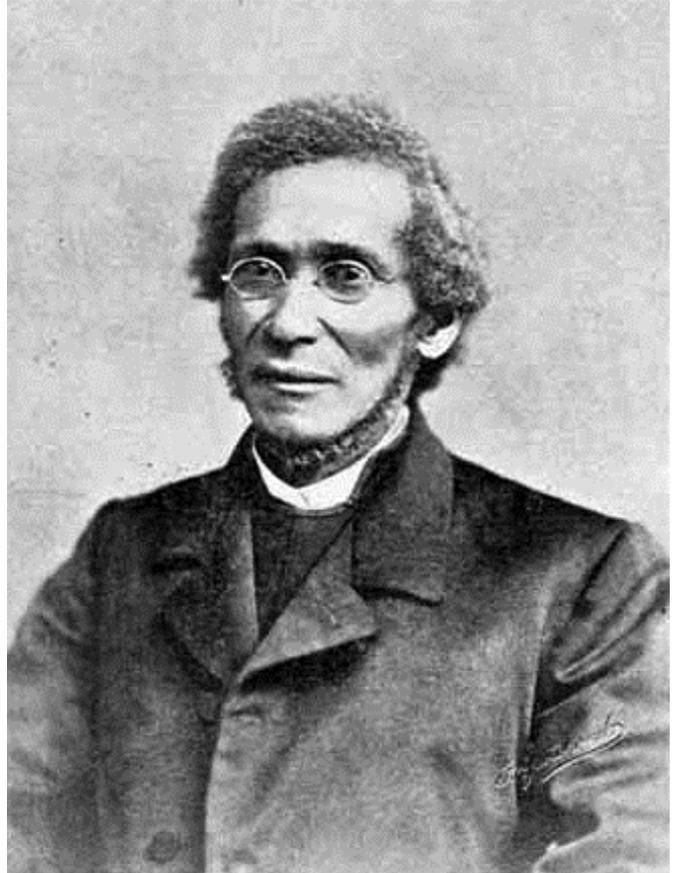


DANIEL ALEXANDER PAYNE
Venerable Preceptor for the African Methodist Episcopal Church

by Nelson T. Strobert

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One of the most distinguished and illustrious pastors and teachers to attend Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg was Daniel Alexander Payne, a citizen of the 19th century and the first African American and person of color to study at a Lutheran seminary in America. Although his initial religious and educational experiences were formed in Charleston, South Carolina, Payne's formal theological education took place at Gettysburg Seminary. While he attended the Seminary for only two years (1835 – 1837), his encounter with President Schmucker, involvement with his cohorts, and immersion in theological studies helped to prepare him for his life as an ecclesial leader, university president, abolitionist, and historiographer. Payne accomplished all these in the midst of a country which was less than a century old and finding its own distinct identity away from the shores of Western Europe. In addition, Payne's accomplishments as a person of color emerged in a time when most Blacks in the United States were slaves and considered intellectually less able. He continued his work after a war-torn nation's slaves were free and were attempting to find their niche in this strange land. As such, Payne was truly a student in the Gettysburg tradition of preparing students to encounter the community, nation, and world through their theological lenses.



Roots

Daniel A. Payne was born to Martha and London Payne, free persons of color in Charleston, South Carolina on February 24, 1811. Payne recounted his earliest memories of his family life in his autobiography *Recollections of Seventy Years*.¹ These memories of family become a fundamental component for his development in later years. Payne recalled that his mother and father would sing hymns and pray aloud which often awakened Daniel early in the morning from sleep. In addition to these beginnings in

religious education and nurture, Payne also recalled that London taught him the alphabet and simple spelling words. Thus his passion for education began from his early years.

Payne's formal education took place at the Minor's Moral School in Charleston for two years and by private tutoring for three more. In 1828, Payne described his vocational conversion which occurred during a time of prayer upon hearing the words, "I have set thee apart to educate thyself in order that thou mayest be an educator to thy people" which he described as "irresistible and divine."

From these experiences and commitments, Payne opened his first school in 1829 in the home of a Caesar Wright with Wright's three children as his students. Payne also taught three slave adults at night and received from each a total of 50 cents. He had to find outside work but his school became quite successful, surprising the citizenry with the quality of the curriculum and the work done by its students. Then the school was abruptly closed in 1835 when a South Carolina law prohibited the education of slaves.

This seemed to Payne a deathblow to his aspiration to be a teacher for his brothers and sisters of color. Vocationally and religiously this was a different period. Overcoming anger and a questioning of God, Payne composed the poem, *The Mournful Late, or the Preceptor's Farewell*. It expresses his agony and hope, as well as the culture and literary style he had learned.

Farewell! Farewell! Ye children of my love;
May joys abundant flow ye from above!
May peace celestial crown your useful days,
To bliss transported, sing eternal lays;
For sacred wisdom give a golden world,
And when foul vice his charming folds unfurl,
O Spurn the monster, though his crystal eyes
Be like bright sunbeams streaming from the skies!
And I! O whither shall your tutor fly?
Guide thou my feet, great Sovereign of the sky.
*A useful life by sacred wisdom crowned,
Is all I ask, let weal and woe abound!*²

Payne's next step was indicated by a dream in which he traveled north dressed in a teaching garment. He received letters of recommendation from mentors and friends. One of these, Dr. John Bachman, pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Charleston.

The Road to Gettysburg

With his letters of introduction, baggage, tears, emotional pangs, and deep regret, yet, simultaneously, trusting in God's promise to be with him, Payne sailed from Charleston in the late afternoon of May 9, 1835 for New York City.

In New York Payne used his letters of introduction. The last one took him to Pastor Daniel Strobel, a Lutheran to whom Payne showed a letter of introduction from Dr. Bachman. Strobel shared with Payne that he had arrived at a fortunate time for he himself had just been informed that there was a scholarship being offered by the student group, The Society of Inquiry on Missions, at Gettysburg Seminary. They intended to provide a scholarship for a young man of color who demonstrated talent and piety in

order for that person to help with the social uplift of his people. Strobel urged Payne to respond. “Now, if you will go to Gettysburg and study theology there, you will be better fitted than you now are for usefulness among your people.”

The Society of Inquiry on Missions was part of a student movement across the collegiate campuses in the United States that was popular during the first half of the 19th century. Its objectives included: cultivating the devotional life, informing students about mission issues, and sponsoring student activities such as providing education for a student for service in the church. The students at Andover Seminary were catalysts in promotion and correspondence of the Society with their peers at other institutions. The Evangelical Lutheran Society of Inquiry on Missions was established at Gettysburg Seminary in February 1827. The Society’s objectives were to help prepare these men for the task of ministry upon leaving seminary and also to acquaint them with the various world religions. To this end, the students presented papers for discussion, reviewed works devoted to missions, and examined the lives of missionaries at their regular meetings. The call to service was exemplified with their decision to support a person of color with a scholarship to study theology at their school. At a regular meeting of the society, (March 4, 1935) the membership pledged to support a free person of color for theological education:

Resolved that the members of this Society pledge themselves to afford a support to a suitable, free coloured man (if such a one can be obtained) sufficient to enable him to employ four years, in this seminary, in the prosecution of studies preparatory, to the sacred ministry, in the Lutheran Church...

Pastor Strobel offered Payne the scholarship. Payne pondered the proposal. He wanted to be a teacher for his people. He had not thought of theology as part of his training agenda. Nor had he contemplated the ordained ministry. To familiarize himself with Lutheran teaching he read *Popular Theology* by Samuel Simon Schmucker, president and chief professor of the Seminary. He was taken by Schmucker’s writing and by his abolitionism. These passionate words about slavery must have struck a chord within Payne (p. 252, first edition):

All should feel that crying injustice was inflicted by our ancestors on the poor African, by reducing him to slavery, and that we become partakers of their guilt, if we protract his degradation, and delay his restoration to the unalienable rights of man. Let the American patriot recollect the language of his fathers, “that all men are created equal,” and have unalienable rights, among which is “liberty.” let him remember, that with these words on their lips, they invoked the blessing of Heaven on their struggle, and that He who rules in the heaven of heavens heard their cry. Then let him look at the poor African, doomed to drag out his life in slavery amidst us.³

Payne had two more questions: would he be required to become a Lutheran, and would he be sent to Africa in a colonization program. Strobel assured him that neither of these was required. Then Payne was ready to go to Gettysburg.

The Gettysburg Experience

After his short stay in what he called the “Quaker City,” Payne took the train from Philadelphia to Columbia, Pennsylvania. From there he transferred to a stagecoach and arrived in the rural town of Gettysburg in the southcentral part of the state. Arriving in the month of June of 1835, he was able to see the farmers and farmhands working in the fields. Exhausted from the trip, he was able to get a room in a local hotel where he rested until the next day when he arrived at the steps of the seminary.

Payne’s life had been transformed in the space of four weeks. While he admired the beauty of the Blue Mountains and the flow of the hills from the point of the seminary, he could not get the image of his school and the students he taught out of his mind. On the one hand, he was experiencing beauty and peace, yet, on the other hand, this came through unjust actions on the part of the state government. He missed his home, his work, and the people. Payne’s words express it best,

...O the parting scene in that schoolroom, those interesting children, and my sister, my only sister, whom I would never see again! But what made my thought almost agonizing was the recollection of the fact that this separation was the bitter product of unjust, cruel, and blasphemous laws - cruel and unjust to a defenseless race, blasphemous of that God who of one blood did make all the nations of the earth, all its races, all its families, every individual. Every night for many years after I left Charleston did I dream about it - wandering over its streets, bathing in its rivers, worshiping in its chapels, or teaching in my schoolroom, and sometimes I was sailing into it and sometimes flying out of it.

Payne’s life at Gettysburg was in some ways like other students pursuing the study of theology for church leadership. He was enrolled that July session. The formal curriculum of the seminary for students beginning their theological studies included: Languages (Greek and Hebrew Philology), Sacred Geology, Sacred Chronology, Biblical and Profane History, and Biblical Antiquities.

In addition to his theological studies, Payne also participated in the extra-curricular activities of seminary students. He was an active member of the Evangelical Lutheran Society of Inquiry on Missions, the student group that awarded him the scholarship. It was not unusual for Dr. Schmucker to attend the meetings and listen to the presentations or share his particular concerns. Moreover, the students would correspond with their cohorts at other seminaries in the country.

Payne actively participated in the group, from presenting papers to his peers to saying the closing prayer at the conclusion of the meeting.⁴ The members were not afraid to tackle the issue of slavery in the meetings. It would be interesting to note Payne’s responses to their conversations but there is no evidence of his comments about these

discussions. Needless to say, the students were abolitionists in their thinking and questioned the issue on theological and political grounds.

In addition to this extracurricular activity, Payne also took the opportunity to preach in nearby churches and mission points, teach in Sunday schools, attend anti-slavery meetings within the community, and allow himself time for private devotions. In the midst of these activities Payne made several transformations. First, after being at the seminary for three months, he was confirmed into the Lutheran church and participated in the eucharist. Second, he made connections with the AME Church in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Third, he became introspective and developed a stronger devotional life than was exhibited prior to coming to the seminary. Payne gave no explanation for this denominational change or as to the method and scope of catechesis that was used. His only comment on his confirmation was in a diary entry, "O my God, I earnestly pray thee, to prepare my heart for the enjoyment of the same. O give me thy spirit." With such a statement and commitment, Payne must have felt he was theologically at home. The basis for Payne's at-homeness appears to have come from two sources: his formation in the Methodist church with its doctrine of perfectibility and the piety he experienced as a student at the seminary. These two motifs were wedded for Payne in his experience at the Seminary.

John Wesley insisted that Christians although baptized should strive for perfection in this life. This striving could be observed through the outward behavior. For Payne being perfect meant "flawless" behavior on the part of the Christian person. What he demanded and wanted to observe from others he demanded for himself. Throughout his diary entries and his autobiography Payne described his struggles. Those struggles were with him at Gettysburg. Here he would differ with Schmucker who follows the classical Reformation and Lutheran understanding that human perfection cannot be attained in the human lifespan.

President Schmucker exemplified the other theological motif, that of Pietism. Payne also saw the integration of theological acuity and living the Christian life demonstrated in the Schmucker who was a vocal abolitionist. That was reflected in Schmucker's writings, as well as his influence on the thinking of the students under his care as President of Gettysburg Seminary.

Schmucker's inaugural address as President of Gettysburg Seminary entitled, "The Theological Education of Ministers" identified two prerequisites for the theological student of quality, "ferve piety and good natural talents." Piety was a requirement, for without it, the man could not be a faithful minister. In the case of natural talents, Schmucker was not requiring an erudite student or one of superior intelligence but a student who would be able to have sound judgment. The ideal theological student demonstrated a love for God and for exhibiting that love in acts of mercy. In addition, the student would have those abilities that would benefit the future congregants. To all this, Schmucker also was emphatic about an educated, learned clergy in the church. To practice one's devotion and allegiance to God was not an excuse for anti-intellectual activity or neglect of continuing, on-going education by the student. Schmucker was emphatic when he stated, "...[A] religion that is from God, will not shrink from investigation, nor tremble before the intellectual attitude of friends or foes."

Payne was more than able to participate in and to be a member of the student body. His demonstrated piety can be documented in his diary entries. On one entry

Payne resolved to go to bed early and rise by 4:00 AM in order to have personal prayer, read the Bible and have time for meditation. This would be repeated after dinner and before retiring for the evening.

Payne's attendance at Gettysburg would be short-lived. As a result of observing a solar eclipse while teaching in South Carolina, Payne sustained a weakened eye, which began to flair up again. Medical advice determined that Payne was not able to continue his studies. Now while that was difficult and a disappointment, it should be noted that it was not unusual for students to terminate their attendance at the seminary before completing the program. In fact, very few completed the full course of study. Again, it was a time of decision for Payne. Now what was left for this diligent student to do? Payne consulted with Schmucker who said in Payne's words that although the Lutheran church would be glad to have him serve in the denomination, he might find his usefulness fulfilled better in the AME church and advised him to join that body of Christians.

Although the best construction on Schumucker's response would seem to indicate that here he was exercising that for which he was an advocate i.e., an ecumenical spirit, his response also altered the rapprochement among African Americans and the Lutheran church on American soil. Apparently, Payne did not acknowledge any ambivalence or hesitancy on the part of Schmucker to continue to be the liberal churchman that was exhibited at the beginning of his stay. Payne noted a letter of recommendation, which Schmucker gave to him:

As you are about to leave the institution in which for about two years you have been pursuing a course of study preparatory to the holy ministry, it affords me unfeigned pleasure to testify that the effect of our daily intercourse during this time has been in unwavering confidence in the integrity of your purposes and the excellence of our character, together with the conviction that the God who of one blood made all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth; will accompany you through life and crown with his blessing your labors in behalf of our oppressed kinsmen after the flesh.

This letter is significant for two important reasons. One, it asserts that Payne had frequent encounters with Schmucker while a student. Two, it indicates that although Payne pursued theological education to equip himself to be a better teacher, he had changed his vocation plans, he now saw himself called to the ministry as a pastor. From where and when the transformation came, Payne never discloses except upon his departure when he wrote,

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!" Though I had often spoken in the pulpit at Carlisle, yet not till then did I freely consent to devote myself to the work of the gospel ministry.

The Post-Gettysburg Years

In the years following Payne's departure from the seminary, he developed and grew in his commitment to the life of the church and his responsibilities as a public figure in the church. His interests in church life, education, ecumenism, and abolitionism were borne out in his life as a pastor in the AME Church.

Following the advice of Schmucker, Payne sought to affiliate with the AME Church but postponed that decision when he learned that the church was not supportive of educated clergy. That being the case, he was licensed by the Frankean Synod of the Lutheran church (established in 1837 with strong anti-slavery sentiments) and ordained by the same synod in 1839. Although ordained, he did not serve a Lutheran congregation. However, with permission from the synodical president, he became the pastor of a Presbyterian church in East Troy, New York at the age of twenty-six. Again, illness forced Payne to make another transition. He returned to Carlisle and then to Philadelphia where he opened a school until he might be able to return to the pastoral ministry. As was the case previously as a teacher, Payne's school was a success, so much so, that two existing schools closed and he had their students. He was involved in this educational effort between 1839 and 1843. It is during this period that he wrote a letter (March 20, 1841) to Schmucker in which he described his effort. This letter indicated that Payne had been in contact with Schmucker previously as Schmucker had made recommendations for agencies in which he might work in the mission field within the city. In addition we learn that Payne was a supporter of quality education for boys and girls. Moreover, Payne demonstrated that he continued to respect Schmucker, the "venerable preceptor" and his connection with Gettysburg Seminary.

While living in Philadelphia, Payne continued to be in contact with fellow clergy of the AME Church who encouraged him and urged him to affiliate with the denomination. Apparently in continued correspondence with Schmucker, Payne also received Schmucker's support for their requests. In 1841, Payne joined the Bethel Conference in Philadelphia and two years later, in 1843, he was brought onto their roster as itinerant minister. He began serving churches in Washington, D. C. and in Baltimore. Soon the denominational leaders and members gave him additional responsibilities undoubtedly due to his commanding leadership and intellectual abilities. In 1848, he was appointed historiographer of the AME Church and in 1852 he was elected bishop. From these two vocational changes in his life we are able to see his growth and development in church leadership as he performs his ecclesial duties, recreates the history of the denomination, ventures into educational leadership and encounters the global church.

As a bishop in the church, Payne covered many miles and encountered many people within and beyond the church. One of those encounters was with President Lincoln. In fact, he had two conversations with the president. The first conversation took place at the beginning of the year 1862 with the United States in the midst of the Civil War. The second conversation occurred a few months later on April 11, 1862, the day that congress passed the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Payne visited President Lincoln to inquire whether he intended to sign the bill. Payne further declared that at the time of his election people of color had the president in their prayers to assist him in overpowering the institution of slavery. Though the president did not respond to the question posed by Payne and others to the question, Lincoln approved the bill on April 16, 1862.

While engaged with the on-going issues of the bishop's office, Payne continued to be an advocate for the liberation of his black brothers and sisters. Although he was not part of the abolitionist speaking circuit like Frederick Douglass, Payne, nevertheless, took every opportunity available to speak on behalf of those who did not have the power or access to those with the power that could make a difference. His encounter with President Lincoln indicated the respect that Payne had acquired over the years. In addition, this encounter indicated that the president was mindful and respectful of the black church and its leadership.

As part of his responsibilities as historiographer of the AME Church, Payne wrote *The Semi-Centenary and the Retrospection of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. In this work, Payne asserted that the establishment of Black Methodism and its recent development was on equal footing with Anglo-Western Methodism that had far more members. This work is also important for it identified Payne's on-going sentiment for and connections with Gettysburg Seminary. He dedicated this work to alumni of the Seminary whom he identifies by name and members of the Society for the Inquiry on Missions. He thanked them for their confidence and support of him while a student. Although they gave him food, clothes and shelter, he was equally thankful for culture that he received. He didn't define the term "culture," but one might venture to guess that his experience helped to broaden his worldview in light of the topics covered in the "Society on Missions." That experience twenty-nine years ago, he stated, prepared him for writing the short history of the denomination.

Throughout the post-Gettysburg years, Payne continued to be involved with issues and concerns that were similar to or attached to the Seminary or its leadership. Schmucker, for example, was intimately involved in the ecumenical movement and more precisely the formation of the Evangelical Alliance, a predecessor ecumenical body of the World Council of Churches. He was an advocate for church unity; Payne was involved with this area of church life as well. Schmucker's interest in ecumenical efforts spans about 35 years with several publications. Most notably during the Payne period were *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches, with a Plan for Catholic Union, on Apostolic Principles* (1838) and *Overture for Christian Unity* in 1845. Schmucker was personally invited to the first meeting of what was then called the World's Evangelical Alliance in London in August and September of 1846. He departed from the United States in April of 1846 to take an extended tour of Europe before arriving at the meeting. His student and now a pastor in the AME Church, Daniel Payne, departed from Baltimore in July of 1846 for the same meeting.

Payne was a delegate to this initial meeting representing the AME Church. He set sail from Baltimore and the trip seemed to be going well. Payne even remarked to a fellow passenger just how remarkable the weather was after two days on the ocean. But his remarks were premature for on about the fifth day a storm developed and in the middle of the night passengers were awakened, sails were damaged, and some of the crew lost their lives. Passengers were ferried back to shore, as they were only about 500 miles from their point of departure. Although Payne's fellow colleague made the voyage on the next ship out, Payne decided not to go. One reason for his change of mind was presented to him in a dream in which he saw himself addressing delegates at the "Alliance" meeting against slavery so strongly that he could not return to the states for fear for his life. He concluded, "As I look back I can but feel that such a course was

better, as I certainly should have denounced slavery in no measured terms, and in the excited state of the minds of the people for and against the system the whole current of my life's work would undoubtedly have been changed, if indeed I had not lost my life altogether."

Indeed, the issue of slavery had surfaced at the meeting. It became one of the sticking points for church unity at the meeting in terms of those people who could be members. Some wanted a qualifier for membership, indicating that slaveholders could not be members, while some others felt that it was not a part of the discussion. Schmucker, always the moderate, was not an advocate for their exclusion for that would be too divisive. At this point, the teacher and former student would likely be at other ends of the issue. Payne's next opportunity to attend the meeting of the "Alliance" groups did not occur until 1867.

As stated above, Payne was elected a bishop of the AME Church in 1852. During his tenure we are able to see the crowning achievement by Payne on behalf of the education of Blacks with the acquisition of Wilberforce University by the AME Church in 1863. Wilberforce University near Xenia, Ohio had been a school of the Methodist Episcopal Church that was established in 1856 for the education of the slave sons and daughters of southern slave-masters. With the outbreak of the Civil War, financial support by the founders rapidly declined and the Methodist Episcopal Church offered to sell the school to the AME Church. With the acquisition of Wilberforce, Payne became its first president and the first Black in the United States to be the educational leader of an institution of higher education.

The school's articles of incorporation describe its purpose as similar to other universities except that it was to provide "a thorough course of education to the colored race." The underlying hopes and dreams of an administrator like Payne are better caught in this statement from Paul Griffin's *The Struggle for a Black Theology of Education*:

Black theologians [including Daniel Payne]...believed that theology provided a justification for education which in turn could be used to help liberate and advance their race--spiritually and socially. Indeed, they thought that their notions of Christian perfection, the sanctified reason, and moral government and agency virtually entailed a commitment to learning that would aid Black people in both deepening their spirituality and combating racist social and political structures.⁵

While the dream of education for the liberation of people of color was an important aspect of pre and post civil war educational history, the actual reality of such an undertaking was very difficult. In the case of Wilberforce, Payne had risked his own word to purchase the school. Having received the initial approval, he and his church had to pay for the purchase and at the same time recruit students for on-going educational experience. In order to do this Payne was like a late 20th century president, soliciting for funds wherever possible. One of the significant places for such money was in Europe following the Civil War. Payne ventured to Europe from the spring of 1867 to the spring of the following year 1868. In addition to working for the benefit of Wilberforce University, he also was able to attend a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance meeting in Amsterdam in August of 1867. While the visit was important for the university, the

research also indicates that Payne continued his own educational liberation as a person of color.

The meeting of the Alliance from the 18 through 27 of August allowed Payne to encounter some of the most prominent people of his time. One gets the sense of the diversity and global flavor of this encounter when Payne writes that on the first evening of his arrival he and a family worshiped at the French Church. The formal meetings consisted of papers from denominational representatives, which Payne described as "interesting, elaborate, and valuable in an historic sense." Payne addressed a meeting at the conference as well. Payne remarked that the format was formidable and that his frustration came for him by having a limited ability in French and no ability in Dutch or German. However arduous the experience, Payne felt that his attendance at the conference was of benefit to him. He stated, "Intellectually I was benefited, for I learned much of men and things which were new to me."

Upon his return to the United States Payne continued as president of Wilberforce and made use of his European contacts who, when visiting the United States, came to Wilberforce University. Payne also continued to have contact with his "Venerable Preceptor" Samuel Schmucker. Undoubtedly, Payne was able to share with and to receive advisement from Schmucker on some of the concerns and issues in higher education. In a letter to Schmucker (March 30, 1869), Payne thanked him for sending some catalogues, which had arrived and then asked some educational administrative questions. One sees in this letter a relationship that continued to grow and be nurtured for thirty-two years. Initially, between student and professor; then, pastor and mentor; now at this communication, between presidential colleagues. Both men valued the friendship.

Payne resigned from the presidency in 1876 but continued to teach there as well as fulfill his duties as a bishop in the church. As bishop he continued to travel to various parts of the United States, and Canada responding to issues and needs within the church. Although much has been omitted from this brief survey of his life, one cannot forget this formidable figure of the 19th century. His commitment and service to the work of the church, to education, abolitionism, the church universal, and the global issues were the themes in his life. That theological experience helped to shape his career many years after his departure from the campus. Payne concluded his autobiography, published in 1888, with words of thanks to those Lutherans who supported his study at Gettysburg. It was his perception that the Gettysburg education prepared him for over fifty-three years of service to the church, locally and globally.

Daniel Payne's story ends on November 29, 1893. Few persons can duplicate the life of this educator, church leader, abolitionist, university president, historiographer, and gentleman whose life spans the 19th century. His education, and particularly his theological education prepared him not only for the local community but also for the nation and world; not only to work within his denomination but to work ecumenically. The words of a Lutheran clergyman at Payne's burial might say it best, "Had Daniel Alex. Payne been retained in the Lutheran Church, today she would have quite a large membership among the people of color. Be it as it may, she has given to Methodism, by way of education, one of the grandest scholars and noblest workers – one whom the world will miss for many generations to come." He certainly can be called a "venerable preceptor!"

¹(Editor's note) Detailed notes and references for this chapter are available from the author, who has done extensive research on Payne. Publicly available is Payne's *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Nashville: Publishers House of the A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1888); reprint, New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1968. Numerous quotes from Payne are drawn from that work. Another useful source is Josephus Roosevelt Coan, *Daniel Alexander Payne: Christian Educator*, (Philadelphia: the A.M.E. Book Concern, 1935).

² Payne, *Recollections*, 28.

³Samuel Simon Schmucker, *Elements of Popular Theology with Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as avowed before the Diet at Augsburg in MDXXX* (1st ed; Andover: Gould and Newman, 1834). This is popularly entitled, *Popular Theology*.

⁴Minutes of the Proceedings of the Society of the Inquiry on Missions, 6 January 1836 where he reports on his visit to a mission point in Carlisle; 2 March 1836 where he reads a paper entitled, On the Prospects of the Church of Christ in Heathen Lands; 1 March 1837. The title of this Society changed slightly from time to time.

⁵Paul R. Griffin, *The Struggle For a Black Theology of Education* (Atlanta: ITC Press, 1993), 65.