branch of the Christian Church. May God grant them to us seven-fold degree.
APPENDIX I

From the memorial services on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument to Daniel Alexander Payne at Laurel Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland, Monday, May 21, 1894.*

INTRODUCTION

BISHOP WAYMAN, on making arrangements for the unveiling of the Monument, erected at Laurel Cemetery, Baltimore, Maryland, in memory of Bishop Daniel A. Payne, selected those to make addresses who stood in more than ordinary relation to the deceased bishop.

Rev. Dr. James H. A. Johnson was admitted in 1865 to the Baltimore Annual Conference by Bishop Payne, and from that Conference transferred by him to South Carolina, to act as one of the founders of the South Carolina Conference. He went with the Bishop to Charleston, S. C., where the Conference was organized and was ordained by him there, both to the diaconate and eldership. A short time after that he was stricken down with the jaundice and South Carolina fever and was compelled to return to Baltimore, where he lay for some time in a very critical condition. After his recovery, he was appointed by Bishop Payne to undertake the important task of organizing the African Methodist Episcopal Church on the Eastern shore of Virginia. After the performance of this duty, he was appointed by the Bishop to Ebenezer Church in Georgetown, D.C., and subsequently as agent for Wilberforce University. Again, he was solicited by the Bishop to deliver one of the annual discourses at Wilberforce University, and on motion of the Bishop made the recipient of the title of Doctor of Divinity.

The Hon. Frederick Douglass, upon whom Wilberforce conferred the title of LL.D., always admired rectitude and therefore held up Bishop Payne as the beau ideal of all that was good in man. He marked him out as a man for the people and in burning eloquence made his character to glisten like a "sea of glass mingled with fire." He regarded him as a worthy example for the people, and was with him in his feebleness but a few months before his death.

*"Ceremonies attending the Unveiling of the Monument Erected to the Memory of Daniel Alexander Payne" (Moorland Collection, Howard University).
Age had made their friendship as mellow as the morning light.

Rev. Dr. W. B. Derrick, in the early part of his ministerial life, was appointed by Bishop Payne to work in the Baltimore Annual Conference. In the latter part of the Bishop's life, he was brought into most affecting accord with him on the borders of the broad field of missions. They joined hands that the Redeemer's kingdom might be extended in the name of the A.M.E. Church, in different parts of the world. Their final interview intensified the pathos of their relationship. It was fitting that such should speak in honor of the departed.

ADDRESS

By Hon. Frederick Douglass, LL.D.

Mr. President:

I did not come here to deliver an oration or to make a speech. I have made preparation for nothing of the kind. I had hoped to be permitted to be a silent witness of the impressive ceremony of unveiling the monument to the memory of the late Rev. Bishop Daniel Alexander Payne, and listen to the appropriate addresses likely to be made on the occasion.

I do not now intend to occupy your attention for more than a very few minutes. I am the more disposed to limit my time because of what has gone before and what is to come after. I have nothing to add to the very able, learned and comprehensive address of Rev. J. H. A. Johnson. I am also the more disinclined to occupy your time and attention at length, because I know that the Rev. Dr. Derrick is to follow me.

Then, too, here is Bishop H. M. Turner, a man whose voice is equal to any auditorium, and is well fitted to be heard in the open air, whether the overhanging sky is calm and blue, or black with cloud and storm. He should be heard to-day. I shall not, therefore, presume to occupy your time, as I have said, but for a few minutes.

I think I know my place on this occasion. This is not my day nor my hour. Daniel Alexander Payne was a Bishop. I am only a layman. This is not layman's day, but Bishop's day.

Bishop Payne was better known to his brother bishops and elders than to me. They knew him as a Churchman. I knew him as a man. It is for these gentlemen to speak of him in his superior calling as a Divine.

This, my friend, is no common occasion. It is important whether viewed in relation to the living or the dead. Here is a noble effort to honor and perpetuate the memory of a noble and good man.
I first saw the face and heard the voice of Bishop Daniel A. Payne fifty-four years ago. I saw and heard him in the pulpit of the old and historic Bethel Church, on Sixth Street, Philadelphia. I was much impressed by the sweetness of his spirit and the purity of his language; for, at that day the speech of the colored pulpit was not always rhetorically or grammatically faultless. There is great improvement in this respect in these latter days, and I suppose no man has contributed more to this result than Bishop Payne. It has been my good fortune to be nearer to bishop Payne lately than in those earlier years of his ministry. I have found in his atmosphere exceeding gentleness, purity and peace. His conversation tended to foster and strengthen whatever is noblest and best in human character. He was fitted to make the weak man strong, and the strong man stronger. His influence in raising the standard of intelligence, morality and education in the African Methodist Episcopal Church is admitted by all. But in this respect his influence reached a circle far beyond the limits of his church. He carried the torchlight of education wherever he went. He was not only an educated and enlightened gentleman, beyond the standard prevailing during the earlier years of his church and pulpit, but he was relatively a great leader and a great man. Human progress is due to three degrees of greatness. First, there is administrative. Second, there is the organizing greatness. Third, there is the greatness of discovery. I have often quoted the sublime saying of the Rev. Theodore Parker: "That all the space between man's mind and God's mind is crowded with truths that wait to be discovered and organized into law for the better government of mankind."

Bishop Payne was an able organizer. He was a good administrator, and quick to discover the truth in all ethical matter. He not only knew the truth, but had the ability to cling to it with unrelenting tenacity. Great was his love for his friends and brethren, but his love of truth was greater.

I have spoken more and longer than I expected, and have transcended the limits I set for myself. A good and great man has passed away, but he has left behind a life that will influence the conduct of men for generations to come.

Though this beautiful white marble column, erected here by the generous hands and loving hearts of his devoted friends shall at last fade and vanish; though the cloud-capped towers, gorgeous palaces and solemn temples, the great globe and all that it doth inherit shall dissolve, and like the baseless fabric of a vision leave not a wreck behind, still the truth shall remain. Yet it is good to remember that the great principles of justice, liberty and humanity, for which Daniel Alexander Payne lived and strove, are immortal, unchangeable, and can never pass away; and while these shall remain, the memory of Bishop Payne shall be sacred.
INSCRIPTION

IN MEMORY OF

REV. BISHOP DANIEL A. PAYNE

Born in Charleston, South Carolina, February 24, 1811

Elected and Ordained in New York City,

May, 1852

Died at Evergreen Cottage, Wilberforce, Ohio

November 29, 1893

Aged 82 years, 9 months and 5 days.*

*Inscription placed on Payne's monument.
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