

THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
WITH EMPHASIS ON NEGROES IN TEXAS,
1870 TO 1970: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL-CULTURAL
GEOGRAPHY

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This is to certify that the

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ABSTRACT

THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WITH EMPHASIS ON NEGROES IN TEXAS, 1870 TO 1970: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL-CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

By

Charles Edward Tatum

This investigation and analysis of the events and circumstances which precipitated the organization and the spread of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in America from 1870 to 1970 is a study in the geography of religion. A brief review of the complex history of the church was necessary to set the stage for the role of the church as a religious and social institution in American society and the place of such a study in cultural geography. The church has played a significant role in the evolution of the culture of the Afro-American. This study of the CME Church reveals information about the culture, mobility and impact of the Negro in various parts of the United States. Circuit riders, the itinerancy system, CME colleges, and publications were used in the diffusion of the church and are continually serving to expand the church.

The objective of the study was to describe and explain the origin and the diffusion of the CME Church as a cultural entity in America with emphasis on the Texas case. Therefore the problem was threefold: (1) the historical development, (2) the theoretical process, and (3) the general processes by which the movement became

institutionalized. It is hypothesized that there is a close correlation between the spread of the Negro in America and the diffusion of the CME Church. The following statements guided the evaluation of this hypothesis:

(1) the American black man's culture and his mobile history are related to the evolution of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; (2) as the black population of a region increases, the CME Church population will increase; (3) CME parishioners will increase as the socio-economic status of an area decreases, and (4) a relationship exists between the migration of blacks from rural to urban centers and within urban centers and the distribution of CME Church membership in Texas.

The research revealed the following conclusions:

(1) That the Methodist Church from its beginning expressed an interest in the slaves and its growth was in part related to the spread of slavery; (2) the enslavement of the Negro was the most significant factor in his historical and cultural existence in America; (3) an interrelationship of the physical and cultural factors revealed a basis for the evolution of the CME Church; (4) decisions by the CME Church strongly influenced the local organizational structure of church congregations; (5) the strategies used by the leaders of the CME Church revealed the character of the institution as an ethnicized, Southern church, whose parishioners were predominantly poor, rural, and uneducated and were largely associated with the cotton culture;

(6) a mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon cultures has brought adaptations that were rooted in the Negro's indigeneous culture and his introduction to Western Christianity; (7) the black man's culture and his mobility continued to aid in the sustenance and the diffusion of this religious social system; (8) the socio-economic conditions of Afro-Texans indicated that "Colored Methodism" has continued to appeal to those in the lowest socio-economic level (however the CME Church is becoming increasingly middle class in composition and outlook); (9) efforts are being made by CME congregations for answering the needs of the ghetto through day care centers, low rent housing projects, and special education programs for minority children and thus fosters continuation of CME churches in poor areas of cities; (10) migrations from rural to urban centers were the primary focus for the spatial distribution of the church as indicated by Houston and Dallas; (11) after 100 years on the American landscape, the church remains primarily rural and Southern, and (12) it was for the best interest of the Negro that he was separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South after emancipation.

The CME Church has been diffused from its "culture home" in Tennessee to the Mississippi delta, Georgia and Alabama and to the urban complexes of the Middle West and the Eastern seaboard. From the Louisiana swamplands, the East Texas piney woods and the Red River Valley, it spread to the urban centers of the Western seaboard. It has also

diffused from the Eastern seaboard to the coast of West Africa. The church has become institutionalized as an ecclesiastical organization on the American landscape and seems to contain all the elements of permanence and broader development. The analysis of the spatial impact of the CME Church is an example of the value of the geography of religion as a field study.

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An interest was directed toward this study after attending many Annual Conferences of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; thus the author realized a need for an understanding of the cultural roots from whence this organization originated, and its impact on the cultural landscape of America's rural and urban areas.

This study represents the efforts of many people other than the author. Much appreciation is happily extended to Dr. Lawrence M. Sommers of Michigan State University, the principal advisor of this study, for his time and patience in guiding these efforts. He has guided this study from its inception, spending many hours in conference with me, criticizing and making suggestions that were sincerely needed. To Dr. Sommers, the writer owes a profound debt of gratitude. To Dr. Stanley Brunn, Dr. Daniel Jacobson and Dr. James O. Wheeler, for their encouragement, assistance and valuable suggestions, the writer is deeply grateful. All of these men gave freely of their valuable time and were very generous in adjusting their busy schedules on numerous occasions. I also wish to express thanks to Mrs. Phyllis Groenewoud for her patience in typing and Mr. Sherman Hollander for the cartographic preparations.



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This study is affectionately dedicated to my wife, Velma, and my baby son, Yoshida Charles, who have patiently understood; to my mother, Mrs. Christine McClelland and dad, Mr. Henry E. Tatum who continually gave encouragement; to my aunt, Mrs. Annie B. Hearne and finally my former teachers Mrs. Donnie L. Boothe Hawkins and Miss Mody Nobles who continued to send monthly notes of encouragement in this endeavor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL BASE

Religious phenomena play important although spatially varying roles in the make-up of the earth's surface. The geography of religion, a portion of cultural geography, is concerned with investigating and analyzing the relation between religion and the earth space in which it occurs. There is a mutual relationship between religion and man's environment. The environment, both the people and the landscape, shapes a religious form; the religious form in turn affects the people and the landscape.¹

The fundamental tasks of the geography of religion are to investigate the causality of a religious form and its relationships with the people and the landscape of given areas. Cultural history, comparative religion and cultural geography have shaped the contemporary geography of religion. This study involves the part played by a

¹Paul Fickeler, "Fundamental Questions in the Geography of Religions," in Readings in Cultural Geography, ed. by Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 94.



specific religion in the development of a cultural landscape.

Within the broad subject of the geography of religion in the United States, the focus will be on a black² protestant church. The significance of the black church in American culture cannot be overestimated. The church was the means by which thousands of slaves and ex-slaves found meaning in life, developed character, began economic enterprises, embraced basic educational tenets, fostered institutions of learning, developed indigeneous leadership, and practiced basic forms of self-government.³ In his monumental study of Negroes in America, Gunnar Myrdal envisions the black church as: "A giver of hope, as an emotional cathartic, as a center of community activity, as a source of leadership, and as a provider of respectability."⁴ In post-slavery years the church represented for many black Americans the only organized social existence outside the family.⁵ Even today it is an

²The terms "Negro," "black," "Afro-American," "Colored," "Afro-Texan," and "non-white" are used interchangeably in this study.

³Othel Hawthorne Lakey, "The Rise of 'Colored Methodism': A Study of the Background and the Beginnings of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church through 1874," M.S.T. Thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1969, p. 1.

⁴Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1944), p. 867.

⁵E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), p. 44.



expression of the Negro community itself. Therefore, a meaningful understanding of this community requires knowledge and appreciation of the extreme importance of the black church.⁶

The existence of the black church means the creation of and persistence of a racially definable religious institution. Its existence is a geographical phenomenon and represents the institutionalization of the religion which had been transmitted to African slaves in the antebellum era but was given structure and form amid the religious, political, social and economic milieu of the Reconstruction period. When the slaves became free, they found it both desirable and necessary to take on domination, direction, and absolute control of their religion from white slave masters, circuit riders and ecclesiastical leaders.⁷ Consequently, the institutionalization of Negro religion resulted in the establishment of several distinct black denominations, most of which were totally independent. To understand the persistence of black ecclesiastical entities, it is necessary to understand how and why they came into being. One must consider the roots and the conditions which gave them shape. This study will concentrate on one such denomination: the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

⁶Lakey, op. cit., p. 3.

⁷Ibid.



The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church⁸ is a predominantly black church which originated in the context of slavery, the ravages of the Civil War, and the problems of Reconstruction. It was organized in December, 1870 as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America (the name was changed to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in May, 1954). At its inception, the CME Church consisted of freed men who had been members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and who had remained in that church following the Emancipation Proclamation.⁹

The early history of the CME Church reflects intraracial conflicts with other independent black religious social systems. It conflicted with the diffusive forces of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, as well as the Methodist Episcopal Church, North.

Today the CME Church is concentrated in eastern Texas, northern Louisiana, eastern Arkansas, western

⁸The following abbreviations will be used throughout this study: CME Church--Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; AME Church--African Methodist Episcopal Church; AMEZ Church--African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; ME Church, South--Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and ME Church, North--Methodist Episcopal Church, North. It should be noted that ME Church, North is used for clarity rather than its regular name Methodist Episcopal Church. This helps to differentiate between the ME Church, South and the Northern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the present time the Northern and Southern branches have united to form the United Methodist Church.

⁹Lahey, op. cit., p. 4.

Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, northern Florida, Georgia, western Kentucky, the large urban centers of the Middle West, and the Eastern seaboard. There are increasing concentrations in the urban centers of the western United States. Because of the significance of the black church, and particularly the role of the CME Church in the cultural geography of Afro-Americans, this writer will research the problem of the spatial impact of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in America from 1870 to 1970--with emphasis on the Texas example.

THE PROBLEM

The major purpose of this study is to provide a documented interpretive approach, within a cultural geography framework, of the events and circumstances which precipitated the organization and spread of the CME Church in America from December 1870 to the present. Emphasis will be placed on the impact of the diffusion of the church from its "culture home" in Jackson, Tennessee to various regions on the American landscape, including Texas which will be used as a case study. The complex history of this church from 1870 to the present will be briefly reviewed in order to establish the broader historical and cultural traditions which governed its evolution. This perspective will aid in setting the stage for investigating the significance of the CME Church on the cultural landscape. Thus the problem is to describe and explain the origin and the

diffusion of the CME Church as a cultural entity in America, with specific emphasis on Texas.

The strategies used in the diffusion of the CME Church will be examined; in addition, the structure and the spatial organization from the stratified total structure to the small established church will be analyzed. The CME innovation will be analyzed as a new idea in its peculiar environment, in its association and its promise. The cultural history of this church is a chronicle of hopes, fears, difficulties, dangers and triumphs, and will shed light on how these basic problems affected its diffusion. Emphasis will be placed on the specific spatial elements that have influenced the spread of the church.

Church population in the nine regional jurisdictions will be presented cartographically and analyzed. Rural-urban migration and settlement patterns will be examined in relation to the diffusion of the CME Church in Texas. Careful attention will be given to the spatial implications of the transition from the white "mother" church to the black "daughter" church, with an examination of the process, the attitudes and motivations of both whites and blacks. Consideration will be given to the problems encountered and progress made in the socioeconomic developments and the peopling of a new church from 1870 to the present time.

The Texas case will be discussed with reference to CME communicant characteristics and their interactions



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with other activities in a particular spatial setting. The CME Church region will be defined in relation to the AME and AMEZ Church regions. Detailed studies will be made of the CME congregations in rural East Texas and in the Houston urban complex.

METHODOLOGY

In solving the problem, a framework for the institutional development of the CME Church must be established. In this setting the problem is threefold: (1) the historical development, (2) the theoretical process and (3) the general process by which the movement became institutionalized.

The church has played a significant role in the evolution of the culture of the American Negro. Thus a study of a particular church such as the CME Church will reveal a great deal about the culture, movement and impact of the Negro in various parts of the United States. It is hypothesized that there is a close correlation between the spread of the Negro in America and the diffusion of the CME Church. The following statements will be used to evaluate this hypothesis: (1) the American black man's culture and his mobile history are directly related to the evolution of the CME Church; (2) as the black population of a region increases, the CME Church population will increase; (3) the number of CME parishioners will decrease

as the socio-economic status of an area increases;
(4) that a positive relationship exists between the migration of blacks from rural to urban centers and the diffusion of CME Church members.

For this study intensive research was done at the Michigan State University Library, the State of Michigan Library, Detroit Public Library, the Texas Collection--Houston Public Library, Southern Methodist University Library, the East Texas Room of the Library of Stephen F. Austin State University, the Methodist Historical Society and the CME Church Publishing House and Library. Careful study of relevant material in both the methodological and substantive writings of scholars in other fields such as religion, theology, demography, sociology, social psychology, political science, history and communications (diffusion) aided in the research.

RELATED LITERATURE

A review of the relevant literature of the geography of religion reveals that contributions have been made by Greek, German, French and American geographers. Comprehensive studies have classified the effects of religion on the landscape. Their content ranges from the influence of religion on shapes of church buildings, materials and colors used on altars in sanctuaries, settlements and territories, to its influence on the organization



of economies, its effect on vegetation and wildlife, and its impact upon the distribution of cultivated crops and domesticated animals.

Since time immemorial, men have shaped and used the land often according to their religious geographic concepts; therefore religion is an important cultural variable. Anaximander, who was perhaps the first geographer of religion, looked at the structure of the world as the manifestation of a religious principle. To him life was essentially a transgression of the spatially allotted territories of the elements and these transgressions had to be atoned for. This view also reflected a basic concept of Homeric and earlier Greek religion in the sanctity of the spatial order.¹⁰

Much later, in the Greco-Roman period, Eratosthenes described the terrestrial whole, which was built from an hierarchy of clearly circumscribed spatial units known as the geographein. He felt that the purpose of the geographer was to discover the spatial order of the world. According to Eratosthenes and other Greek scholars, the origin of geography began in religious geography.¹¹

Biblical geography was an early form of historical geography developed by the Greeks; it should be included in

¹⁰Erich Isaac, "Religion, Landscape and Space," Landscape, Vol. 14 (1965), p. 31.

¹¹Ibid.



the geography of religion. The spatial advance of the Christian church in the world in terms of its own institutions and political territories was mapped by ecclesiastical geographers. Ecclesiastical geography appeared as a scholarly pursuit toward the close of the Middle Ages and has continued in various forms such as mission geography, religious demography and cartography.¹²

More recently German geographers in the 1800's were concerned about nature. Alexander von Humboldt's Kosmos was nature philosophy; it could almost be called theosophy, which is concerned with knowledge about things Divine. He wrote about the influence of the physical on the moral and the mysterious interrelationship of the material and the immaterial as related to nature.¹³

H. Hahn, in Konfession and Sozialstruktur (1955), and P. Fickler, in Grundfragen der Religionsgeographie (1947), also made methodological contributions to the geography of religion. Hahn stressed sociological categories of doubtful value in vast areas of the world. Fickler's essay was a catalogue of cultural phenomena prepared for religious reasons.

French geographers went much further than the Germans and in fact became leaders in the field. According

¹²Ibid., p. 34.

¹³Ibid., p. 31.

to Deffontaines, geographers should not ignore the fact that many societies have given priority to the spiritual element in the construction of their dwellings. He examined the manner in which the religious function of dwellings had modified their form. His comprehensive work dealt with pre-industrial society and suggested how traditional dwelling types were influenced by religious practices which would continue to influence the nature of domestic architecture.

However, not all French geographers agreed with Deffontaines. According to Brunhes, many of the most important phases of society lie beyond the reach of geography. He points out that the forms of the family, political and social organization, the character of religion, laws and literature exhibit little or no relation to geographic phenomena.¹⁴

According to John Kirtland Wright, "American geography for many years has been as theologically dry as towels are likely to be acqueiously dry at high noon in Death Valley."¹⁵ Although many American geographers have tended to disregard the role that religion in general and

¹⁴Rupert B. Vance, Human Geography of the South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p. 11.

¹⁵John Kirtland Wright, Human Nature in Geography, Fourteen Papers, 1925-1965 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 251-85.

piety in particular have played in the geographic process, some have recognized its importance. Huntington, for example, felt that the moral and spiritual aspects of religion as well as religious imagery were intimately related to the physical environment. He examined the world's great religions and suggested that there was a relationship between the geographic environment to which these religions conform. He arranged eight great religions according to the temperature of the region where their adherents were most numerous.¹⁶

Hotchkiss has subjected the field of religion to spatial analysis. His primary concern was the patterns and functions of religious institutions as indicated in Chicago and Cincinnati. He discovered that the cities' religious institutions were as much a part of their uniqueness as their industries and transportation networks. His studies emphasized the functional interrelationship of the religious institutions with other patterns whose total character differentiated these urban complexes.¹⁷

David Sopher developed a framework in which

¹⁶Ellsworth Huntington, Mainsprings of Civilization (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1945), pp. 281-84.

¹⁷Wesley Akin Hotchkiss, "Areal Pattern of Religious Institutions in Cincinnati," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Research Paper No. 13, September, 1950; "Geography of Chicago Churches," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1948.



observation, description and analysis of the distribution of religious activities could be placed.¹⁸ Many of his ideas and definitions have been helpful to this study.

Erich Isaac presented three obvious facts regarding the geography of religion: (1) that religion has a geographic dimension, (2) different religions have had greater or lesser impact upon the landscape, and (3) that areas dominated by one religion show significant differences in the religious mark on the land. He recommended that studies in the geography of religion should separate the specifically religious from the social, economic and ethnic matrix in which much of it is embedded and determine the relative importance of religion in relation to other forces in transforming the landscape. The geography of religion must develop a methodology which will enable it to fulfill these tasks, and the key lies in the study of religion itself.¹⁹ Paul English²⁰ considers the part played by religion in the organization and utilization of space along with Erich Isaac and others.

¹⁸David E. Sopher, Geography of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 1.

¹⁹Erich Isaac, "The Act and the Covenant: The Impact of Religion on the Landscape," Landscape, Vol. 11 (1961-62), pp. 12-17.

²⁰Paul English, "Nationalism, Secularism, and the Zoroastrians of Kirman: The Impact of Modern Forces on an Ancient Middle Eastern Minority," in Cultural Geography: Selected Readings, ed. by Fred E. Dohrs and Lawrence M. Sommers (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), p. 272.

In Wilbur Zelinsky's study an analysis was made of the areal patterns of religious characteristics and their interactions with other human activities and cultural traits. He delineated the "religious" regions in the United States and explained the meaning of areal variations in American religious characteristics.²¹ He presented a methodological approach that was applicable to the cultural geography of the CME Church in America.

Geographers have made contributions to the geography of religion, but there are many avenues of research still uninvestigated in the field. One of these is the study of the spatial distribution and diffusion of the religion of minority groups which is the objective of this research.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this research is fourfold. First, an understanding of the black church will enhance the understanding of the dynamics of the black community. If the black community is to be dealt with in any meaningful fashion, one must come to grips with the important aspects of the relevant institutions, history, and culture. Knowledge of how and why the CME Church came into being and how and why it spread will provide some insight into

²¹Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 51, No. 2 (June 1961), p. 139.

the present nature and complexities of the black community.

Secondly, one of the missing links in the cultural geography of American Methodism in general is a geographic approach to the study of this religious social system. The student of Methodism and of the geography of religion in the South misses a great deal when he is ignorant of the treatment of the black sons of Wesley by the white sons of Wesley, the response of the black sons to that treatment, and of the resultant institutional developments.²²

Thirdly, the cultural geography of "Colored Methodism"²³ is rooted in the very heart of the cultural and historical geography of America. As a part of the radical Reconstruction era it witnessed the crystallization of North-South sectional enmity and black-white antagonisms.²⁴

Finally, the rise of "Colored Methodism" introduces one to the role of the black church and its impact upon the cultural landscape. No geographers have as yet covered the dynamic role of black religious bodies, their ever-changing effect on the American scene, and the

²²Lahey, op. cit., p. 10.

²³"Colored Methodism" is an expression that is used by members of the CME Church, even after changing the name of the church from Colored Methodist Episcopal Church to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

²⁴Lahey, op. cit., p. 11.

significance of the black community in molding the cultural geography of America. To gain an understanding of the evolution and impact of the CME Church on the American landscape, it is necessary to consider its historical background. The following chapter will be devoted to this analysis.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

Five factors are basic to the evolution of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in America: (1) the institutionalization of Methodism in England; (2) the diffusion of that innovation to America and the organization of an independent ecclesiastical body called American Methodism; (3) the schism over slavery creating the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Methodist Episcopal Church, North; (4) two secessions from the Methodist Church creating an African Methodist Episcopal Church and an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; and finally, (5) an "agreeable secession" from the divided Methodist Church to give birth to the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in America.

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN ENGLAND

The idea of Methodism originated from a movement begun at Oxford University in England by John and Charles Wesley in 1729. Their own account of its origin is given in these words:

In 1729, two young men in England, reading the Bible, saw that they could not be saved without

holiness, followed after it, and incited others to do so. In 1737, they saw likewise that men are justified before they are sanctified, but still holiness was their object.¹ God then thrust them out to raise a holy people.¹

These men were ordained ministers of the Church of England but were soon excluded from many of the pulpits of the established church because they were looked upon as preachers of a "new doctrine." John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield held meetings in private homes, halls, barns, and fields; they were scornfully referred to by several names: "Holy Club," "Bible bigots," "Methodists," and many others. The term "Methodist" was intended to describe their methodical habits, and their type of religion was soon widely known as the Methodist movement.

Between 1729 and 1744 these three men organized a religious institution that remains viable to this day. In 1744 the first conference² was held, one of the distinctive institutions of Methodism. In this conference the

¹Herbert Welch, Selections from the Writings of the Rev. John Wesley (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), pp. 200-203.

²The term "conference" has two meanings in this study: (1) it is a title given to four judicatories in most Methodist bodies: the General Conference, meeting quadrennially; the Annual Conference; the Quarterly Conference, District Conference and the local church conference. (2) "Conference" also refers to the geographical area covered by the General Conference (Nine Episcopal Districts of the CME Church); the District Conference (areas comprising an Annual Conference), and the local churches of designated areas comprising the District Conference. The boundaries of these conferences are fixed by physical and cultural features on the earth's surface.



circuit³ and itinerancy⁴ systems were born; these have survived from 1744 to the present day. The new church soon spread from its home in England to the colonies.

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA

In 1735 Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia invited John and Charles Wesley to America to become spiritual advisors to his colony. Both accepted the invitation. Later, after their return to England, itinerant preachers were sent to America; among them were Thomas Rankin and Francis Asbury. Francis Asbury was the only one to remain during the Revolutionary War, having been elected bishop. In 1784, at the "Christmas Conference," the Methodists of America detached themselves from the Wesleyan Church in England, and in the General Conference of 1792 Francis Asbury became the inspiring genius of American Methodism.

American Methodism was, from the very start, intensely missionary in its zeal and in its practical program. Methodist preachers as missionaries were sent out of the large cities to find the people who were settling in the backwoods of America. Francis Asbury and his

³"Circuit"--so named because the preacher visits in regular succession a number of churches in different spatial settings; Matthew Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism (Philadelphia: Everts and Stewart, 1878), p. 219.

⁴"Itinerancy"--a system by which ministerial exchanges are made at stated periods among Methodists; Simpson, op. cit., p. 487.

followers believed that Methodism should reach to the extreme limits of civilization.⁵ Asbury himself crossed the Alleghenies sixty-two times; the sum total of his forty-five years of traveling totaled nearly 300,000 miles, most of it on horseback and under dangerous conditions. He retained the Wesleyan spirit of Methodism by giving the slaves and Indians the Christian culture.⁶

SCHISM OVER SLAVERY

Wesleyan Methodism was always concerned about the slave issue. In England, John Wesley had commented on the evils of men making huge sums of money by snatching Africans from their homes and shipping them to work in the colonies across the Atlantic. Wesley expressed the belief that prosperity purchased at such a price was an offense against God. Bristol was a central stronghold of slave traders and in 1788 Wesley selected that city to preach on the evils of the sale of human flesh. In his last letter, the famous one to William Wilberforce, he wrote: "Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."⁷

⁵Welch, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶Richard M. Cameron, Methodists and Society in Historical Perspective (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), pp. 150-51.

⁷Ibid., p. 41.

It appears, however, that Wesley's anthropological views were not consistent with his religious views. He condemned Africans as well as other primitive peoples as being degenerate and corrupt. The inhabitants of Africa were depicted as lower than the brutes, and the cattle culture of the Hottentots, including the use of viscera for food and ornament, was described as most repulsive. But in his attack upon the slave trade it became desirable for Wesley to convince his hearers and readers that the institution of slavery was inconsistent with mercy and justice. The Africans were then presented on a higher plane than other primitive peoples.⁸

Africa's transplanted people did not lose their religious heritage when they came to America, even though they were introduced to the American form of Christianity. They adapted parts of American religion to meet their own emotional needs; they took what they thought to be the best of the slave master's religion and restructured it. From the very beginning of American slavery, slaves experienced Christianity through the conscious help of their masters. In Louisiana and several other states, the slave masters were required by legislation to look after the religious education of their slaves.⁹

⁸Ibid., p. 63.

⁹G. R. Wilson, "The Religion of the American Negro Slave: His Attitude Toward Life and Death," The Journal of Negro History (1923), p. 41.

Negroes in America have traditionally been closely associated with Methodism. The first converted black Methodist was baptized by John Wesley. Thomas Coke, Bishop of the American Society in 1784, was accompanied on most of his travels throughout the country by Harry Hoosier, a black minister who was at the same time the bishop's servant and an evangelist of the church. Harry Hoosier was the first American Negro preacher to be a part of the Methodist Church in the United States.

Freeborn Garretson, a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was said to have freed his slaves by divine guidance. The following words of Bishop Garretson presented the spirit of Bishops Coke and Asbury, and their associates:

I often set apart times to preach to the slaves, . . . and precious moments have I had, while many of their sable faces were bedewed with tears, their withered hands of faith stretched out, and their precious souls made white in the blood of the Lamb.¹⁰

The Methodists of South Carolina were the originators of missions to the slaves. In 1816 the South Carolina Conference spatially embraced portions of North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, as well as South Carolina. This conference had 22,983 whites and 16,789 colored members; by 1839 there were more colored members than whites.

¹⁰Joseph C. Hartzell, "Methodism and the Negro in the United States," The Journal of Negro History, Vol. 8 (1918), p. 301.

In 1829 this conference launched a missionary program under the leadership of William Capers to diffuse the gospel to the destitute slaves concentrated on large isolated plantations within the conference (Table 1). The earnest determination of the conference in regard to its Negro missions is indicated by the following declaration:

Of all the districts, open to us, in the United States, for carrying the Gospel to the slaves, none are more accessible--none riper, or larger, or more pressing in their call, even not excepting--the fields of Carolina, than are those upon our own river coast and fertile bayous. It is not extravagant to say, that these Missions could be doubled, in number, in one year, if the men were forthcoming to supply them.¹¹

By 1837, missions to the slaves had been organized on plantations in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas (Table 1). From 1839 to 1860 the missions were diffused from South Carolina to all areas of the plantation South.

During this period of mission diffusion, slaves in the regular circuits and stations were not neglected. There was not a circuit of any size that did not have its colored charge, or its colored membership.¹² At the General Conference of 1844, William Capers, in championing the Southern cause, said:

¹¹James Carlisle Stokes, "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the American Negro from 1844 to the Setting Up of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," Unpublished dissertation, Boston University, May, 1938, p. 130.

¹²Ibid., p. 132.

TABLE 1

MISSIONS TO THE SLAVES (1829-1860) SOUTHERN CONFERENCES
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH*

Year	Southern Conferences	Number of missions to the slaves**
1829	South Carolina (Initiator of Missions)	2
1830	South Carolina	3
1832	The Tennessee Conference (Third Conference to initiate Missions)	2
1834	Mississippi (First Special Mission)	1
1836	None reported	
1837	South Carolina	10
	Georgia	6
	Mississippi	4
	Alabama	2
	Tennessee	2
	Kentucky	1
	Arkansas	1
1841	Virginia	1
1844	South Carolina	16
	Alabama	8
	Florida (Year Conference Organized)	3
	Virginia	2
1846	South Carolina (First Mission Becomes a Circuit in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South)	15
	Alabama	18
	Mississippi	15
	Louisiana (Year Conference Organized)	8
	Memphis Conference	10
	Tennessee Conference	16
	East Texas Conference	1
1847	Tennessee Conference	21
	Virginia Conference	1
1850	South Carolina	18
	Mississippi	19
	Memphis Conference	8
	Texas Conference	1
	East Texas Conference	2
	North Carolina	1
1851	Memphis Conference	6
1852	South Carolina	22
1853	South Carolina	20
1854	South Carolina	21
1855	South Carolina	24
	Louisiana Conference	8
	East Texas Conference	13

Table 1 (Continued)

Year	Southern Conferences	Number of missions to the slaves
1856	South Carolina	24
	Alabama	33
	Mississippi	23
1857	South Carolina	20
	Memphis Conference	20
1858	South Carolina	19
1859	South Carolina	19
	Tennessee Conference	5
1860	South Carolina	28
	Louisiana Conference	6
	Memphis Conference	25
	Tennessee Conference	9

*The Methodist Episcopal Church was divided in 1844 into the Methodist Episcopal Church, North and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

**The number of missions is not cumulative.

Source: The information for this table was taken from James Carlisle Stokes, "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the American Negro from 1844 to the Setting Up of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church," unpublished dissertation, Boston University, May, 1938, pp. 128-49.

As sure as you live, brethren, there are tens of thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, whose destiny may be periled by your decision on this case [that of Bishop Andrew]. When we tell you that we preach to a hundred thousand slaves on our missionary fields, we only announce the beginning of our work,--the beginning openings of the door of access to the most numerous masses of slaves in the south. When we add that there are two hundred thousand now within our reach who have no gospel unless we give it to them, it is still but the same announcement of the beginnings of the opening of that wide and effectual door, which so long closed, and so lately has begun to be opened, for the preaching of the gospel, by our ministry, to a numerous and destitute portion of the people.¹³

In 1832 the Board of Missions in South Carolina had stated the policy of the church concerning the association of the races in worship:

As a general rule for our circuits and stations,¹⁴ we deem it best to include the colored people in the same pastoral charge with the whites, and to preach to both classes in one congregation, as our practice has been. The gospel is the same to all men, and to enjoy its privileges in common promotes goodwill.¹⁵

This was the policy in most of the churches where slaves attended.

Although there was much positive concern for the Negro in American Methodism, the discussion above does not give the whole picture of the treatment of the Negro in the Methodist Church. The slavery issue showed that, despite official policy and the establishment of many missions

¹³Ibid., pp. 75-76.

¹⁴"station"--term used by Methodists referring to a church with enough members to support a full-time minister; Simpson, op. cit., p. 219.

¹⁵Hartzell, op. cit., p. 302.

for the slaves, Negroes were not always treated well in the Methodist Church. The slavery issue had always concerned American Methodists; the nation had a civil war and so did the Methodist Church. The slavery question caused a division in American Methodism in 1844, resulting in a Methodist Episcopal Church, North and a Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Northern Methodists were overtly anti-slavery, but they segregated Negroes in their sanctuaries. The Southerners were pro-slave, feeling that slavery was a civil institution. Many Southerners felt that slavery was a "divine institution," approved by God, thus a Christian could buy and sell slaves without sin. In the South there are even accounts of ministers leading their congregations in hunting down blacks like wild animals, of blacks being lynched in Methodist Church yards, and of Methodist ladies selling grisly pictures of mutilated lynch victims in order to raise church funds.¹⁶

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE AME AND AMEZ CHURCHES

Many Negroes realized the importance of the Methodist doctrine and decided to remain Methodist despite their difficulties in the church. One such man was Richard Allen, who was bitterly against the unrighteous treatment of Negroes in the Methodist Church. He was a militant who

¹⁶Hartzell, op. cit., p. 317.

envisioned a better day for Negroes as Methodists in America.¹⁷

Richard Allen was tired of the proscription and segregation in Old St. George Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Some blacks had been violently dealt with as they knelt at prayer in some parts of the church that they mistakenly supposed themselves privileged to occupy. One day Allen and his followers left Old St. George and decided to establish their own church. He stated, "we all went out of the church in a body and they were no more plagued by us."¹⁸ His act was startling for his day, but he firmly believed that color discrimination was unthinkable in the Christian church.¹⁹

Bishop Asbury, who had ordained him, had requested Richard Allen to travel with him, but he told Allen that in their travels in the slave states he must not mingle with the slaves, and that on many occasions he would have to sleep in the carriage. Allen's destiny was to be a bishop himself and not a bishop's servant--to mingle with whomever he wished, to sleep in his own home, not in someone's carriage. In 1816 Richard Allen and forty-two members founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church and named

¹⁷Cameron, op. cit., p. 152.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 9.

it Bethel. Allen was thus one of the first to adapt Christianity to the immediate needs of the Negro.

Four years later a group of Afro-Americans seceded from the John Street Methodist Church in New York City, because "caste prejudice forbade their taking the sacrament until the white members were all served." Thus the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was born in New York City in 1820. Both the African Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches were begun in the North. After the Civil War each denomination was permitted to proselytize among Southern Negroes.

The two major secessions of the AME and AMEZ Churches from the Methodist Episcopal Church form the background for a discussion of another form of American Methodism, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, which separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

EVOLUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

In 1844 when the Methodists of the South separated from those of the North, many of the slaves continued to worship with their masters for some years after Emancipation. Many of these slaves later became followers of this third black Methodist movement: the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. CME Church members do not like to refer to the origins of their church as a secession, but it can perhaps be called an "agreeable secession."

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, prior to the Civil War, had a Negro membership exceeding 200,000. After the war the number decreased drastically. Large numbers of Negroes joined the African Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches which were spreading throughout the South. In addition, the Methodist Episcopal Church, North spread southward to proselytize among Southern Negroes.²⁰ Although many blacks joined one of these three churches, a considerable number remained with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South under the existing circumstances. These were very humble people--the poor and the illiterate ex-slaves.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in its General Conference in New Orleans in 1866, declared that if its colored members so desired the bishops were empowered to organize them into separate congregations, organize district and annual conferences, to ordain suitable preachers, and to appoint presiding elders to direct their affairs. By 1870, when the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South met in Memphis, Tennessee, Negro pioneers had organized five annual conferences and strongly expressed their desire for a separate organization. Three annual conferences were added by

²⁰Mason Crum, The Negro in the Methodist Church (New York: The Board of Missions and Church Extension, 1951), p. 189.

December 15, 1870.²¹

The General Conference at Memphis agreed to form a separate body and to ordain for the Negroes the men whom they selected as their bishops. On December 15, 1870, Negro leaders assembled in Jackson, Tennessee, to discuss their plans. Delegates were sent from the five conferences which had been formed. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South sent two of its bishops along with other delegates. W. H. Miles and R. H. Vanderhorst were elected the first bishops of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church; the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South consecrated them and they took over the leadership of their church government.

Several misinterpretations have been placed upon the establishment of the CME Church. One writer has stated: "The disruption of the former social relations between the Negroes and their late masters was deemed a sufficient cause to organize the colored membership as a separate ecclesiastical body."²² Another colorful misinterpretation stated:

First of all the results of the war was the complete expulsion of Negroes from white churches. Little has been said of this, but perhaps it was in itself the most singular and tremendous result of slavery. The Methodist Church, South simply set its Negro members

²¹Ibid., pp. 56-57.

²²A. A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1924), p. 115.

bodily out of doors. They did it with some consideration for their feelings, with as much kindness as crass unkindliness can show, but they virtually said to all their black members--to the black mamnies whom they have almost fulsomely praised and whom they remember in such astonishing numbers today, to the polite and deferential old servant, to whose character they build monuments--they said to them: "You cannot worship God with us." There grew up, therefore the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.²³

Thus the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was born. In theology the CME Church is strictly Arminian²⁴ and its doctrinal tenets are specifically set forth in the Articles of Religion of the New Testament.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is a church that is essentially identical in policy and practice with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that is, with the exception of a few Negro adaptations. Behind the formulation of this religious social system was a strong and growing body of folk religion and a significant condition of vitality in the culture of the Negro.²⁶ Two significant changes are noted in CME worship: (1) old-time preaching, and (2) Negro music.

²³Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro in the South: His Economic Progress in Relation to his Moral and Religious Development--Being the William Levi Bull Lectures for the Year 1907 (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company, 1907), pp. 172-73.

²⁴The term "Arminian" refers to the doctrinal teaching of Jacobus Arminius that Christ died for all men and not only for the elect; Simpson, op. cit., p. 51.

²⁵Crum, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

²⁶J. E. Spencer and William L. Thomas, Cultural Geography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1969), p. 300.

A combination of the Negroes' African and American heritage forms the basis for the old-time preaching.²⁷ There are two basic explanations for the continued importance of old-time preaching: (1) today, as during the days of slavery, Negroes possess an emotional superstitious nature which traces its origin back to Africa, and this emotional nature must have an outward expression; (2) the church has been the Negro's home of free expression. The Negro was dominated in Africa by tribal custom; in America by slavery; and in the "Black Belt" by the plantation system. In Africa and in America the Negro has needed a means of emotional escape from an "impossible world"; old-time religion has been the way out.²⁸

Music that was peculiarly characteristic of the slave became a part of his new religious fervor in America. First the Negro's music was African; secondly it was Afro-American. Thus music in the CME Church has elements of both African and American influence. The songs sung

²⁷In making this statement the writer is aware of Frazier's insistence that "African traditions and practices did not take root and survive in the United States." E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago, 1939), pp. 7-8. The weight of authority, however, seems to rest with men who admit the importance of the African influences on the American Negro: Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined (Washington, D.C., 1936), pp. 168-75; Melvin J. Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World," American Anthropologist, Vol. 32 (1930), pp. 149-50, and others who disagree with Mr. Frazier.

²⁸William Harrison Pipes, "Old-Time Negro Preaching: An Interpretative Study," The Quarterly Journal of Speech (February 1948), p. 33.

by CME communicants are very old; the music is far more ancient than the words. Many of the Wesley hymns are set to the tune of Negro melodies. The following quote is an example of the cultural transmission of African music:

My grandfather's grandmother was seized by an evil Dutch trader two centuries ago; and coming to the valleys of the Hudson and Housatonic, black, little, and lithe, she shivered and shrank in the harsh north winds, looked longingly at the hills, and often crooned a heathen melody to the child between her knees.

The child sang it to his children and they to their children's children, and so two hundred years it has travelled down to us and we sing it to our children, knowing as little as our fathers what its words may mean, but knowing well the meaning of its music.²⁹

On May 12, 1954, during the General Conference of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church which met in Memphis Tennessee, the following resolution was adopted by a three-fourths vote of the conference:

We believe that the true Church of Jesus Christ is a fellowship of all believers who own Him as Lord and Master and worship Him in Spirit and in truth and that no exclusion of any follower from participation in the organized work of the Kingdom on the account of race, color or national origin is justifiable.

We therefore rejoice in the ever increasing number of Christian denominations that are adopting the principle and practice of inclusiveness in memberships and membership participation without racial or color discrimination. We are aware of the inconsistency of having a racial designation in the name of our Church. Therefore without implying any lack of loyalty to or respect for the founding fathers, we recommend that in harmony with Christian principles, in keeping with the times, and in accordance with the recommendation in the message of the Bishops to this General Conference,

²⁹W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1953), pp. 183-85.

proper steps be taken to change the name of our Church from Colored Methodist Episcopal Church to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, or some other suitable name that retains the same initials.³⁰

After action was taken on the resolution by the General Conference, it was sent to the various annual conferences for ratification. In the General Conference at Detroit, Michigan, May 8, 1958, Bishop Luther Stewart, Secretary of the College of Bishops, announced that all of the annual conferences had voted to change the name of the church from "Colored" to Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.³¹

Today the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church has been developed as one of the major bodies of Methodism in America. It has had phenomenal growth in the South through a rigorous membership campaign and has spread to foreign countries as well, notably to Ghana and Nigeria in Africa.

Negro Methodist churches have not moved without internal strife, however. The Independent African Methodist Episcopal Church (IME) was organized by elders of Jacksonville, Florida, following disputes with their presiding elders. The Union American Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1850 after a division of the original Union Church of Africans which was founded in 1813.

³⁰Eula Wallace Harris, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church Through the Years (Jackson, Tennessee: The Methodist Publishing House, 1965), p. 15.

³¹Frazier, op. cit., p. 226.

After the establishment of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church other black churches began a bitter and relentless war on the infant organization. It was believed in some quarters that the bishops of the new church were ex-slaves, unlettered and untrained in the business of leadership. (The AME and the AMEZ Churches had been established in the North almost fifty years earlier by more able and experienced preachers and bishops.) Some AME and AMEZ leaders came to the South telling the recently freed Negroes that President Lincoln wanted them to join the AME and AMEZ Churches. They were also told that the CME Church was organized as part of a deeply laid scheme intended to lead them back into slavery. It was believed that the magic of President Lincoln's name did influence many of these ex-slaves to join these two church groups. The leaders of the other Negro Methodist bodies bitterly taunted the CME Church leaders. They were stigmatized as "Democrats," "Bootlicks," and "white folks' niggers."³²

Although for many years there were strained relations between the three major black church bodies, today each exists as a moving religious body on the American landscape. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and the Christian

³²R. A. Carter, Morning Meditations and Other Selections (Atlanta: Foote Davies Company, 1917), p. 45.

Methodist Episcopal Church are somewhat different in their worship orders, but their similarities are so much greater than their differences that the devout Negro Methodist would find contentment in any one of them. Each of the churches has culturally adapted the thoughts of John and Charles Wesley to the black man's mode of religious expression with enduring pride.

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church has been diffused from its "culture home" in Tennessee to the Mississippi Delta, Georgia and Alabama, to the urban complexes of the Middle West and the Eastern seaboard. From the Louisiana swamplands, the East Texas "piney woods" and the Red River Valley it has diffused to the urban centers of the Western seaboard. It has also diffused from the Eastern seaboard to the coast of West Africa. This national and international diffusion of the church is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE DIFFUSION OF THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

In 1866, as previously indicated, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South met in New Orleans, Louisiana. Slave masters put the question before the conference: "What shall be done with the colored members of our church?" This General Conference of 1866 was the point in time at which the ME Church, South became aware of the need for Negro members to have a separate church. As stated above, after the four year trial stage, the Memphis General Conference of May 1870 voted in favor of a separate body for Negroes (Figure 1). On December 15, 1870 this idea was officially adopted at Jackson, Tennessee where bishops of the ME Church, South ordained two former slaves as the first bishops of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America.

Since the members of this new church were located in the rural South, an examination of some of the pertinent physical and cultural characteristics of this area is necessary for an appreciation of the environment in which this new religious social system became institutionalized.

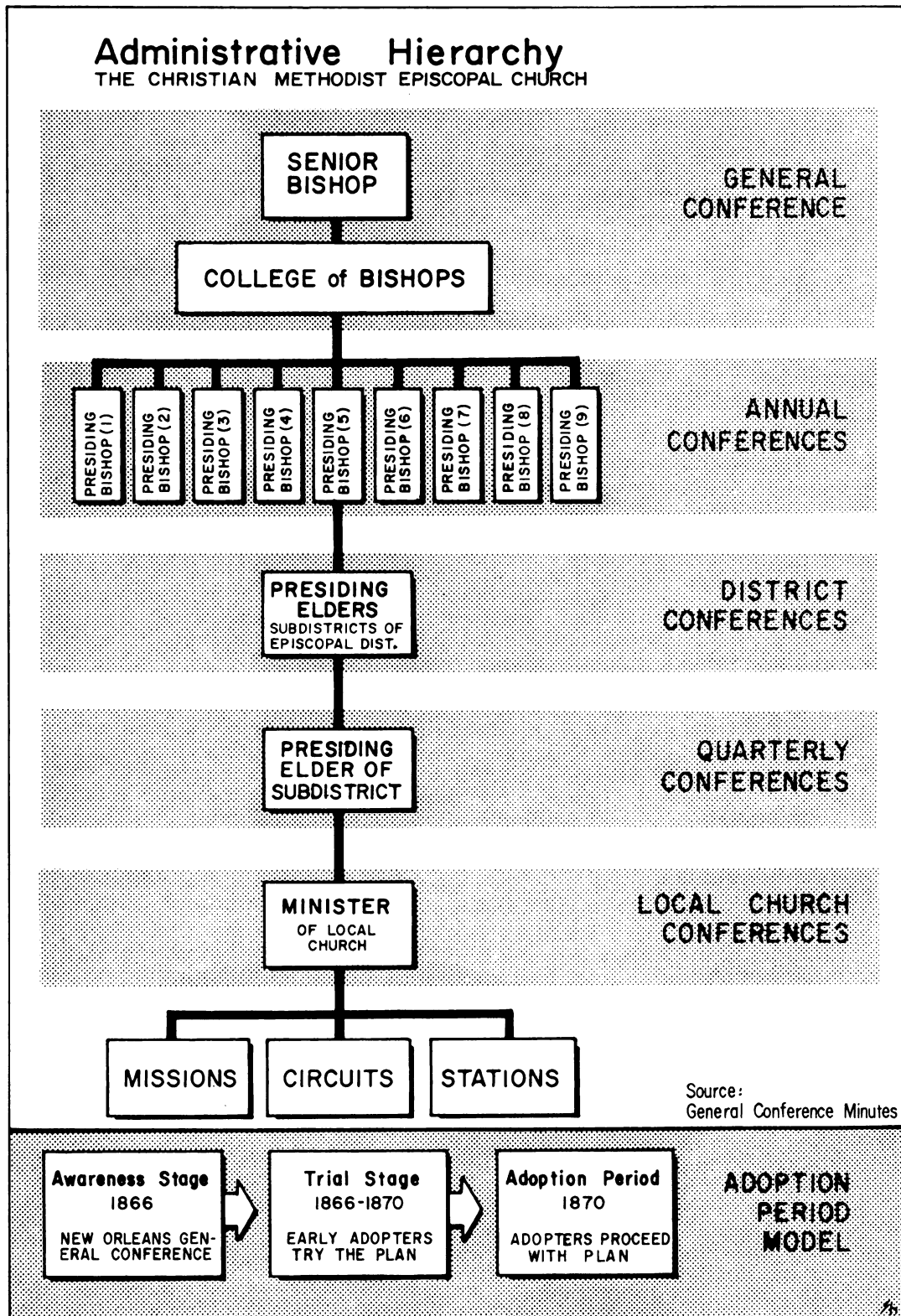


FIGURE 1 a and b

THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL
SETTING OF THE SOUTH

The South consists of thirteen states stretching from Virginia and Kentucky to the Gulf, across the Mississippi River to Texas and Oklahoma, and covers an area of 863,250 square miles. Many feel that the South is almost a different country when compared to the rest of the United States:

Its ways are different, its conditions are different, its point of view is different. It has a character and personality all its own. The thoughts that we think are not the South's thoughts, and the mental habits that are natural to us must be dropped and stowed away for a while when we consider the South. Conditions that to our mind would indicate one type of development will not do so at all in a country that has a different racial condition, a different tradition, and the measure of value. The South started from its own premise; it moved under peculiar conditions; it has arrived at totally different conclusions.¹

The South is made up of many physiographic areas and human use regions. It possesses almost all of the characteristic physical areas of the United States: mountains, forest, undrained land, prairies and plains. The South has five of America's physiographic regions: the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, the Appalachian Highlands, the Mississippi Flood Plain, and the Ozark-Ouachita Highlands. Each of these areas is associated with certain types of plants and animals, different industries, modes of

¹Lewis F. Carr, America Challenged (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 165, quoted in Rupert B. Vance, Human Geography of the South (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p. 21.

living and certain psycho-social characteristics.²

The South does not have a sharply defined climate. It is located in the southeast continental margin of the United States and is classified as humid subtropical.³ It has long, hot summers and short, mild winters.⁴

The South, as a distinctive region, is a major cultural division of the United States according to both Carl Sauer and Rupert B. Vance. Common traditions, a similar ancestry, common economic interests, and similar climate help to account for its unity.⁵

The distinctive culture traits of the South were inherited from the plantation system. This system really developed a Southern cultural super-structure. Planter⁶ societies were spatially organized on such frontier lands as the "deltas," "basins," "river bottoms," "black belts," and "blue grass regions."

Tobacco plantations with indentured servants appeared in America before cotton or slavery, but cotton

²Vance, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

³Ibid., p. 355.

⁴Otis P. Starkey and J. Lewis Robinson, The Anglo-American Realm (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 225.

⁵Vance, op. cit., p. 20.

⁶"Planter"--the title "planter" belonged to families who had enough black capital to justify the expense of a white overseer, usually considered to be 20 or more Negroes; T. R. Fehrenback, Lone Star: A History of Texas and the Texans (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), p. 310.

soon became the chief crop of the South. The South made the transition from a tobacco-indigo-rice culture first to a cotton-slave and then to a cotton-tenant culture. Spreading cotton fields on creek and river bottoms, tenant shacks, Negro croppers, supply stores and commissaries, all supervised by the supply merchant and the planter, made up the cultural landscape of the plantation.⁷

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CME CHURCH:
JACKSON, TENNESSEE

All human activity takes place at particular locations or within particular geographic contexts. Localization is a basic aspect of human society and provides the essential link between man and the earth and establishes the framework for human spatial interaction.⁸ The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church grew out of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and in turn inherited the culture of the rural South. It originated in Jackson, Tennessee, in the upper South. Why was the setting at Jackson, Tennessee?

Jackson is the county seat of Madison County in West Tennessee. Following the American Revolution large

⁷Vance, op. cit., p. 61.

⁸Edward W. Soja, The Political Organization of Space, Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 8 (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers, 1971), p. 43.

segments of the populace of Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and middle and eastern Tennessee moved to west Tennessee. These people were often led by Methodist circuit riders. The newcomers found west Tennessee to be thickly forested, providing abundant materials for home building. The many creeks and rivers furnished mill sites, as well as the principal means of transportation for the newcomers.⁹

As the land was suitable for cotton growth it soon became the principal crop. Jackson's prosperity depended upon its ability to market surplus cotton and corn via the Forked Deer and the Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. By 1837 the town had grown so much that it was described by a traveler as follows:

a handsome and improving town, . . . Jackson is therefore a depot for the cotton of the surrounding region; the bustle of the streets affords evidence that it is a place of considerable trade.¹⁰

The people of Jackson followed occupations which were closely related to the necessities of everyday life. Their estates consisted of land, Negroes, cotton and corn, together with a few horses, hogs and sheep.

Negro slaves were necessary to the planter's existence. In the early years of Jackson's settlement the

⁹Emma I. Williams, Historic Madison--The Story of Jackson and Madison County Tennessee (Jackson, Tenn.: Madison County Historical Society, 1946), p. 21.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 1.



average slave brought from three to four hundred dollars, but when the value of cotton increased, the price of slaves quickly rose to five and six hundred dollars.¹¹ Madison County had more slaves than any other county in western Tennessee between 1830 and 1840. The county had 4,167 slaves in 1830, 6,073 in 1840 and 8,552 in 1850, while the entire white population in 1850 was only 12,857. "Men thought of the Negroes as 'personal property' and the most valuable portion of all property besides the land, consisted of slaves."¹²

Jackson had its own code of laws regulating the conduct of the slaves. Slave gatherings were not allowed except for public worship. In some parts of Madison County they were taught to read and write. "Margaret Givens left Negroes to each of her children with the instruction that they 'be taught to read, write and know the scriptures.'"¹³

White settlers from the East had brought Methodism as a religious social system to western Tennessee and it soon became the dominant Protestant faith in the Mississippi valley from west Tennessee to New Orleans. As early as 1782, on the headwaters of the Yadkin and Holston Rivers which join to form the Tennessee River, Methodist circuits

¹¹Ibid., p. 93.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 102.

were spatially organized.¹⁴ In 1788, Bishop Asbury had made his first trip to the area and had preached his first sermon in what is now the state of Tennessee. Between his first trip and his last in 1814, he visited the state in seventeen different years. What the Catholic priest was to Mexico, the Methodist circuit rider (such as Asbury) was to Tennessee. In 1822 a circuit rider in western Tennessee stated: "Our beloved Methodism soon spread over the land and in an eminent sense became the religion of this country."¹⁵

The following reasons support Jackson as the "culture home" of the CME Church: (1) early settlers of Jackson were led by Methodist circuit riders who provided significant leadership; (2) the influential visits of Bishop Francis Asbury, America's most noted circuit rider, increased the influence of Methodism in the area; (3) Methodism became the dominant Protestant faith in the Mississippi Valley; (4) Jackson's physical environment was conducive to the growth of cotton which encouraged plantation agriculture; (5) cotton inevitably meant the coming of small planters with large numbers of Negro slaves; (6) Methodist missions were soon established for the slaves; and ultimately (7) Jackson was settled by a Methodist population of slave

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵Cullen T. Carter, History of the Tennessee Conference (Nashville: The Abingdon Press, 1948), p. 191.

masters and their slaves.

THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW CHURCH

The surface of the earth is enmeshed in a labyrinth of boundaries created and maintained by man. A myriad of local religious units carve up space in a variety of patterns to fulfill a wide range of functions. Religious units compartmentalize the earth's surface along with political and other administrative units. They are dynamic geographical units which outline the spheres of religious human interaction in space.¹⁶

Historically, the organization of the CME Church is similar to the formulation of an organized political system. The concept of connectionalism is a chief characteristic of Methodism, and has historically dominated its existence. Connectionalism is a system connecting all congregations at the annual conference level and all annual conferences at the general conference level.¹⁷ The system is hierarchically structured like most human spatial organizations (Figure 1). The CME Church has organized its religious space into nine episcopal districts and thirty-five annual conferences (Figure 2). Furthermore, 2,342

¹⁶Soja, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁷R. F. Curl, Southwest Texas Methodism (The Inter-board Council, The Southwest Texas Conference, the Methodist Church, 1951), p. 49.

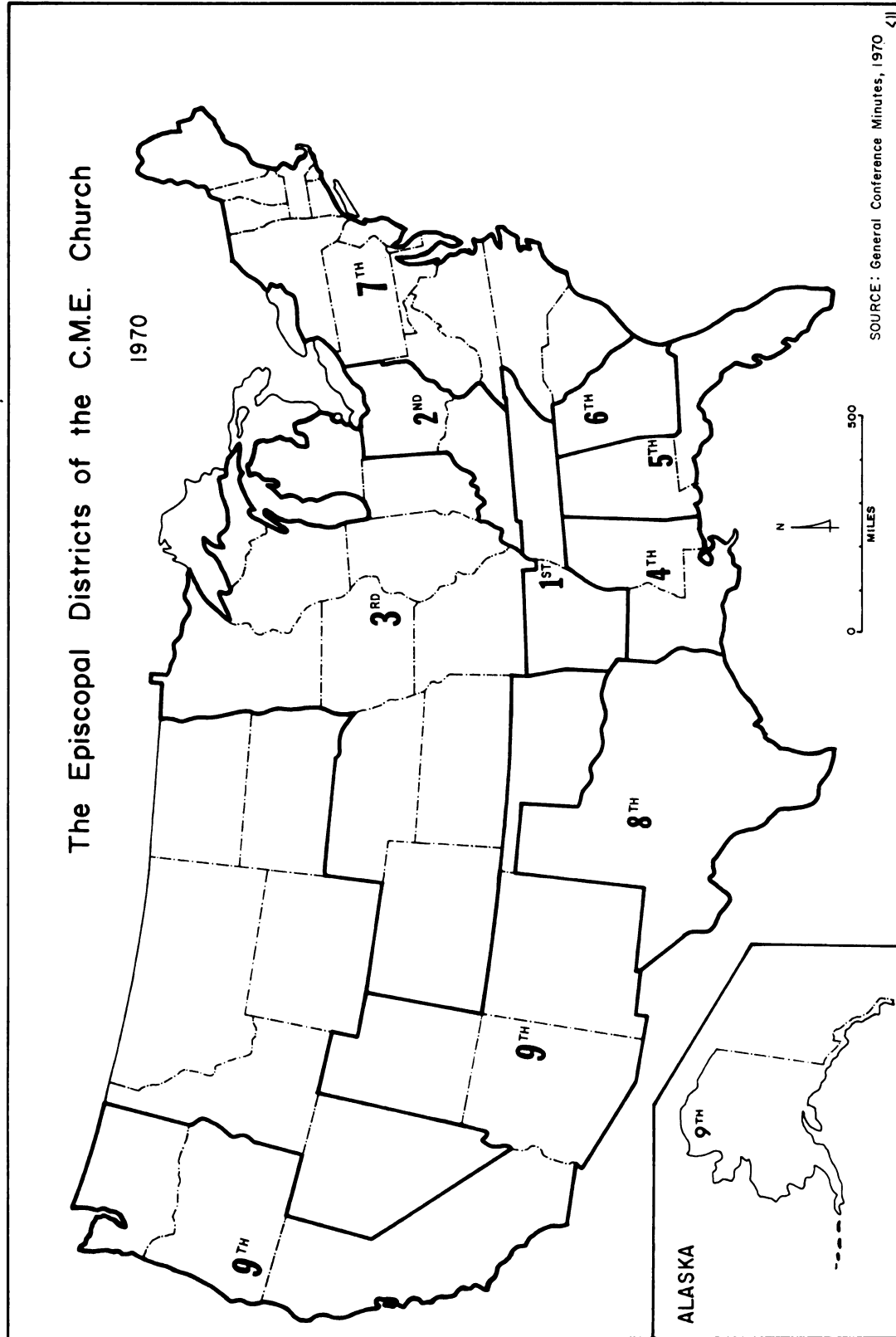


FIGURE 2

congregations are organized into presiding elders' districts and quarterly conferences.¹⁸

The missions, circuits and stations are local congregations on the lowest level of the connectional system; they are geographically distributed in the United States and West Africa. The diffusion of the CME Church was essentially missionary in character. The first mission in American Methodism was founded by John Stewart, a Negro, who served as a missionary to the Wyandotte Indians in 1819 in the Ohio Conference. The idea of missions was further diffused from the Ohio Conference to the Indians of Canada and the western states and territories. In 1829 missions were spread to the slave plantations in South Carolina.¹⁹

Circuits are geographically distributed throughout the CME connection, but are chiefly located in the South. A circuit is a congregation that is numerically small with a limited "salvation shed"²⁰ and is economically unable to support a full-time minister. The idea of CME connectionalism spreads from missions to circuits, and when a

¹⁸M. C. Pettigrew, From Miles to Johnson (Memphis: CME Publishing House, 1970), p. 22.

¹⁹Simpson, op. cit., p. 621.

²⁰The term "salvation shed" was used to describe the hinterland or service area of a church; Robert B. McNee, "A Proposal for a New Geography Course for Liberal Education: Introduction to Geographic Behavior," in New Approaches in Introductory College Geography (Washington, D. C.: Association of American Geographers, 1963), p. 11.

congregation becomes numerically strong and economically able, it becomes a station. Most stations are found in urban areas; very few are in the rural South.

The second level of the connectional hierarchy includes the minister of the local congregation whether it be a mission, circuit, or station. He is the "carrier of the culture."²¹

The third and fourth levels of the connectional hierarchy include the presiding elders and their districts. These officers supervise the many missions, circuits and stations within their district. They also supervise the quarterly conferences as well as the district conferences within the Episcopacy.²² Presiding elders' districts have boundaries that are defined in the Book of the Discipline²³ of the CME Church. Such boundaries are spatially structured to follow physical and cultural features on the earth's surface. Rivers, railroads, forests, and county lines are often used as boundaries.

Another way that the CME Church has organized its religious space is through its annual conferences. These

²¹Although any member of the CME Church could "carry the culture," the term is used here to refer to the minister of the church, who is the head "carrier of the culture."

²²"Episcopacy"--form of CME Church government. CME parishioners feel that their Episcopacy is an apostolic model; Simpson, op. cit., p. 344.

²³"Book of the Discipline"--a book containing the organizational structure of the CME Church.

are ecclesiastical bodies which assemble every year in a given territory for religious functions. Annual conference boundaries also follow physical and cultural features. One or more district conferences combine to form an annual conference; there are thirty-five annual conferences geographically distributed across the CME connection.²⁴ These conferences are supervised by nine presiding bishops who are the chief pastors in the connectional system.²⁵

The top level in the Methodist organizational system is the general conference, an assembly of the nine bishops who supervise the nine episcopal districts in the CME connection. The general conference meets quadrennially under the supervision of the College of Bishops with the senior bishop presiding.

There is a unity of problems, interests, and opportunities throughout the CME connectional system. The geographical jurisdictions were established to divide the administration of "Colored Methodism" into smaller units and this is a contributing factor to the diffusive force of the church. Today the system connects approximately 450,000 members of the CME Church.

²⁴"Connection"--Communicants of the CME Church often refer to the general church as "our connection," or "our Zion."

²⁵Simpson, op. cit., p. 31.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE CHURCH

An important sector of contemporary geographic research involves studies in diffusion theory, the propagation of innovation waves, and the development of network geometry. Such concepts help to explain many aspects of the historical spread of human occupance over the earth;²⁶ they are vital to this research.

Culture history seeks to discover four things: (1) the origin in time and place of given cultural features; (2) the routes, times and manner of their dissemination; (3) the distribution of former culture areas, and (4) the character of former cultural landscapes.²⁷ This study will emphasize each of the above in relation to the CME Church.

Spatial diffusion is one of the significant processes which applies to religious phenomena; it is defined as the spread (dispersion) of a phenomenon within a given area through time. Two distinct types can be identified:

1. Relocation-type diffusion--occurring when some members of a population at time (t) change their location from time (t) to time (t+1);
2. Expansion-type diffusion--occurring when new members

²⁶Spencer and Thomas, op. cit., p. 130.

²⁷Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 15.

are added to the population between time (t) and time (t+1) and locate so as to alter the locational pattern of the population taken as a whole.²⁸

The CME Church has a location pattern dating back to 1870 which resulted from several processes of diffusion acting together through time and space.

Diffusion Strategies

The expansion of the church has occurred through the activities of the bishops, presiding elders, circuit riders, local preachers and the laity of the ME Church, South and the CME Church. In the embryonic years, the new church considered strategies that were necessary for its expansion. These were: (1) the itinerancy system; (2) the circuit system; (3) church publications, book agents and publishing houses, and (4) institutions of higher learning. These strategies will be considered as forces in the diffusion of the church in America.

One of the most significant diffusion strategies was the itineracy system which was brought to America from England. The itineracy system is a peculiar feature of Methodism. It is a system by which ministerial exchanges are made from year to year, or at stated periods among the

²⁸ Lawrence A. Brown, "Models for Spatial Diffusion Research--A Review," Technical Report No. 3, Spatial Diffusion Study (Chicago: Northwestern University, Department of Geography, 1968), p. 30.

Methodist constituency; it is in direct contrast to the concept of a settled pastorate. Methodists believe that the system essentially follows the example of Christ and his Apostles, as none of them remained in charge of a single congregation or preached to the same people for any considerable length of time. This system was unequalled in diffusing Methodism through sparsely-settled sections of the United States between 1870 and 1895. It has been a permanent feature of American Methodist connectionalism. The itineracy system was the CME adjustment to its cultural and physical environment, for it adapted to a rural rather than an urban tradition.²⁹

With all due respect to the authorities as ranked on the hierarchical model, possibly the circuit rider was one of the most successful and influential in the diffusion of the CME Church in its rural and Southern environment. Circuit riders tediously traveled on foot (if fortunate on horseback), exposed to all kinds of weather, spreading the news of the church, often using homes for preaching places. The following statement explains their condition:

A hundred years ago these noble men were threading their way along dim trails, through pathless forests, across swollen streams without bridges or ferries, among fierce savages and ferocious beasts, in search of lost souls. They were sleeping now in the rude hut of the primitive settlers, now in the wigwam of the unfriendly

²⁹Simpson, op. cit., p. 487.



Indian. They were often drenched with rain, pinched with cold, hungry and exhausted, alone in the woods, where the awful silence was broken only by the howl of the wolf, the growl of the bear, the scream of the panther, or the whoop of the cruel warrior.³⁰

These sons of common people brought the CME innovation to many rural communities. They united these communities as their coming broke the monotony of the town and gave the people something to talk about.³¹

The publishing concern as a strategy for diffusion originated at the first session of the General Conference of the CME Church in 1870. However, The Christian Index, now the official organ of the CME Church, pre-dates the organization of the church. In September, 1867, the Memphis Colored Conference, unofficially organized in accordance with the provisions of the 1866 General Conference, expressed a desire to publish a Colored Advocate as a means of communication among the Negro members then being organized.³² Other Negro conferences being unofficially organized between 1866 and 1870 discussed the need of a communications medium. During the Tennessee Colored Conference held in 1869, it was resolved that The Christian Index should be established. This official organ has served as an important diffusion strategy--it bridges the gap of time and distance

³⁰John A. Rice, "The Old-Time Circuit Rider," The Methodist Quarterly Review, Vol. 59, pp. 33-47.

³¹Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 29.

³²Lakey, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

among the members of the CME Church. In addition to being a vehicle of church operation, it has also served as a means for educating its subscribers.³³

As the church diffused to the North, East and the West, the publishing strategy also diffused. Additional publications known as The Eastern Index and The Western Index soon appeared as official organs of the church. The importance of publications was soon recognized by the bishops of the new church.

The printing press is a powerful instrument in promoting the Kingdom of God on Earth. No church can be a great church until it is a reading church. Its people must be informed and led to think profoundly and creatively about Christian living. The great fundamental beliefs upon which our church stands can be instilled into [the] life of the people only if they are a reading people.³⁴

Another important strategy for diffusing the CME Church was the establishment of institutions of higher education. The early Methodists preached their gospel to the poor and the outcast, but they soon sought to elevate their children through education. In England John Wesley had established the Kingswood School for the purpose of educating the children of poor colliers.

In the United States Francis Asbury followed the example of John Wesley by making plans for seminaries to

³³Ibid.

³⁴Journal of the General Conference, The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (Jackson, Tenn.: CME Publishing House, 1890), p. 23.

train ministers. Academies, seminaries and colleges were founded by the Methodists in various parts of the continent. After the Civil War the ME Church, South continued to support its institutions of higher learning.³⁵ With such a background toward the cause of promoting education, it is no small wonder that the CME Church followed the trend of early Methodism in looking out for the educational uplift of its communicants.

The General Conference of the ME Church, South, in 1866 declared that the interests of the whites and Negroes "are materially dependent upon the intelligence and virtue of this race," and that "our hearts prompt us to this philanthropy." That conference adopted a resolution recommending "the establishment of day schools, under proper regulations and trustworthy teachers, for the education of the colored children."

Atticus G. Haygood, a bishop of the ME Church, South, and also the editor of the Wesley Christian Advocate, rebuked the church after the Civil War for its tardiness in promoting education among the former slaves. He influenced the ME Church, South to establish Paine College (1884) in Augusta, Georgia, for the CME Church in America³⁶ (Figure 3a). The following statement has been

³⁵ Simpson, op. cit., pp. 328-29.

³⁶ Atticus G. Haygood, Our Brother in Black: His Freedom and His Future (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1881), p. 163.

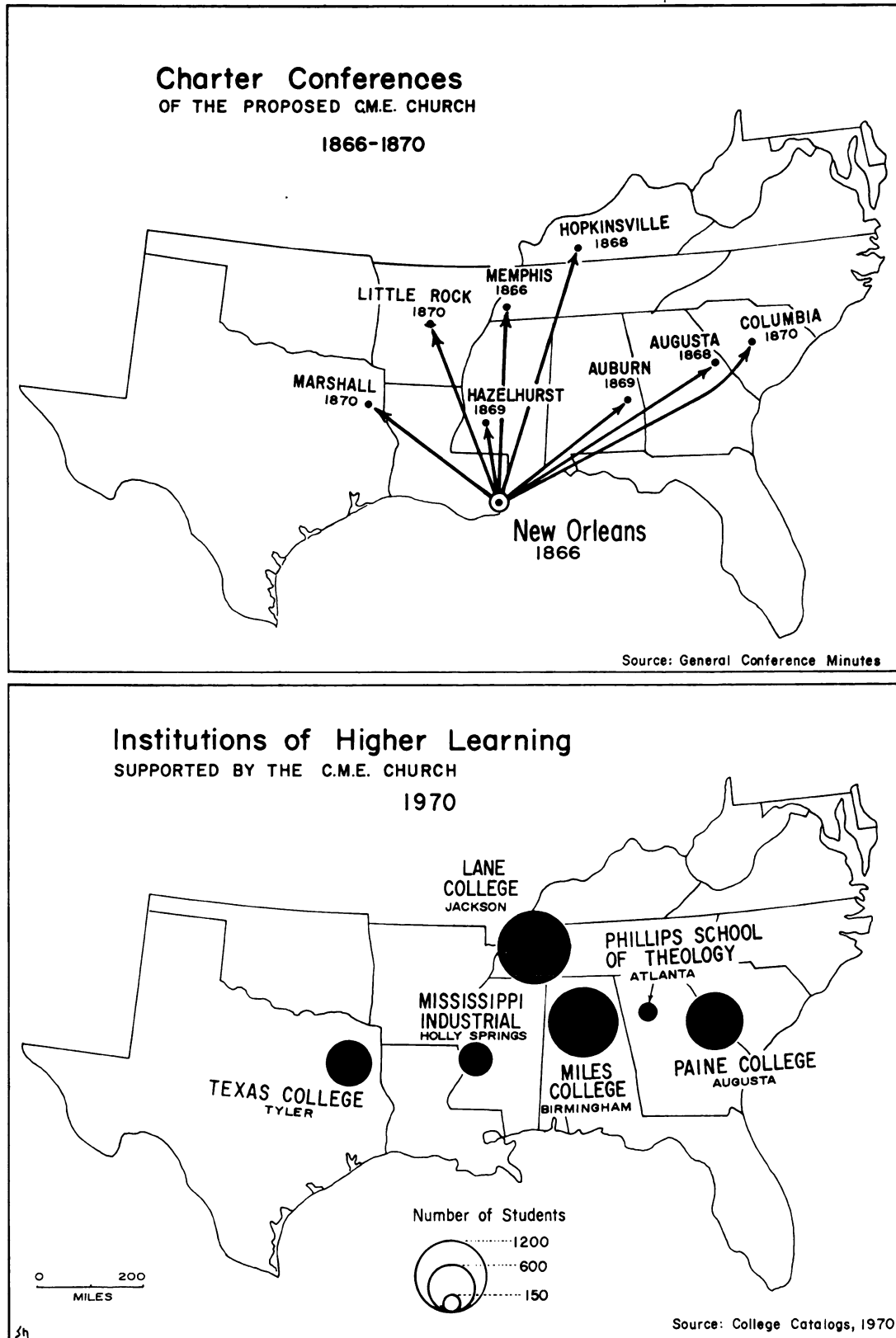


FIGURE 3, a and b

made about Paine College:

This institution in its inception was not to be-- and has never been--just another college for Negroes. It was--and has always been--unique and different. It was designed to be--and always has been--distinctly a Southern institution. Founded by Southern people, conducted and financed through its whole history by Southern people, training Southern Colored people for their work in the South and in the light of Southern problems, this is and has been the work of Paine College, the only institution of its kind in America. Thus, in Paine College, and nowhere else, Southern white people and Southern colored people must live and work together to produce a trained Christian leadership for the Negro race and for fair and wholesome attitudes on both sides.³⁷

In 1945 it was reported that the majority of the students at Paine College were from county seat towns and the open country of Georgia and the Carolinas. Today its students are from various sections of the United States reflecting the diffusion of the CME Church on a national scale and its impact upon the landscape of America. This institution has graduated more than 15,000 students who are now scattered over the nation and abroad.³⁸

In 1878 a resolution was adopted at the Tennessee Conference of the ME Church, South for the building of a school at Jackson. Bishop Isaac Lane came to take charge of the Tennessee Conference and helped in forming plans for the school. Poor, inexperienced, and untaught, it was heroic for these men to undertake such a task.

³⁷Elmer Clark, A Methodist Romance (Augusta, Ga.: Paine College, 1932), p. 8.

³⁸Paine College Bulletin (Augusta, Ga.: Paine College, 1969), p. 3.

I have recently met Bishop BeBee of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America. He informs me they are endeavoring to erect an institution of higher learning for the children of the church, and to this end have secured four acres of ground at Jackson, Tennessee and are soliciting contributions to that noble enterprise. This is a wise movement. Other denominations of Christians and the world, have their schools for the benefit of the Colored race, and if this church does not provide for the scientific and literary training of their children they will receive a religious bias from the influence of associations and the impress of teachers in the schools of other denominations and be lost to the church of their fathers . . . Even orthodox philanthropists who have projected their educational missions into the South manage generally, to give a political tinge to the religious faith of their disciples. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America professes to teach pure and simple Christianity, without any mixture of politics. Let them be encouraged and let their spiritual Mother especially give them her sympathies and sustain them in the above mentioned enterprise.³⁹

Historically, CME Church supported institutions of higher learning have been established in all of the Southern states where diffusion of the church was significant (Figure 3a). Despite the limitations of the area served by these colleges, the black populace in the service area have furnished strong support. First and foremost, the church wanted to establish these schools to lift the level of the Negro, and further the diffusion of "Colored Methodism."

³⁹J. D. Barbee, "Bishop BeBee and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America," The Christian Advocate (June 18, 1881), p. 17.

Periods of Diffusion

The diffusion of the church as a cultural phenomenon on the American landscape took place during the period of 1870-1970. This century has been divided into four periods: (1) from 1870 to 1895 with emphasis on the significant environmental activities that molded the setting prior to 1870; (2) from 1895 to 1920, predominantly a period of war and human instability; (3) from 1920-1945, a period dominated by an economic depression and war, and (4) from 1945 to 1970, a period largely characterized by a cold war and economic fluctuation.⁴⁰ Throughout the century many events occurred in each of the jurisdictional districts. No attempt will be made to discuss all of these events. Only significant facts that strongly influenced the spatial diffusion of the CME Church will be considered.

The diffusion of the church from its Southern "culture home" does not coincide with the administrative organizational structure of the jurisdictional districts. Historically the episcopal districts have not followed any consistent areal pattern. They were numbered according to the rank-order of the senior bishop. For example, if a

⁴⁰These periods have been selected because four twenty-five year periods are logical for a diffusion study that embraces a century. In addition, the U. S. Census Bureau conducted a Census of Religious Bodies in 1890, 1906, 1916, 1926, and 1936. The data on the CME Church for these years have been brought up-to-date by the use of the Annual Conference Minutes of the CME Church for the years 1894, 1919, 1944, and 1969.



bishop resided in California at the time he became senior bishop, California then became the First Episcopal District. Today the numbers of Episcopal Districts are permanent (Figure 2).

Period 1: 1870-1895. Before the new church was officially organized by the General Conference of 1870, district and annual conferences had been unofficially organized in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky and other areas of the South (Figure 3b). The Kentucky Annual Conference, the first to be unofficially organized, was conducted by bishops of the ME Church, South between 1868 and 1870. One hundred and sixteen churches had been organized within the conference boundaries by 1869.

TABLE 2

THE UNOFFICIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF COLORED METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCHES PRIOR TO 1870

Year	Number of Churches
1800-1849	8
1850-1859	4
1860-1869	<u>104</u>
Total	116

Source: Matthew Simpson, Cyclopedia of Methodism (Philadelphia: Everts and Stewart, 1878).

In 1870 when the CME Church was officially organized, two annual conferences had been established in



Tennessee. The Memphis Conference comprised that part of the state located south of the Tennessee River and the northern part of Mississippi, while the Tennessee Conference embraced the area north of the Tennessee River, as well as the northern part of Alabama. W. H. Miles of Kentucky and Richard Vanderhorst of North Carolina were the first bishops of the new church. Several months after taking over his episcopal duties, Bishop Vanderhorst died. Bishop Miles could not do the work alone because of the rapid spread of the church. Thus a General Conference was called in 1873 and three additional bishops were elected. The CME Church was then comprised of eight loosely organized annual conferences embracing Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Arkansas, South Carolina and East Texas⁴¹ (Figure 3b).

Between 1870 and 1895 the church became institutionalized on the Southern landscape. Georgia and Mississippi led the South in the number of CME churches with 55 and in the number of members with 43,352. Alabama, Tennessee and Texas each had over 15,000 members, whereas Arkansas, Kentucky, and Louisiana had over 5,000 members each (Figures 4a and 5a). During this period the church diffused to four Northern states: New Jersey, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Kansas (Figure 4a), with a total of 1,288 members.

⁴¹Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 22.



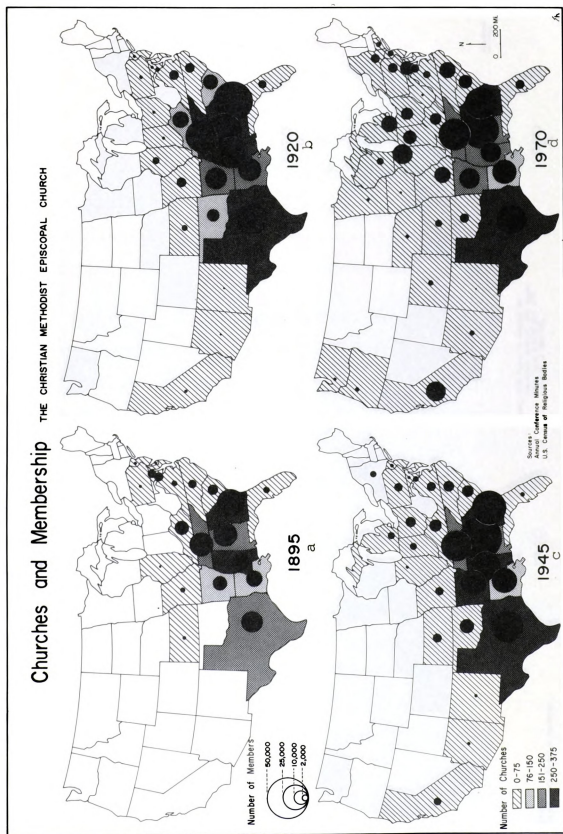


FIGURE 4, a, b, c, and d

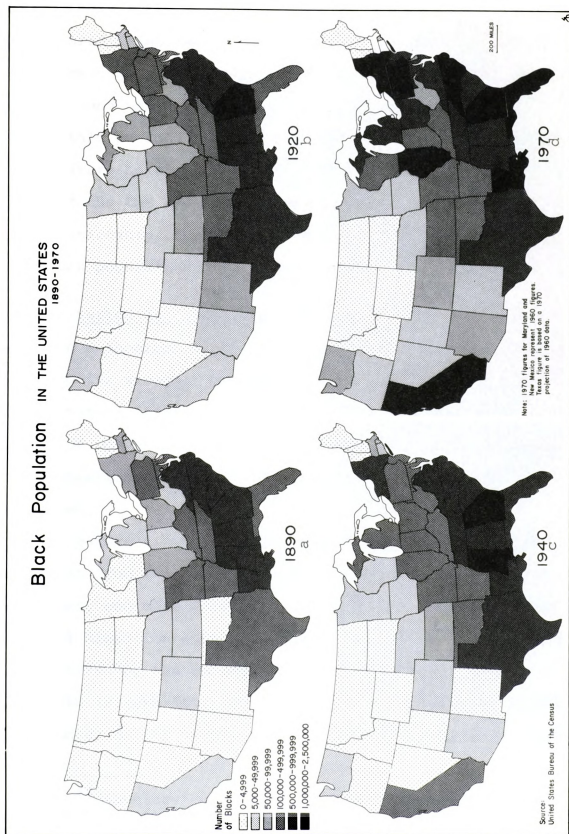


FIGURE 5, a, b, c, and d

This first period is noted as the embryonic years of "Colored Methodism." The leaders enforced their strategies through the itineracy system, circuit riders, publications, and the establishment of colleges of learning. During this period, the first movement took place from the CME "culture home" in the South and can be called the "loss of the CME Southern tradition." Figure 5a reveals the relationship of CME Church members and the mobility of the black population during this period.

Period 2: 1895-1920. During the second period of "Colored Methodism" (1895-1920), three demographic processes governed its growth: migration, conversion and apostasy.⁴² Unfortunately, there is little reliable information on the number of converts or apostates among the CME constituency; thus migration will be the chief demographic process discussed.

Before giving consideration to the importance of migration from the South and the diffusion of the church northward, one must understand that there was considerable internal migration within the South itself. This statement is supported by the redistribution of Afro-Americans in the South (Figure 5b). This created fluctuating memberships in a number of CME churches in the Southern homeland. This

⁴²"Apostasy"--term used by CME communicants for those who have totally deserted the principles of faith--those who have fallen from the "means of grace."



period is significantly characterized by rapid membership growth in the Southern states (Table 3).

TABLE 3
INCREASES IN CME MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOUTH
1895-1920

States	Per Cent of Membership Increase
Alabama	49%
Arkansas	55
Georgia	55
Oklahoma (reported as Indian Territory in 1895)	95
Kentucky	20
Louisiana	45
Mississippi	40
Tennessee	49
Texas	50

Source: Annual Conference Minutes, The CME Church (Memphis, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1969).

Internal migration within the South was one factor accounting for the large increase, but the most significant factor was conversions. This period was noted for its camp meetings and revivals in which the circuit riders, local preachers and exhorters were combing the rural backlands for new members. There was not only a significant increase in the number of members but also in the number of churches (Figures 4b and 5b).

During this period the church spread to five new states (Figure 4b). Between 1870 and 1920 the CME Church



had spread to a total of nine new Northern and Western states. Migration was the most significant demographic process involved in this membership diffusion.

In 1906 the first CME minister was sent to Los Angeles from the West Texas Conference. There he organized a church in a private home; the first church was constructed in Los Angeles in 1910. By 1909, due to the migrating communicants and their conversion contacts, scattered parishes extended from missions in Arizona to Los Angeles, and from Los Angeles to Berkeley, all forming the Arizona-Pacific Mission Conference.⁴³

Arizona and New Mexico combined had a total of four churches and 218 members as early as 1906. In this same year Oklahoma and the Indian Territory together reported 71 churches and 2,727 members, while in 1916 Oklahoma reported 82 churches with 6,484 members (Figures 4b and 5b). (Oklahoma is considered a border state belonging to the Southern CME tradition.)⁴⁴

This period was characterized by the diffusion of the CME Church to the West (now embraced by the Ninth Episcopal District). Those who migrated west of the Mississippi were predominantly rural people (Figure 5b). In 1904 the CME Church used its monthly news media to

⁴³Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁴General Conference Minutes, 1934, The CME Church (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1934), p. 92.



encourage the migration of Negroes to the new lands of the West:

There is no need of concealing the fact, but it is the truth. The tide of Negro emigration [sic] is to go West of the Mississippi River, where the lands are rich and he can get better pay for his labor. . . In some parts of Alabama the colored people do not get a settlement for their crops in two years. But go along without murmuring planting another. It is time for every Negro man to look to his own interest.

The Negroes are going West by the thousands--Oklahoma, Indian Territory, California and New Mexico are being filled with Southern Negroes. We were surprised several months ago in the West--that the land in the Indian Territory rents for twenty-five cents per acre. The Indians lease the land for five years. Some of the finest cotton, corn and wheat grow in that country we ever saw. It is almost a paradise. At present the land can not be bought but the Indians will be allowed to sell it, when it becomes a State. The land is fertile and any industrious man can make a fortune. The indolent man, the man who awakes from sleep about seven o'clock in the spring, and is afraid to stretch his muscles is not needed in the West. The man who wants to act a "dude," gamble and pilfer is not wanted. But the man who wants an honest living to have something, and be some body, and likes to work will make it out there. He can soon become wealthy. There is no room for a lazy man. However, it is advisable to carry some money, and sufficient clothes to do for several months, until one can get a foot-hold. It is not a place for a fellow who has nothing. The industrious Negro who means to do right will always get aid. He has formulated good habits--knows how to attend to his own affairs, can live any where. It is the indolent, shiftless and thoughtless who breeds race riots in this country. They give trouble every where they go.⁴⁵

Although in the United States the westward migration has attracted more popular attention, the migration from the southeastern part of the United States northward has

⁴⁵"The Negro Going Westward," The Christian Index (July 16, 1904), p. 1.



probably involved more people, predominantly Negroes.⁴⁶ During this second period masses of Negroes began moving to Northern cities. Table four compares the Negro populations of the North and the South.

TABLE 4
NEGRO POPULATION BY DECADES

Years	1870	1880	1890	1900
The North	459,198	626,890	728,099	911,025
The South	4,420,811	5,953,903	6,760,577	7,922,696

Source: "The Negro Migration to the North," The Methodist Quarterly Review, Vol. 56, No. 3 (July, 1907), p. 506.

Weber discussed this migration as follows:

The general rule governing all great shifts of population is that migration proceeds from the country of the greatest density--most highly developed resources, greatest competition, and highest living, to that of less density, comparative low cost of living, and undeveloped but rich resources, especially where there is opportunity for the individual to make himself a force in the development processes. On these principles millions of Europeans left their homes and came to America, and thousands of the men of the East went to the West, and thousands are today going to the great Northwest. The Negroes are defying this well-established principle in that they are leaving the undeveloped south and crowding into the highly developed Northern cities, where competition is severest

⁴⁶Samuel N. Dicken and Forrest R. Pitts, Introduction to Human Geography (New York: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1963), p.45.



and the cost of living the highest . . . Their conduct is unscientific.⁴⁷

R. R. Wright, Jr. examined the character of the Negroes who migrated to the North as follows:

They are not the best negroes, from the economic point of view, who come North, just as they are not the best Russians or Italians who come to America. They are the ill-adjusted. We may divide the negroes of the South into four classes: First the property holders, which include most of the professional class, business men, the most intelligent artisans and farmers; second, the tenant farmers, the artisans, domestic servants of skill and intelligence, who do not own their own homes; third, the unskilled laborer of the city and the country farm hand; fourth, the vagrant and criminal classes. Of these four classes the majority of the migrants to the North come from the third class, who first feel the economic stress and who find it more difficult to get work to support them in the South than in the North. The second and fourth classes furnish respectively the next largest number while the first class furnishes the fewest migrants.⁴⁸

Concerning the period 1914-1916, it was stated that "never before in our history have so many of our members moved North, East and West."⁴⁹ By electing more bishops the General Conference of 1914 was said to have saved thousands of these migrating members that would otherwise have been lost to the church. This idea is supported by the change in the mobility of black Americans (Figure 5b).

⁴⁷ John L. Weber, "The Negro Migration to the North," The Methodist Quarterly Review, Vol. 56, No. 3 (July, 1907), p. 506.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ General Conference Minutes, 1934, The CME Church (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1934), p. 31.

Bishop Isaac Lane was the innovator for the diffusion of the church in the North and the West. He carried the idea to St. Louis, Topeka, Cleveland, Chicago and areas of Oklahoma, where some of the strongest CME churches are located today. Most of these cities have a church named in memory of Bishop Lane.⁵⁰

Period 3: 1920-1945. The third period (1920-1945) included the Great Depression and World War II. During the 1930's the number of CME communicants remained somewhat stationary; but in the 1940's migration again was common. The status of the diffusion process during this period is classified by states as: (1) those that decreased in membership, (2) those that increased in membership, and (3) those that remained stable.

Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi and South Carolina decreased in membership as well as in the number of churches during the third period (Figures 4c and 5c). It is significant that these states are Southern and the decrease coincides with the migration of Negroes from these areas to the North and West during World War II⁵¹ (Figure 5c).

The largely western and northern states shown in Table 5 have increases in membership, whereas Tennessee and

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 92.

Virginia remained essentially stable.

TABLE 5

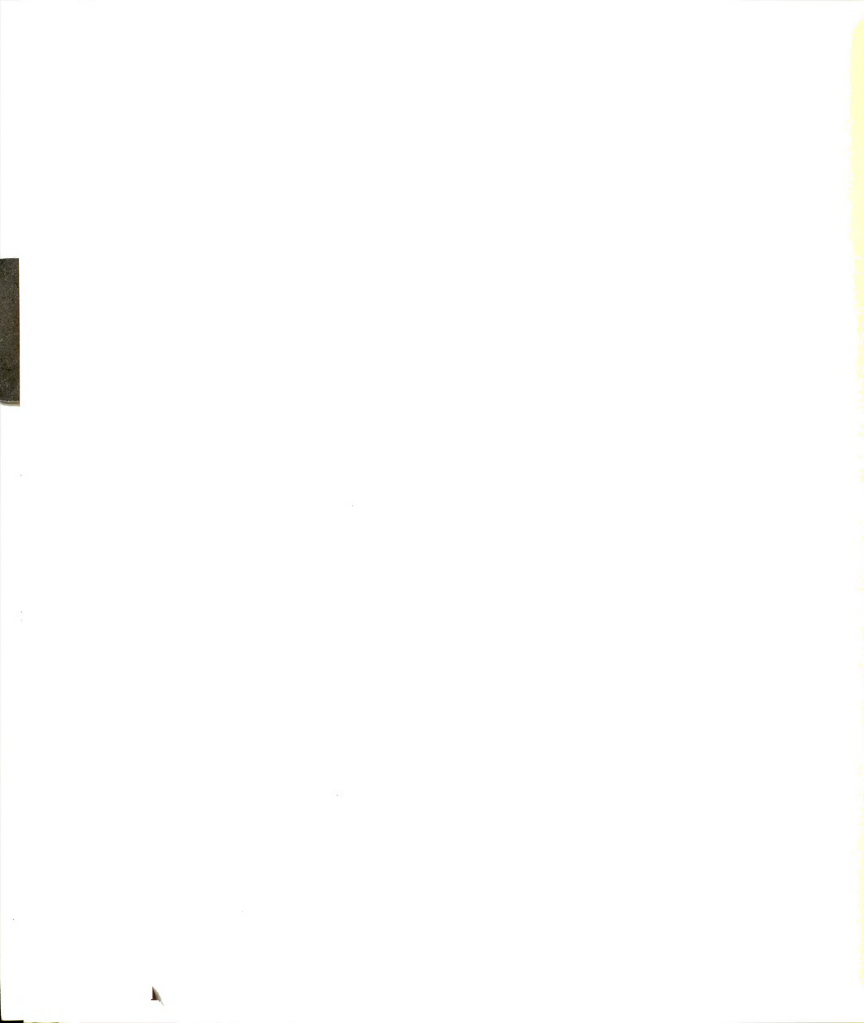
CME CHURCH MEMBERSHIP INCREASES BY STATES
1920-1945

States	Per Cent of Increase
Alabama	40%
Arizona	60
California	90
Louisiana	29
New York	100
Ohio	100
Pennsylvania	100
Texas	10

Source: U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1936; Annual Conference Minutes, 1939-1944, The CME Church, (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1939-1944).

Two Northern states, Michigan and New York, became a part of the diffusive process of the CME Church during this period (Figure 4c). Florida did not belong to the original CME Southern family, and the AME and AMEZ Churches were considered barriers to the church's diffusion in that state. In 1938 Florida was reported as a mission conference and a large migrating element created an unstable population and a fluctuating church membership.

By 1926 California had more than doubled the number of CME churches and tripled the number of communicants. In 1936 several missions had either consolidated or the population had shifted to another area, thereby reducing



the number of churches but increasing the number of communicants (Figures 4c and 5c).

Period 4: 1945-1970. The last period (1945-1970) was a period of cold war and economic affluence. An analysis will be presented of the present church and its spatial impact upon the American landscape.

The following states showed decreases in membership during this period as well as a decrease in the overall black population: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, while the states of Kansas and South Carolina were stable in their membership (Figures 4d and 5d).

The states which had increases in membership are shown in Table 6.

In 1946 the Arizona-New Mexico Conference and the California Conference were formed; cotton moved West and the Afro-Americans followed as did the CME Church.⁵² The CME Church diffused to nine additional Northern, Western and Plains states during this period: Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin and Alaska (Figure 4d). This is a reflection of the migration of one and a half million Negroes who left the South between 1950 and 1960 (Table 7).

⁵²Harris and Craig, op. cit., p. 21.



TABLE 6

CME CHURCH MEMBERSHIP INCREASES BY STATES
1945-1970

States	Per Cent of Increase
Arizona	100%
California	100
Washington, D.C.	10
Illinois	100
Indiana	100
Missouri	100
Michigan	100
Maryland	30
New Jersey	100
New Mexico	100
North Carolina	45
Ohio	40
Pennsylvania	30

Source: General Conference Minutes, 1946, 1950, 1954, 1958, 1962, 1966, 1970, The CME Church (Memphis, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1970).

TABLE 7

NEGRO MIGRATION: 1950-1960

Origin States	Number	Destination States	Number
Mississippi	323,000	California	254,000
Alabama	224,000	New York	282,000
S. Carolina	218,000	Illinois	189,000
N. Carolina	207,000	Ohio	139,000
Georgia	204,000	Michigan	127,000
Arkansas	150,000	New Jersey	112,000
		Florida	101,000

Source: General Conference Minutes, 1962, The CME Church (Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1962), p. 41.



These population shifts meant an increase in the number of churches as well as the number of CME communicants, particularly in California (Figures 4d and 5d). CME churches were not organized in Washington and Oregon until the migrations of Southern Negroes in the 1950's. The church is still weak in these states because of the comparatively small Negro population. There is only one CME church in Oregon, whereas the state of Washington has two urban churches.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE JURISDICTIONAL DISTRICTS

After considering the diffusion of the CME Church, we can now look at the spatial structure of the nine jurisdictional districts which were permanently fixed by the General Conference of 1954. The First, Fourth, and Sixth Episcopal Districts belong to the Southern Christian Methodist tradition (Figure 2). Each of the annual conferences in these districts have decreased in the number of communicants and the number of churches due to the migration of CME members from the South (Figure 5d). Nevertheless, there are still very powerful forces for the continuation of the CME Church.

The Second Episcopal District is composed of Kentucky and Ohio (Figure 2). Between 1950 and 1960 the Afro-American population in Ohio increased 52.4 per cent (slightly over 267,000), while Kentucky's increase was



only 14,000. These newcomers were not all considered likely church members, but the possibility for membership growth in the two states was distinctly apparent. The increase contrasts growth in urban-industrial areas with that in rural areas. Ohio has three of the largest thirty cities in the United States--Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus--and the Afro-American population in these cities not only showed an increase from 1950-1960, but presently amounts to 34 per cent, 24 per cent, and 18 per cent of the populations, respectively. Louisville, the major urban-industrial area in Kentucky, ranked thirty-first among the cities in size and had a Negro population of 15-20 per cent in 1960. Table 8 shows the small town and rural nature of the churches of Kentucky, while in Ohio three-fifths of the churches are located in towns over 100,000.

The Third Episcopal District is composed of Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Minnesota (Figure 2); the membership is most dense in Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. The migration of Afro-Americans has been the major influence of the spatial diffusion of the church throughout the Mid-west (Figure 5d). Three of the largest congregations of the connection are in this district: St. John CME--Detroit, Carter's Metropolitan CME--Detroit, and St. Paul CME--Chicago.

The administrative unit of the Seventh Episcopal



TABLE 8
NUMBER OF CME CHURCHES IN KENTUCKY AND OHIO

Population	Number of Churches	
	Kentucky	Ohio
Rural and under 1,000	13	0
1,000 and under 2,500	21	4
2,500 and under 5,000	1	1
5,000 and under 10,000	4	2
10,000 and under 30,000	6	4
30,000 and under 60,000	3	7
60,000 and under 100,000	1	4
100,000 and over	6	30
TOTALS	59	52

Source: General Conference Minutes, 1970, The CME Church (Memphis, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1970).

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF CHURCHES IN THE SEVENTH DISTRICT

States	Number of Churches
North Carolina	17
South Carolina	13
Maryland	11
Pennsylvania	4
Washington, D.C.	4
Virginia	8
New York	5
New Jersey	2
Connecticut	1

Source: Annual Conference Minutes, 1969, The CME Church (Memphis, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1969).

District includes churches in the areas shown in Table 9.

Barriers to the diffusion of an idea may be cultural in nature. Religious barriers may slow down the diffusion of an innovation.⁵³ Historically the AME and AMEZ Churches have been barriers to the diffusion of the CME Church in this district. Blacks who migrated to these states came from areas which were traditionally dominated by the AME and AMEZ Churches. A good example is the black community of Harlem which has only one CME church and a small number of communicants compared to the large AME and AMEZ connections.⁵⁴

The Seventh Episcopal District merits attention in that it has been reorganized to include West Africa.⁵⁵ The West African area consists of the Ghana and Nigerian Conferences, with 40,000 communicants, 136 churches, and nine schools. The church was officially diffused to Accra, Ghana, in 1959 and to Nigeria in 1960 (Figure 6). In 1970 the Africa work had absentee episcopal supervision.⁵⁶ A

⁵³Peter R. Gould, Spatial Diffusion, Resource Paper No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1969), pp. 16-18.

⁵⁴Centennial Souvenir Brochure, Seventh Episcopal District (Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1970), p. 31.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁶The bishop is the highest prelate of the CME Church; he supervises the African churches and lives within the United States, making several visits to the African work each year.



C.M.E. CHURCH
DIFFUSION TO AFRICA
1945-1970

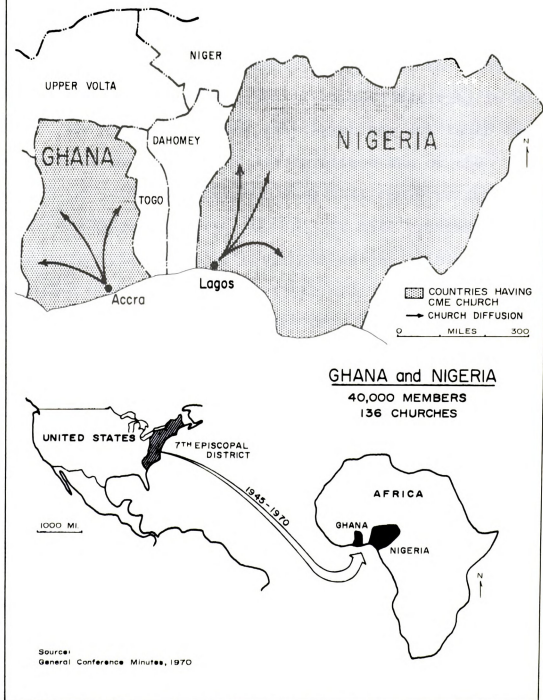


FIGURE 6



recommendation was made to the 1970 General Conference for a full-time bishop to be assigned to the overseas mission:

Our church life in America would be enriched and our sense of Black History would be deepened, our appreciation for the culture and the religious traditions of Africa would be increased and our Christian fellowship would be made stronger.⁵⁷

Recently W. Clyde Williams made a strong plea through the church news media for increased missionary activity in West Africa. He stated that "the CME Church has not taken the African work seriously, for Africa offers one of the greatest opportunities for our Zion that could be imagined."⁵⁸

The General Conference of 1970 made provisions for two bishops with episcopal districts on the mainland of the United States to make episcopal visits to Africa. Additionally, the General Secretary of Missions of the CME Church has been asked to spend more time in Africa.

Williams further stated:

Even through our ignorance we should have known that historically and ethnically there was something substantive about our relationship with Africa. It is reflected in our color, our dress, our anthropological makeup. Further, our ecclesiastical habits are clearly reflected in the indigeneous Church in Africa: animated sermons, soul singing, emotional prayers and extended worship services. There is a growing awareness of the influence of Africa in every phase of our Black society in this country. Black political and social

⁵⁷General Conference Minutes, 1970, The CME Church, p. 103.

⁵⁸W. Clyde Williams, "Our African Work," The Christian Index, Vol. 194, No. 3 (February 4, 1971), p. 6.

scientists, as well as theologians, are looking to Africa for the fruited roots that make us a unique people.⁵⁹

The Eighth Episcopal District, which includes the five annual conferences in Texas, will not be examined at this point. Rather, the significance of the church on the Texas landscape will be analyzed in the following chapters.

The Ninth Episcopal District with its scattered parishes is still a mission district with four annual conferences. There are 135 CME churches with 19,649 members stretching from Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona and California to Alaska (Figure 2). The church's spatial impact has depended upon continued migrations, cultural transmission and apostasy,⁶⁰ with California showing the greatest chance for continued growth. In 1970 the bishop of the Ninth District reported a modest increase in membership with California being the leading state. All other parts of this district were stable.

The CME Church has the following attributes which have contributed to its diffusion: (1) CME communicants consider the world the church's parish; (2) the church has mechanisms to facilitate its transmittal; (3) the church has broken through the restrictions of a special relationship with the ME Church, South and (4) it has established

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰Centennial Souvenir Brochure, Ninth Episcopal District (Memphis: CME Publishing House, 1970).

itself as a dominant institution on a national scale.⁶¹
The evolution and the diffusion of the CME Church is portrayed in the developmental and diffusion model (Figure 7).

In this chapter the institution has been treated within the framework of three cultural geographic themes: (1) the significance of the environmental setting for the evolution of the CME Church in the South; (2) the different ways and degrees to which it is occupying and organizing segments of earth space and (3) the geographic spread of the church through diffusion strategies and the way the institution interacts with other Afro-American Methodist bodies.

The CME Church has been diffused to 43 states and the continent of Africa. It is still a predominantly rural and Southern church that is more areally limited in the North than in the Southern United States (Figure 4d). The only regions lacking CME churches are in New England, Appalachia, portions of the Great Plains, and scattered sections of the Rocky Mountain states. There are also smaller concentrations of Negroes in these areas (Figure 5d).

After discussing the national and international scene of the diffusion of the church, the following chapters are concerned specifically with the Eighth Episcopal District of Texas. Both the rural and urban setting of localized churches will be examined.

⁶¹Sopher, op. cit., p. 7.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL AND DIFFUSION MODEL
OF THE CME CHURCH

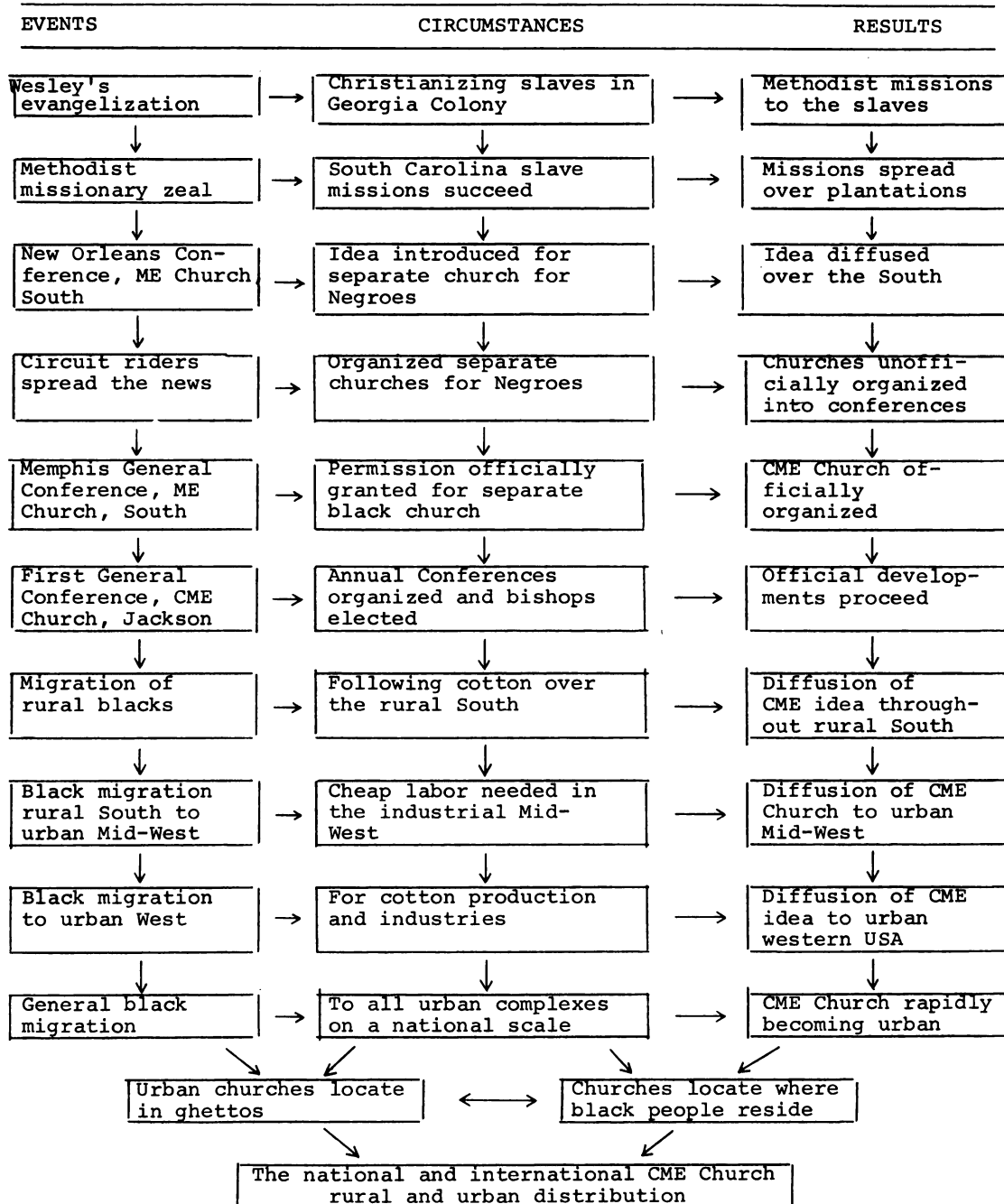


FIGURE 7

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN RURAL TEXAS

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church is a significant phenomenon on the Texas landscape. The same cultural geographic themes relate to the impact of the church in Texas as indicated previously for the entire country:

(1) the relationship to the environmental setting; (2) the church's occupancy and ways of organizing earth space; and (3) the church's spatial distribution and diffusion and its interaction with other religious social systems.¹

To appreciate the place and impact of the CME Church on this landscape, it is necessary to consider some of the broader historical conditions and trends governing its evolution in Texas. It is also essential to consider socio-economic factors and their relationship to the distribution of the church.

THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

Texas is a combination of physical and cultural factors which have produced its uniqueness. A variety of

¹Sopher, op. cit., p. 2.

physical phenomena extend into the state from the interior of the North American continent. Physiographically the Texas Eastern Plains are a continuation of the Atlantic Coastal Plain. The North Central Prairies and Woodlands are a part of the vast interior lowlands of the Midwest, whereas the High Plains are a part of the Great Plains. The Rocky Mountains, as well as the deserts of the Southwest, extend into western Texas.

Texas has a variety of the continent's major vegetation patterns. East Texas has lush pine forests, while north Texas is in the hardwood timber belt. The northwest has short grasslands and the southwest has true desert vegetation.

The climate of Texas is similar to that found in the southern part of the North American continent. It has the humid sub-tropical climate of the Southeast, the humid continental climate of the North, and the arid climate of the West.²

Within this physical framework there are many cultures which have reacted with each other and with the environment over time to produce the geographical patterns of Texas. The regional variations have been further intensified by a clustering of subcultures. The landscapes of Texas reflect the varied ethnic character of the state;

²D. W. Meinig, Imperial Texas, An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), pp. 17-18.

communities of Germans, Czechs, Scandinavians, and Poles are islands in a sea of Anglo-Americans.³

Texas exhibits various cultural patterns, as well as physical features. Meinig delineated the culture areas as: the Panhandle, West Texas, Northeast Texas, East Texas, Central Texas, the Gulf Coast, South Texas, Southwest Texas, and the German Hill Country⁴ (Figure 8). These areas are gross generalizations, but nonetheless are essential to any characterization of Texas culture. East Texas, the Gulf Coast, Northeast Texas, Central Texas, West Texas and the Panhandle are significant regions for this study because of the diffusion of the CME Church into these culture areas. Although each area's physical and cultural characteristics will be briefly discussed, East Texas, of greatest significance to this study, will be discussed in greatest detail.

The Eastern Timbers country, and the rolling red hills east of the Trinity River have been regarded as a distinct region called East Texas. The proximity of the Gulf Coast, the wooded banks of its rivers, relatively effective drainage, rich soils, heavily timbered bottoms and the humid sub-tropical climate were significant in the development of East Texas. The East Texas Immigration Society described the climate as follows:

³Terry G. Jordan, German Seed in Texas Soil (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 143.

⁴Meinig, op. cit., p. 92.



Culture Areas OF TEXAS 1960

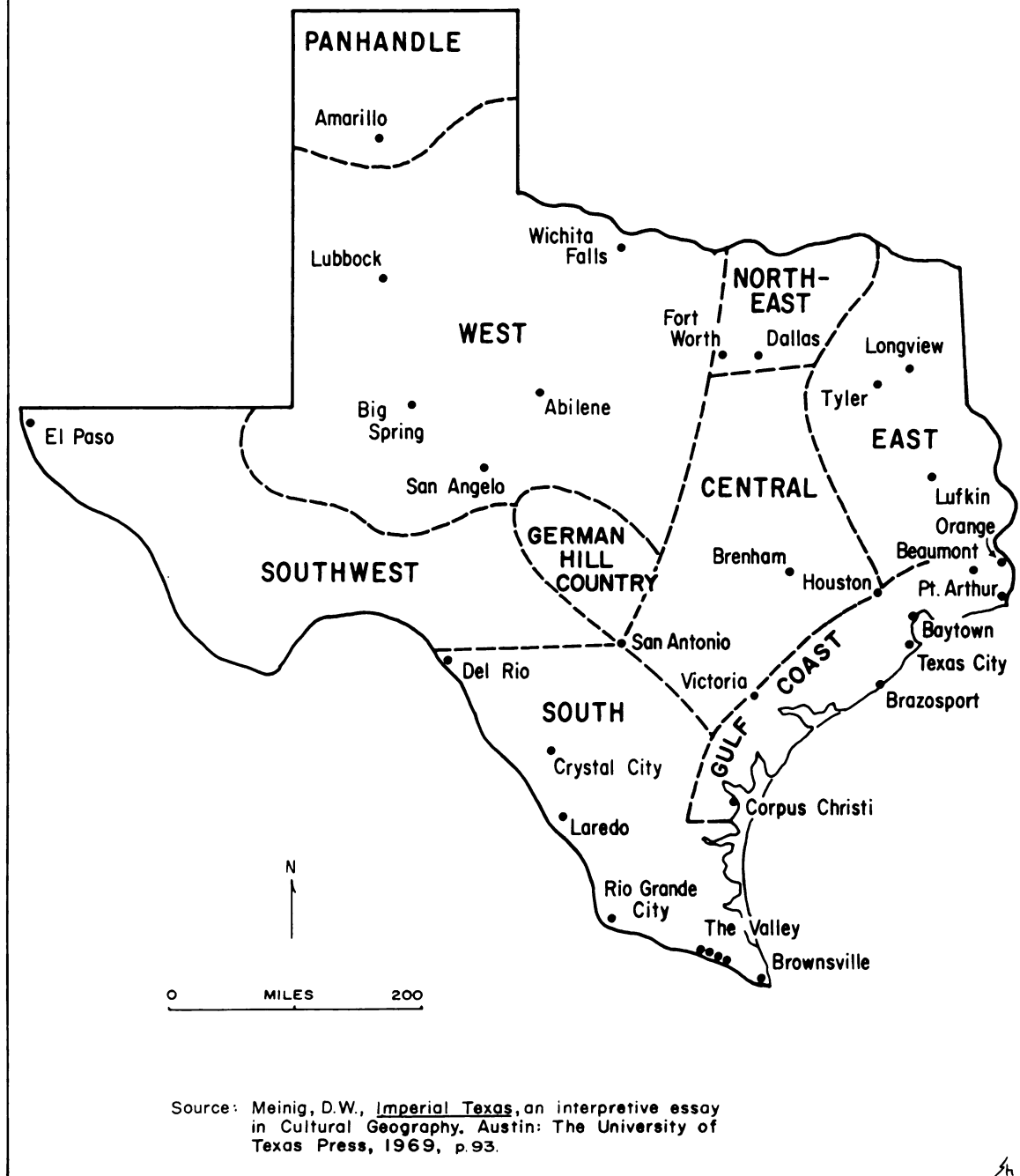


FIGURE 8

Our summers are long and somewhat enervating. Yet we have no cases of total prostration from heat. They are tempered by breezes from the Gulf that rise about nine in the morning and continue until about four in the afternoon. Our winters are always mild. The ice in our ponds is never sufficient to bear up the weight of an ordinary man, and in our running water, ice never forms. There is no time in the winter when a man may not labor out doors, except from rain and sleet, which fall more or less in December, January and February. We never house our cattle, sheep or goats, nor our horses except such as work.⁵

The settlement and the types of individuals who settled in East Texas had a vital bearing on the character of the region. Anglo- and Afro-Americans formed a society without the usual mixture of continental Europeans, Hispanos, or newcomers from the North.

East Texas was historically the most disputed area in the state because of social cleavages, political rivalry, economic problems and the institution of slavery. Problems, such as destitution, tenancy, illiteracy, crime and illegitimacy have assumed distinct sectional aspects in East Texas, where the majority of the Negroes have resided since the days of slavery.⁶

Prior to 1861, the cleavage between East and West Texas caused Flanagan to propose that East Texas be made a new state within the present territorial limits of Texas. His proposal was as follows:

⁵Texas Almanac (Dallas: Dallas Morning News, 1873), p. 98.

⁶Western Joseph McConnell, Social Cleavages in Texas (New York: Longman, Green and Company, 1925), p. 43.

Preparatory to the establishment of a new State within the present territorial limits of Texas. Section I. Be it ordained by the good people of the state of Texas in convention assembled, That it shall be and may be lawful for a new state to be organized within the present territorial limits of the state of Texas, which state shall include the following counties to wit: Jefferson, Orange, Chambers, Liberty, Hardin, Jasper, Newton, Tyler, Polk, Trinity, Angelina, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Sabine, Shelby, Panola, Rusk, Cherokee, Houston, Andarson, Henderson, Smith, Van Zandt, Kaufman, Wood, Upshur, Harrison, Marion, Paris, Bowie, Titus, Hopkins, Red River, Lamar, Fannin, Hunt, Collins and Grayson, which shall be called East Texas Figure 9).

Most slave owners settled in East Texas, while most of West Texas had been settled by German immigrants who were hostile to the institution of slavery.⁸

Slavery in East Texas developed with the introduction of cotton growing. Between 1850 and 1860 cotton production kept a remarkably similar pace with the increase in slaves (Table 10). At the close of the Civil War there were approximately 200,000 Negroes in Texas, predominantly settled on cotton plantations in East Texas.⁹

Today much of East Texas has retained its conservative traditions, although some areas have felt the impact of an industrial society which has brought on a consciousness of cultural change. An interview with a peasant farmer in East Texas is indicative. Sitting on his porch swing while

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 158.

⁹ Holland Thompson, The Book of Texas (Dallas: The Grolier Society, 1929), p. 326.

his wife chopped weeds from hollyhock beds, he revealed that a concern about pollution had reached this back-country. He complained:

Us folk out here use [sic] to have good fishing holes, before the towns grewed, sawmills was built, paper-mills and oil companies--fur [sic] they all put their junk in the creeks, sloughs and rivers.¹⁰

East Texas folk feel closely related to the woods and streams that have nourished them for generations. This backcountry has splendid forests; it is "dogwood" country where festivals related to the forest are often held.

TABLE 10

COTTON PRODUCTION AND THE SLAVE POPULATION IN
EAST TEXAS: 1850-1860

Year	East Texas Slave Population	East Texas Cotton Production
1850	58,558 Slaves	58,072 Bales
1855	105,974 Slaves	105,111 Bales
1860	182,560 Slaves	182,627 Bales

Source: Holland Thompson, The Book of Texas (Dallas: The Grolier Society, 1929), p. 326.

The Gulf Coast culture area extends from Sabine Pass to Corpus Christi; the flat wet prairies and shallow

¹⁰ Interview with Mr. X in the CME community of Possum Trot (Coonville) in the Sabine Valley, East Texas, November, 1970.

sheltered bays and lagoons help to make this Coastal Plain a distinctive physical region (Figure 8). Before oil was discovered the area was sparsely populated, but the rapid development of the oil and chemical industries have created economic and social patterns that characterize the area as a distinctive human region.¹¹

The Northeast Texas culture area is comprised of prosperous farms of cotton, grains, and livestock (Figure 8). It is a link between West Texas and East Texas. It is largely an Anglo area, with less variety than areas to the south, fewer Negroes than East Texas but more than West Texas. The Northeast Texas culture area merges into Central Texas where the proportion of non-Anglos assumes greater significance.

The Central Texas culture area has persisted as the area of greatest cultural diversity (Figure 8). Anglos of every background, Negroes, Hispanos, and all of the European groups have migrated here. Occupations associated with agriculture, small industries, and oil provide jobs for the inhabitants.¹²

The West Texas culture area has remained as one of the most strongly native areas of the state, created and sustained by migrations out of North, Central and East Texas (Figure 8). Negroes have been a very minor part of

¹¹Meinig, op. cit., pp. 95-97.

¹²Ibid., p. 108.



these migrations. The Negro population is five to ten per cent in about half of the counties; it forms a distribution which very largely reflects cotton production.¹³ The West Texas culture area merges into the Panhandle.

The Panhandle is beyond the historic and ecological limits of cotton; thus it has lain beyond the spread of any significant number of Negroes (Figure 8). It is the only area of Texas that does not have Southern antecedents. Middle Westerners migrated to this area in larger numbers than other Texans and have given the dominant imprint to the landscape.

The physical and cultural aspects that have been affected by the diffusion of the CME Church provide a framework for a discussion of (1) their influence on migration to and settlement of these areas and, ultimately, (2) the impact of the CME Church in these regions.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

The migration of people may be viewed as an efficient response to their desires and opportunities. Despite many restraints, migrations have been of immense significance: (1) migration accompanies the spread of settlement and the colonization of new areas; (2) rural-to-urban flows accompany rapid industrialization and urbanization; (3) transfers of slaves and contract labor for

¹³Ibid., p. 106.

agriculture and mining have brought about new mixtures of people, thus having great social and economic impact; (4) migration provides the manpower needed to develop new resources; (5) migration constitutes a mechanism for alleviating inequities in national and regional development; and (6) migration is a principal mechanism for spreading technology, language, customs and most other social behavior.¹⁴

The U. S. Bureau of the Census distinguishes between "local movers" and "migrants." A "local mover" is defined as one who changes his residence but remains within the same county. A "migrant" is defined as one whose change of residence involves crossing a county line or state boundary. Local movers usually maintain their same pattern of living, with no necessary change of work place; many of their social contacts remain the same. Migrants usually adapt themselves to new surroundings both in terms of work and social acquaintances.¹⁵

Within a century Texas has experienced two major forms of population movement: immigration to rural settlements and rural to urban. As a relatively uninhabited territory Texas was largely settled by farmers from the

¹⁴Richard L. Morrill, The Spatial Organization of Society (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 140-41.

¹⁵Harley L. Browning and Harry H. Long, Population Mobility: Focus on Texas (Austin: The University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1968), p. 2.

Old South and their migration was largely rural-to-rural in character. This settlement pattern discouraged the growth of cities; therefore Texas remained agrarian long after many states had become urbanized. For the past several decades the state has been transformed by the exodus of rural folk to its urban centers.¹⁶

The present Texas landscape is not a product of the work of contemporary communities; it reflects a multitude of influences brought on by migration and diffusion. Ever since statehood, Texas has been predominantly peopled by Caucasians. Therefore one could not possibly discuss the black population without first discussing the white population, for it was their settlement that influenced Negro movements to Texas.¹⁷

Jordan describes the Texas population as one which primarily came from the Lower and Upper South.¹⁸ After

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁷Karl E. Ashburn, "Slavery and Cotton Production in Texas," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1933), p. 260.

¹⁸Within the ante-bellum South were two distinct economic regions (1) the Lower South, composed of states fronting on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts, an area dominated by the slave-cotton system, and (2) the Upper South, represented by inland states like Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, where slaveless yeoman farmers were dominant and cotton was scarce. Terry C. Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South in Mid-Nineteenth Century Texas," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 57, No. 4 (December, 1967), pp. 667-73.

Texas became independent all restrictions on slavery were removed causing an influx of Lower Southerners from the Gulf Plains of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana.

They brought the culture of the Lower South with them:

(1) Negro slaves, (2) cotton culture, (3) sugar cane culture, (4) the use of mules as draft animals, and (5) plantation agriculture. Backwoodsmen of the transmontane Upper South were led to Texas by Tennesseans like Sam Houston and David Crockett. The migrants from the Upper South were mainly slaveless yeoman farmers from Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and Missouri. The 1850 census reported that Tennessee constituted the largest single nativity group in Texas. Significantly, Lower Southerners were dominant in eastern and southeastern Texas while Upper Southerners dominated the interior of north central Texas.¹⁹

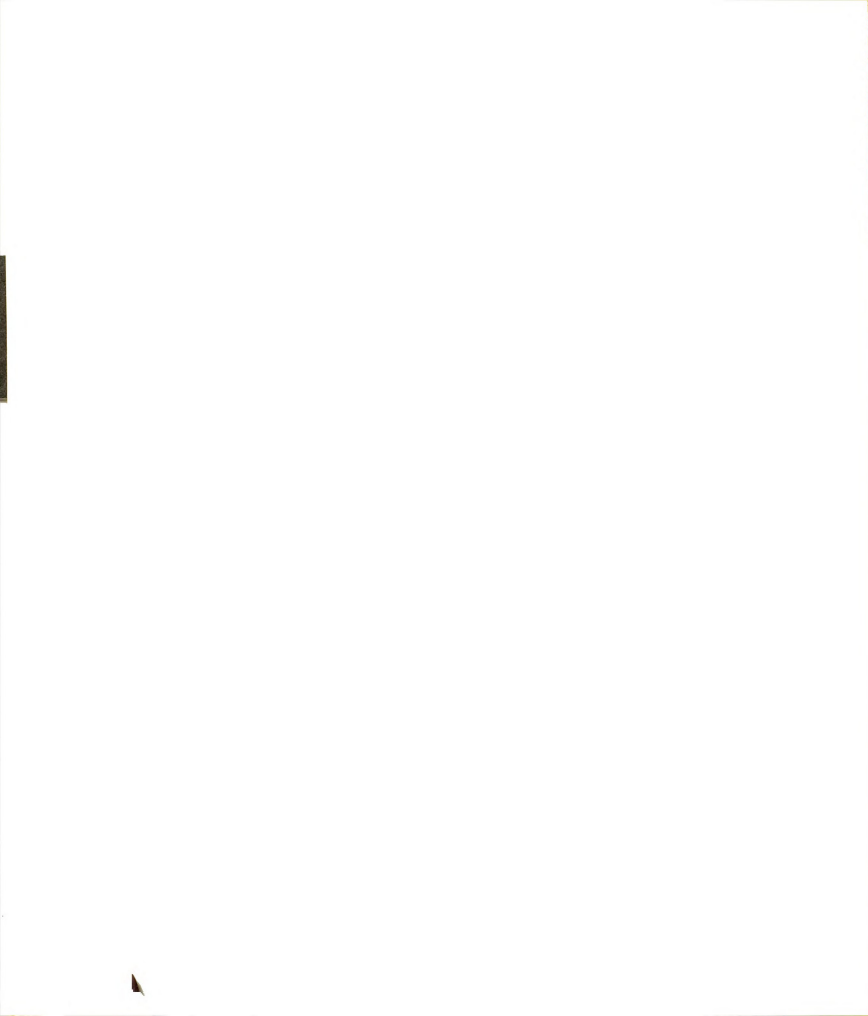
Another migratory wave included those who entered Texas via the port at Galveston (Figure 9). New Orleans also drew migrants bound for Texas; many of them came from the Gulf states while others were European migrants.²⁰

An analysis of types of Negroes in Texas reveals four classes: (1) the freed Negroes prior to 1845,²¹ (2) the African slaves entering through Galveston, (3) slaves brought in by their masters from the Old South, and

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Meinig, op. cit., p. 45.

²¹Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845.



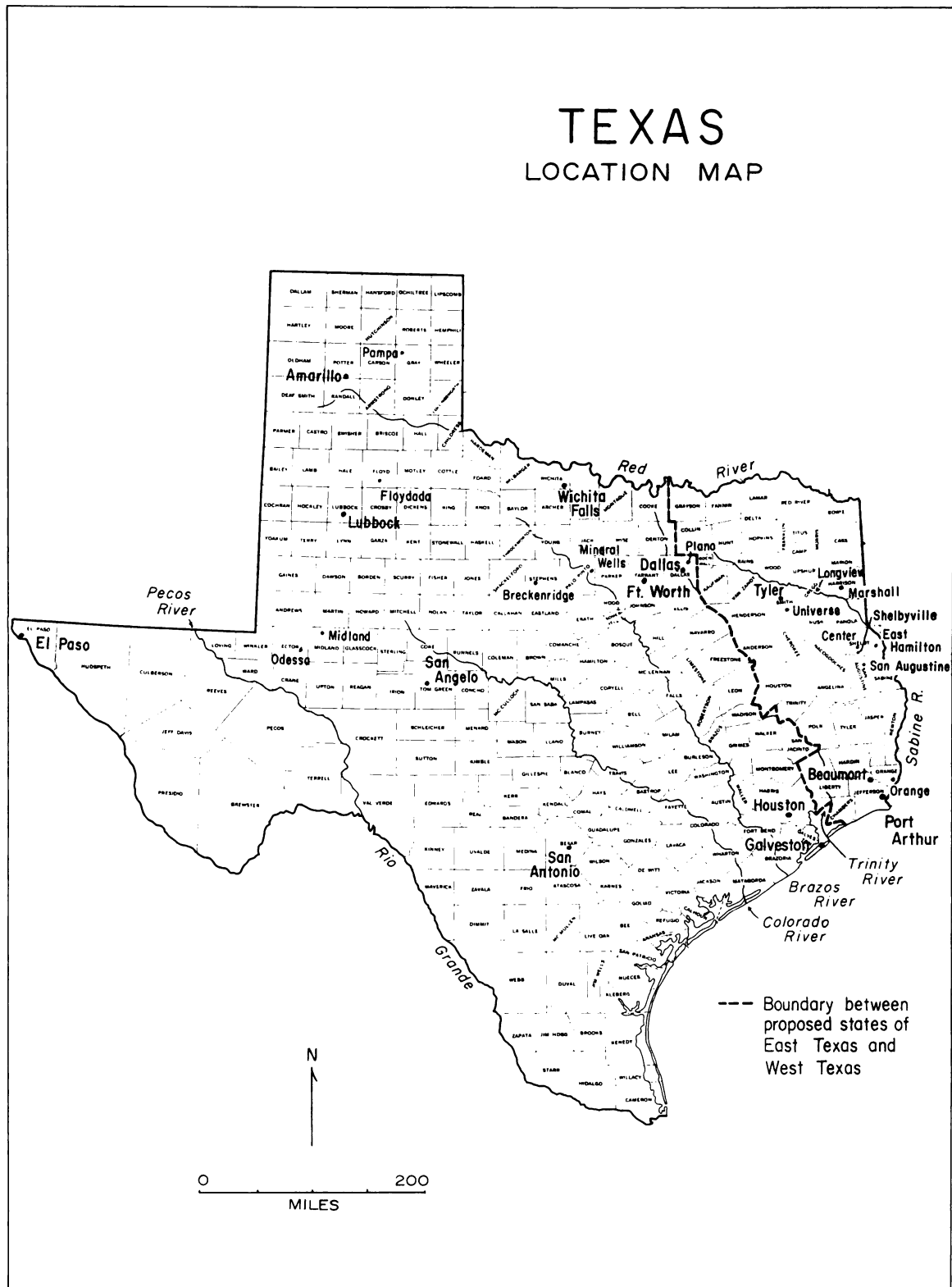


FIGURE 9



(4) the freed Negroes who drifted to Texas following the Civil War.

Prior to the arrival of Stephen F. Austin in 1821, there were Negroes in Texas who had been freed by the Mexican government. Colonel Jared Ellison Groce, the first cotton planter, brought 100 slaves to Texas in 1821.²² Several importations of slaves were made at Galveston prior to the Texas War for Independence. James Bowie, a slave trader, conveyed many slaves from Galveston through the wilds of East Texas. Some of them escaped and formed settlements or intermingled with Comanche Indians; many settlements in the Brazos, Colorado, and Trinity River bottoms were established by these slaves (Figure 9). As late as 1857 people were continuously urged to emigrate to Texas from the Old South with the slaves in order to grow cotton and other crops.²³ Many of the ex-slaves who were roaming the South after the Civil War drifted into East Texas from neighboring Louisiana and Arkansas.

After the annexation of Texas, the slave population increased considerably²⁴ as is shown in Table 11. Texas's greatest net in-migration of Negroes occurred after the Civil War and increased in every decade except one

²²Ashburn, op. cit., p. 260.

²³Ibid., p. 266.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 258-63.

(1900-1910) between 1870 and 1960. In 1861 the majority of the slaves in Texas had settled along the river bottom lands of the Colorado, Brazos, Trinity and Sabine Rivers²⁵ (Figure 9) where they remained until World War II.

TABLE 11
TEXAS SLAVE POPULATION
1834-1860

Year	Number of Slaves
1834	2,000
1836	5,000
1841	10,000
1850	58,151
1860	182,566

Source: Eugene C. Barker, "The Influence of Slavery in the Colonization of Texas," The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 28 (July 1924), p. 6.

After World War II population shifts occurred resulting in two Afro-Texas migration waves. The first concerns the movement from rural East Texas to the urban centers of West Texas for employment. Although Negroes had been a part of early West Texas settlement as cotton planters had brought slaves with them when West Texas was first settled as did cattlemen from the tidewater region. Negroes followed the cotton culture west early in the 1900's but no significant number of Negroes migrated to

²⁵ Ibid., p. 266.



West Texas until after World War II. As new technology enabled the irrigation of much of the arid lands of West Texas, the area became a chief producer of cotton and, as cotton production increased, so did the Negro population.

Rural West Texas was not organized into plantations like East Texas, so Negro migrants had to live in the cities and be trucked to the cotton fields. The majority of West Texas blacks today reside in the urban complexes of Lubbock, Amarillo, Midland, Odessa, San Angelo and El Paso (Figure 9). The total migration of Negroes from the timbered east to the west was not significant and the black population thus remained small in West Texas. The majority of Afro-Texans still reside on the soil of their birth in the East Texas hills.

A second and larger migration wave involves a shift from the rural back country and towns of East Texas to the urban complexes of Houston and Dallas-Ft. Worth. These rural migrants felt that life would be more economically desirable in these urban areas, despite the ghetto conditions under which they were forced to live.

As the Texas Negro population shifted, the people carried their culture with them, including their religion. The CME Church was part of the movement and it became a significant factor in shaping the rural Texas environment.



THE DIFFUSION OF THE CME CHURCH IN TEXAS--WITH
EMPHASIS ON RURAL AND SMALL TOWN CHURCHES

Methodism had its beginnings in Texas in 1833, when the first church was organized in the little town of San Augustine in the East Texas backwoods. From its beginning, Methodism made a special appeal to poor people. Its message was tailored to the lowly and the neglected classes. Thus in Texas, as well as other parts of the South, Methodism evoked an enthusiastic response from the Afro-Americans.

The first CME Church was established in Marshall, county seat of Harrison County, which had a dense Afro-American population (Figure 9). The settlement of Marshall developed as a part of the westward movement in America as early as 1821. After 1830 Harrison County received more than its share of settlers and by 1860 most of the desirable land was occupied. Cotton was important to the economy of the area, and by 1860 Harrison County with its large plantations had more slaves than any other county in Texas. Marshall was said to be the wealthiest city in Texas at the beginning of the Civil War.

In 1848 Bishop James O. Andrew, a prominent prelate of the ME Church, South visited Marshall and influenced the expansion of Methodism in that area. After 1850 the settlers of Marshall boasted of the strength of religion in their area, and by 1860 there were seven Methodist churches in the city. Many Methodist camp meetings were held for religious

and social purposes.²⁶

Marshall also became an area of Negro Methodist conflict. The first conflict involved missionaries from the ME Church, North who established a church as well as Wiley College for Negroes. The second involved missionaries of the AME Church who sought to gain converts from the ranks of CME communicants. These two forces were hindrances to the diffusion of the CME Church. Marshall was just one of the places that suffered from these two forces as indicated by the following words of Bishop Miles in January 1873:

I have traveled over a large portion of our work, and have seen a great deal of the world. I find our work is doing well. Men and means are what is wanted to do a great work for Christ. We still have the political influence of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church to contend with. I wonder if they will never get tired of telling falsehoods on our Church. Through it all, we have a right to the great Head of the Church that notwithstanding all they say and do, we are yet on the gaining ground.²⁷

The East Texas Conference was one of the original conferences to be recognized when the CME innovation became a reality in 1870 at Jackson, Tennessee (Figure 10).

W. H. Miles, first bishop of the church, held the first East Texas Annual Conference at Marshall in the ME Church, South on November 6, 1872. Bishop Miles, writing at that session, said:

²⁶ Charlie Behn, "The First Settlers in Harrison County," Marshall News-Messenger (September 29, 1929), p. 4.

²⁷ Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 33.

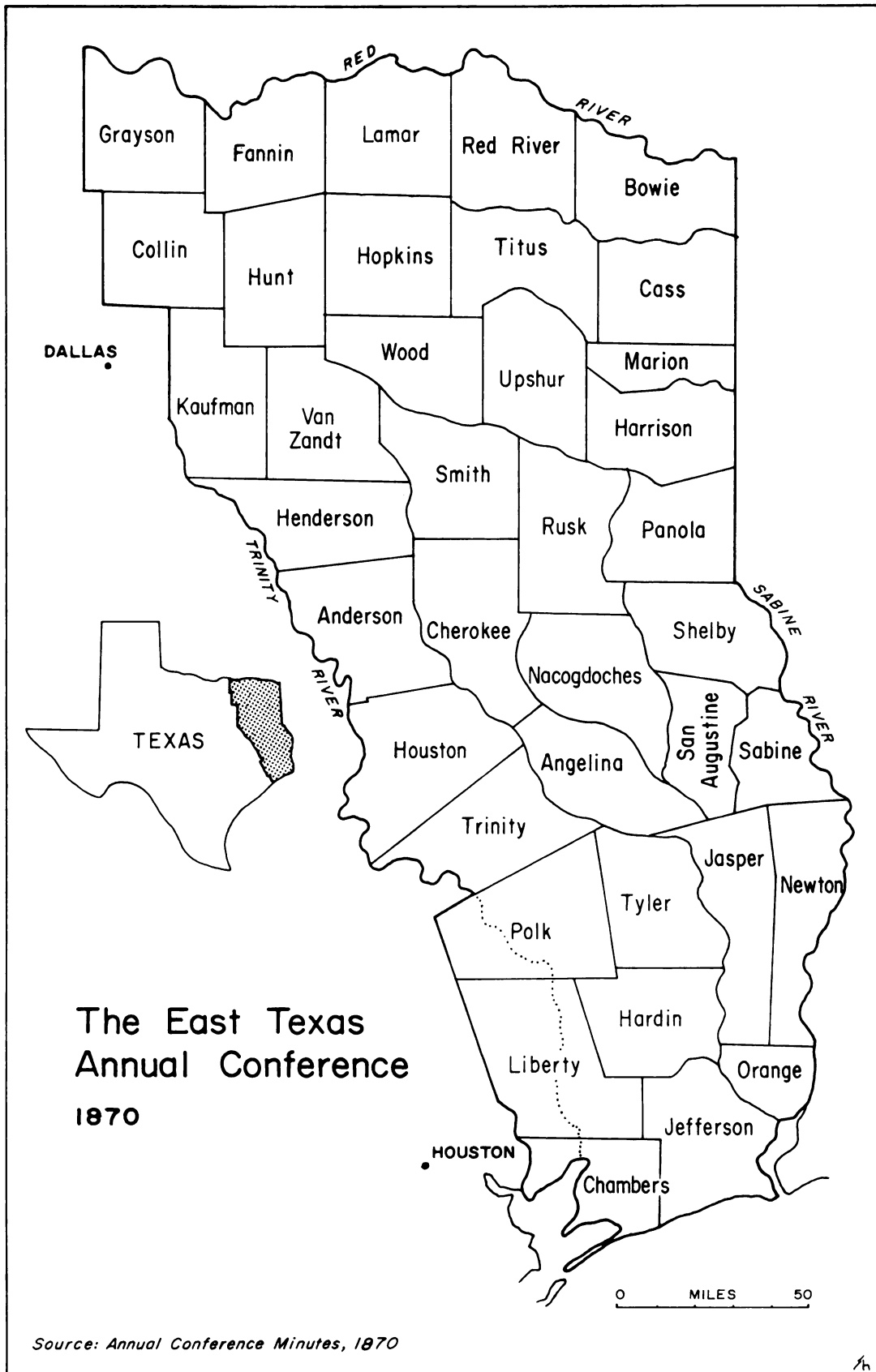


FIGURE 10



Rev. Daniels, presiding elder of the district, had made an arrangement with the officers of the Methodist Episcopal Church to hold the Conference sessions in their church. After religious services, several women came in, claiming to be members of that Church, and ordered us out. One very old lady, bending over a long staff said: "My God, brethren; I am a radical all over! Go away from here, you conservatives!" I felt sorry for the old lady, to think that politics had so deranged an old woman who was nearly in the grave. I withdrew the Conference from their church in good order. I told the brethren not to say anything; and we then marched up to the Public Square, and halted in front of the courthouse, where the Cumberland Presbyterians offered us the use of their church. We did well after that, and had a good time. We bought a lot on which to build a church. The East Texas Conference is doing well. They had an increase of 1,620 members, and ten preachers we admitted on trial.²⁸

Daniels was accused of organizing a democratic church and was driven out. But the conference was allowed to continue and meetings were held in the white Presbyterian church.

The diffusion of "Colored Methodism" in Texas was greatly aided by the circuit riders; M. F. Jamison from Alabama was the most noted of these. He decided to go to Texas in 1872, for he had heard that "wages were very good--two dollars and a half in greenback and two dollars in gold per day." Jamison and other friends from Alabama divided the area around Marshall into CME circuits known as Black Jack Circuit, Hilliard Circuit, Center Circuit and Antioch Circuit.

These men "rode the circuits," exhorting and preaching the gospel as interpreted by the Book of the

²⁸C. H. Phillips, The History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1923), p. 55.

Discipline of the CME Church. Jamison preached three and four times a week in the "Alabama style,"²⁹ going from plantation to plantation with a gospel that appealed to the common folk. He reported that there were thousands of colored people in that area to whom "religion was all the go." Jamison felt that East Texas was Methodist territory. He said "I am a Methodist from 'away back,' and I am ready to defend its doctrines as a game chicken is to fight."³⁰ Jamison was officially admitted to the East Texas Conference under Bishop Isaac Lane in 1873.

The spread of the CME Church from East Texas is associated with the westward population movement in general. A citizen of Marshall commented on the westward movement in 1900:

For the last two weeks emigrants have been passing through our town to an extent never before witnessed. We suppose they have averaged from ten to fifteen families a day, and "still they come." It is reasonable to suppose that Old Harrison catches her share. With the emigrants there have passed at least 2000 Negroes.³¹

In 1874 the western territory of the CME Church was overrun by ministers of the ME Church, North and the

²⁹"Alabama style" preaching is historically noted among CME communicants as a special kind of jubilant old-time preaching that appeals to the poor.

³⁰M. F. Jamison, Autobiography and Work of Bishop M. F. Jamison (Nashville: Publishing House of the ME Church, South, 1912), p. 74.

³¹Eleanor Atterbury, "The Bloody Neutral Ground in Harrison County, Texas," Texas History Teachers Magazine, Vol. 14 (1902), p. 23.

AME Church. (At that time Dallas and Fort Worth were the centers of the western expansion of the church.) CME ministers who were sent to hold these city charges³² could not understand the AME and ME Church ministers. Jamison made the following statement about them: "Our men were old, homespun men; the AME men were manufactured and imported men, finely dressed, who demanded respect from the intelligent people, while our men were domestic men."³³ In February, 1875 Jamison was appointed to the Dallas church. He found that the AME and ME Church, North had made tremendous strides in that city. He stated:

Our Church in Dallas had to contend with heavy opposition; but it had courage equal to it all, notwithstanding that she was unfortunate in losing some of her best material to the AME and the ME Church, North.³⁴

Under Jamison's pastorate the first CME church was erected in 1875. In the following year Dallas had its first Annual Conference under Bishop BeBee. At this conference Jamison was promoted to the presiding eldership. He later established CME churches throughout North Texas.

The East Texas Annual Conference convened at Longview in November, 1877 under Bishop BeBee. The success of expansion and diffusion of the CME Church brought

³²"Charges"--refers to churches administered by an ordained minister in the CME Church.

³³Jamison, op. cit., p. 84.

³⁴Ibid.

encouragement to the ministers. This conference was concerned about the cultural development of Negroes; it stressed the necessity of establishing a church supported institution of higher learning and a circulating media. A monthly publication called The East Texas Index was initiated by this conference and was first published in Dallas in April, 1878. However, the school was not started since the new bishop assigned to the East Texas Conference in 1878 did not favor it.

Although generally church expansion was encouraging, the spread of the church did not always happen as rapidly as its leaders hoped. Other Negro Methodist Churches gathered thousands of those who would have been CME members if the CME Church had spread to more areas earlier. Another problem was stated by Jamison: "Our people, like other Colored folks, were poor and wasteful; besides they were not educated nor trained along missionary lines."³⁵

This brief summary of the establishment of the CME Church in Texas allows one to discuss the spread of the church across the state. The time periods developed in chapter three, i.e., four periods of 25 years each, to cover the span 1870-1970, will again be used.

Diffusion Periods

This section explores the extent to which the CME

³⁵Ibid., p. 189.

Church has organized its religious space in Texas. The culture areas as described by Meinig will be used as a guide in discussing the diffusion of the CME Church in the state (Figure 8).

Period 1: 1870-1895. During the first period of "Colored Methodism" (1870-1895), the following culture areas had CME representation: East Texas, ninety-five per cent of the counties; Northeast Texas, ninety-five per cent of the counties; Central Texas, two per cent of the counties; the Gulf Coast, three per cent of the counties; and West Texas, five per cent of the counties (Figure 11a).

In the East Texas culture area, the East Texas Conference had four counties with 800-1400 members (Figure 8). Harrison County, the "cradle of 'Colored Methodism,'" along with Panola, Nacogdoches, Gregg and Camp Counties all had significant numbers of CME members. All East Texas counties had CME representation except Marion, Titus, Franklin, Rains and Sabine Counties (Figure 8). In 1894, Tyler in Smith County had the greatest concentration of CME communicants in East Texas, therefore Tyler was selected as the site of the first CME supported school in the state. The impact of this institution will be examined in a discussion of the urban church in Texas.

By 1873 the church had diffused to the Gulf Coast culture area, reaching as far west as Waller County (Figure 11a). The oldest CME church in the Gulf Coast

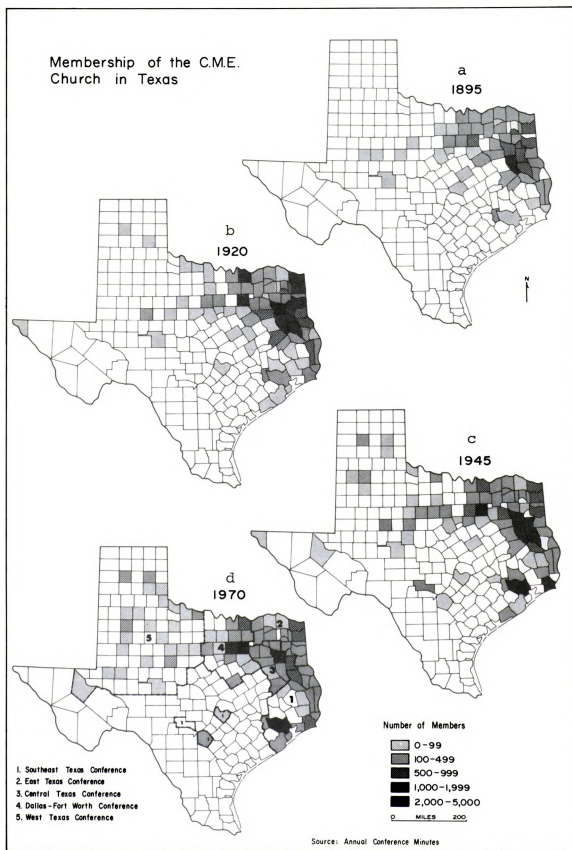


FIGURE 11, a, b, c, and d

region is at Sunnyside in Waller County. The rice-cultivating people of Sunnyside in the Brazos River valley maintained their CME identity in the midst of strong AME, AMEZ and ME Church, North rivalries.³⁶

Several areas of the Gulf Coast region did not have CME representation during this time, however. One of these was the Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange triangle where the Catholic influence from nearby Louisiana was strong. The Big Thicket³⁷ counties of Polk, Tyler, San Jacinto and Liberty also had no CME representation (Figure 9). For many years the Big Thicket blocked the westward movement of both Anglo-Saxon and Negro pioneers, causing denser settlements to the north and south³⁸ (Figure 9). Sabine County was also without CME representation. This was an ME, North enclave tucked away in the piney woods where custom was important. The ME Church, North was so influential that even today neither CME's, AME's nor AMEZ's are able to survive in this backwoods county.

The church had diffused to the Northeast Texas

³⁶Annual Conference Minutes, 1932, The CME Church (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1932), p. 12.

³⁷The "Big Thicket" is a famous but ill-defined section of about a thousand square miles in parts of Polk, Hardin and Tyler Counties. It has a particularly dense, jungle-like and varied plant growth in addition to many kinds of wild animals. Elton M. Scott, Texas Geography (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1952), pp. 106-107.

³⁸Thompson, op. cit., p. 41.



culture area including Dallas-Ft. Worth. From the North-east Texas area the church spread south to the Central Texas culture region. This was a penetration into an area of great cultural diversity and one dominated by the AME Church, producing hostile feelings between the two churches as they competed for members.

The church diffused to ten counties in the West Texas culture area during this period, but there were 49 or less members in each county (Figure 11a). The East Texas Index, published during this period, was an influential source for transporting the CME innovation to the few West Texas communicants. This magazine, which was very important to the early diffusion of the church in Texas, soon collapsed and was replaced by The Christian Index, published at the general church publishing house in Jackson, Tennessee.³⁹

Period 2: 1895-1920. During the period 1895-1920 the church diffused into two counties in the Panhandle culture area (Figure 11b). The first church was established at Amarillo in Potter County. The church then expanded to additional counties in West Texas, two in Central Texas, and six in the Gulf Coast culture area (Figure 11b).

This was a period in which evangelism was stressed

³⁹East Texas Annual Conference Minutes, 1912, The CME Church (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1912), p. 20.

by the general church connection. This organization, like most Protestant groups, believed that its adherents should carry the belief to non-believers, that is, every communicant should be a missionary. At this time the itineracy system, the circuit system, Texas College and The Christian Index were also important church expansion measures.

During this period the East Texas CME belt continued to hold its own. Tyler had a CME populace of 2,000-3,000 members, and the founding of Texas College was very influential. Afro-Texans began to move to the Southeast along the tidewater and the church followed (Figure 11b). The westward movement of the church reflected the directional shift in cotton production. Churches were established in Mineral Wells and Wichita Falls in the West Texas culture area. Three additional churches were organized in Dallas and one was established at Plano in the Northeast Texas area. Two additional churches were added to the Houston scene and others were established at Galveston, Port Arthur and Baytown in the Gulf Coast culture area. The church took on a slightly urban character during this period.⁴⁰

Period 3: 1920-1945. The period 1920-1945 can be classified as one of urban diffusion. Dallas, Harris and Gregg became leading CME counties in the Northeast Texas, Gulf Coast and East Texas culture areas

⁴⁰ Annual Conference Minutes, 1931, The CME Church (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1931), p. 6.



respectively (Figure 11c). The East Texas counties of Nacogdoches, Jefferson, Rusk, Smith and Cherokee had large representations. A pattern of church diffusion continued southeast and westward. At the end of the period (1945), the church embraced the following culture areas: the Panhandle (one additional county), West Texas (13 additional counties), Central Texas (three additional counties), the Gulf Coast (with tremendous increases in Harris and Jefferson Counties), and the German Hill Country (one additional county) (Figure 11c).

Ft. Bend County, which is adjacent to Harris County, has no CME church (Figure 9). The AME and the ME Church, North served as barriers to the diffusion of the CME Church in this border county. The counties of Walker, San Jacinto, Montgomery, Liberty and Polk formed an AME enclave penetrating into CME territory in the East Texas and Gulf Coast culture areas.

Period 4: 1945-1970. During the last period (1945-1970) the church continued diffusing to West Texas where growth in Reeves County was comparatively phenomenal (Figure 11d). The greatest concentration of CME's appeared in Dallas. During this period churches were established in Lubbock, Breckenridge, Pampa and Floydada in the West Texas culture area (Figures 9 and 11d). This is a reflection of Afro-Texans following cotton to the West Texas plains.



The Five Annual Conferences

Prior to 1960 it would have been impossible to accurately discuss the diffusion of the church via the five annual conferences which presently embrace the Eighth Episcopal District (Figure 11d). The status of the five annual conferences is presented in Table 12. The complex history of these annual conferences will not be presented; only those necessary facts that are related to the continued diffusion of the CME Church in Texas will be given.

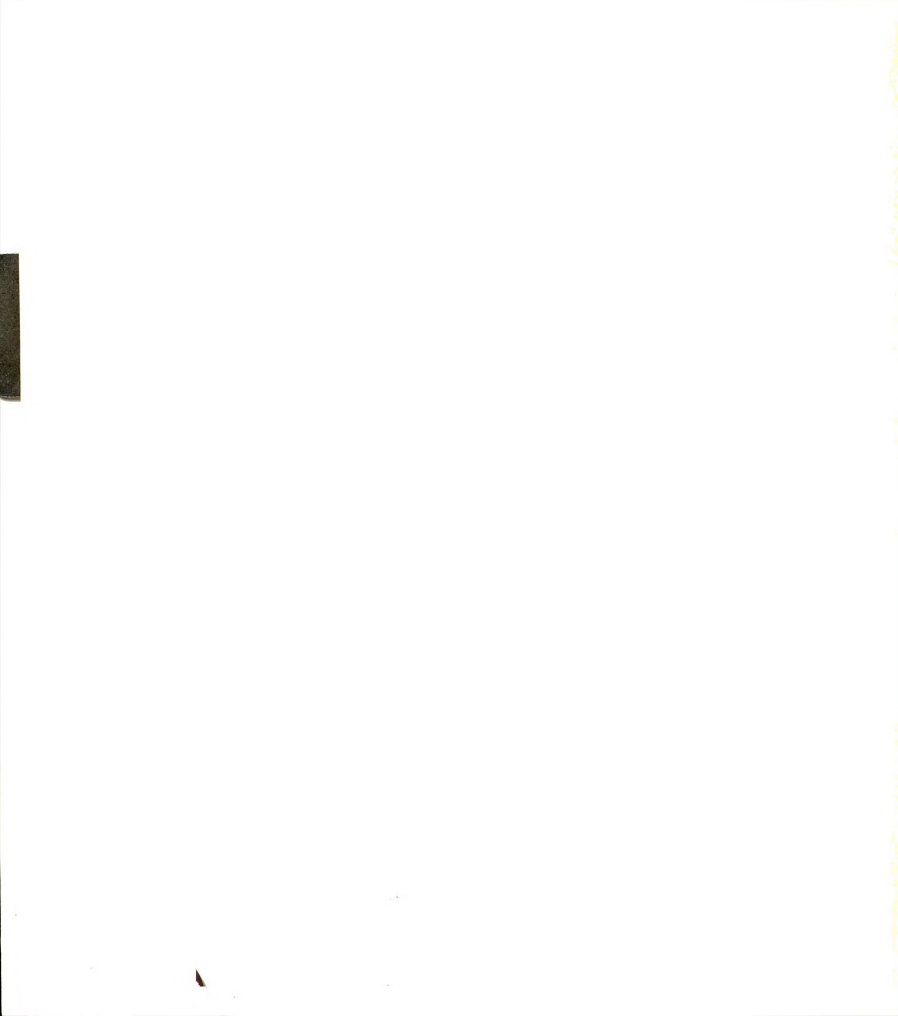
TABLE 12

ANNUAL CONFERENCES OF THE EIGHTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT
OF TEXAS, CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1970

Annual Conferences	District Conferences*	Member- ship	Churches
Northwest Texas	Abilene Wichita- Amarillo	1,749	29
Dallas-Ft. Worth	Dallas Fort Worth	7,366	50
Southeast Texas	Houston Beaumont	6,661	72
Central Texas	North Tyler Tyler	4,875	55
East Texas	Longview- Marshall Greenville	6,534	75
Total		27,185	291

*Two or more district conferences comprise the geographical area of an annual conference.

Source: Annual Conference Minutes, 1970, The CME Church
(Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1970).



The East Texas Conference was the first "Colored Methodist" conference in Texas; the conference boundary originally included the territory in Texas from the Louisiana border to Dallas (Figure 10). This conference has since been divided into the East Texas Conference, the Dallas-Ft. Worth Conference, the Central Texas Conference and the Southeast Texas Conference. The present East Texas Conference was organized from the territory of the original East Texas Conference which included all of the counties of Texas south of the Red River, north of the Gulf of Mexico and east of the Trinity River (Figure 10).

The Northwest Texas Conference was officially organized in 1934, which coincided with the diffusion and the establishment of the CME churches in the West in the third period of "Colored Methodism." This conference includes parts of both the West Texas and Panhandle culture areas.

The Central Texas Conference was organized in 1915 from the territory of the old East Texas Conference. This occurred during the second period of "Colored Methodism." The influence of Texas College, a CME supported institution in this conference, encouraged growth and expansion of the CME Church.

The Southeast Texas Conference was organized in the fourth period of "Colored Methodism." This conference includes parts of the East Texas, Gulf Coast, Central Texas and the German Hill Country culture areas. The CME mission

in Austin, one church in San Antonio, and the property in Kerr County are parts of the Southeast Texas Conference.

The Dallas-Ft. Worth Conference, organized from the territory of the original East Texas Conference, is the only urban conference in the Eighth Episcopal District. This particular conference will be examined regarding the impact of the CME Church on the urban Texas landscape in the following chapter.

No mention has been made of the church diffusing to the Southwest Texas culture area. Only the city of El Paso, with one CME congregation, belongs to the Ninth Episcopal District, which geographically separates it from the rest of Texas, the Eighth Episcopal District.

This examination of the cultural diffusion of a religious social system and its impact on the Texas landscape reveals that the church is deeply integrated into the regional culture of East Texas. The church has spread across the state of Texas, and in the third and fourth periods of "Colored Methodism" has turned toward the urban centers where it is following the migrating communicants. However, the church, from its inception in 1870 to the present time, remains predominantly rural and is predominantly located in the East Texas piney woods where the majority of Afro-Texans continue to reside. The character of a rural CME community and a small town CME church are examined in detail.

THE RURAL CHURCH

A rural church is considered a fellowship of believers located either in the open countryside or in small towns and villages.⁴¹ Rural churches are kinship churches and in East Texas communities were often named after the churches. A Negro in Alabama was asked to identify the people in an adjoining rural community and his reply was "The nationality in there is Methodist." For the Negro masses, in their social and moral isolation in American society, the church community has been a nation within a nation.⁴²

Rural parishes located in areas of population stagnation and decline are often unable to respond to population shifts and other changes. The following statement gives evidence of this:

We've got to impress rural church people that this world is changing. And too many of us are not even aware that changes are taking place. A rural church that isn't changing to suit the times is like a car that is out of date. It will soon wind up in the junk heap. We've got junk heap churches all over the state.⁴³

⁴¹The U. S. Census Bureau has divided the American population into rural and urban people on the basis of where they reside rather than on the basis of their occupations, personal values or other characteristics. Persons who live in the country or in towns of less than 2,500 people are said to be rural. All others are urban. For a discussion of rural society see: Everett M. Rogers, Social Change in Rural Society (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960).

⁴²Ibid., p. 213.

⁴³Ibid., p. 206.

Rural CME Church communicants are notably reluctant to adjust to changing conditions. They suffer from a lack of financial support, untrained and untutored ministers, and inadequate programs to serve the present age. Rural CME churches in East Texas are dominated by an agricultural people whose customs may appear strange to urban dwellers. For example, "agricultural magic"⁴⁴ is common and associated with planting crops, castrating or dehorning livestock, or cutting weeds by the sign of the moon.

Throughout the nation there is a trend to consolidate several small rural churches into one larger church. As a result the number of churches is generally declining in America. In Texas there are dozens of circuits and missions that need to be consolidated and re-consolidated so as to better serve the present age.

The church is sometimes regarded as a hindrance to change in the rural community, in that it tends to retain old values and methods. The cemetery where great-grandfather was buried, for instance, holds a great sentimental value to many folk, and often serves as a barrier to church mergers. Many rural CME churches in East Texas own and operate such burial grounds. CME communicants who have migrated from their birthplace often return their dead kindred to a particular CME cemetery near where they were

⁴⁴"Agricultural magic"--those farming beliefs and practices which lack any scientific explanation.

born. Many believe that they should be returned to the soil of their birth. In this way cemeteries can deter church consolidation.⁴⁵

In recent years, rural East Texas cotton fields have become somewhat deserted while the cities teem with relocated throngs of Negroes living in the ghetto areas. In such a situation rural churches are described as "sending stations," and urban churches become "receiving stations." In 1950 the U. S. Census showed Texas to be predominantly a state of city dwellers. The population of the east-central portion of Texas, where the bulk of rural people have always lived, generally declined, while the heaviest gains were in parts of West Texas, along the Gulf Coast, and in the heavily urbanized counties.

Universe--A Rural CME Community

Universe has been selected because of its proximity to Tyler, the home of Texas College, and because of an acquaintance with CME parishioners who were cooperative in supplying information about this community. Universe is a rural CME community located approximately five miles from the urban complex of Tyler in Smith County, Texas (Figure 9). It was a slave community and in pre-Civil War times the colored folk worshipped with their masters at the Baskom Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Ben Goss,

⁴⁵Rogers, op. cit., p. 209.

a slave, was a leader for the colored members of that church⁴⁶ and later, in 1869, he asked the presiding elder to let the blacks worship by themselves. Permission was granted and Ben Goss held services for the slaves at his home. Goss and the presiding elder named the church the Universe Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Goss donated land, and each land owner donated timber to be cut into lumber for the building of the present Universe church and school. The organization of the church at first was unofficial because the general conference of the ME Church, South had not permitted the organization of any Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. However, in 1870 the ME Church, South officially recognized the Universe CME Church. When the announcement came the parishioners were well on their way to becoming a part of the official church. M. F. Jamison, the most important circuit rider in Texas, held his first quarterly conference in Universe in 1878 as presiding elder of the Tyler District. George Hughes became the first local preacher of the Universe church.

The Universe church was responsible for the continued diffusion of "Colored Methodism" into the surrounding

⁴⁶This section is primarily the result of an interview with four sisters of the Goss family in the Universe community. The Goss sisters were most willing to give the information and all of them spoke with the highest regard for their father. They stated that their father had traveled on the underground railroad and that he belonged to the Brown race and that his Mistress taught him how to read. Goss later became one of the largest Negro landowners in East Texas.

country. From the Universe church the idea spread to include other CME churches such as the Starville, Chapel Hill and Hopewell CME Churches. These organizations developed along with the dispersal of Negroes over the farmlands of Smith County.

The Universe church was originally a circuit church and has remained that way for decades. The parishioners were agricultural and cotton was their main crop. The discovery of oil in the East Texas oil field, located about four miles from Universe, caused a shift in the occupation of the people and most of the parishioners moved to the larger cities of Tyler, Henderson and Kilgore. Tyler's Miles Chapel Church has twelve members who were former members of the Universe church.

The impact of this small church is noted by the following expression:

I was married in a Baptist family for 10 years--they claimed they washed the Methodist off of me, but joining them didn't change me, for I came back to the Methodist family, my home.⁴⁷

The Universe CME Church is an example of a rural CME church that needs to be consolidated, but the affinity for this church and its cemetery keeps it on the landscape. The church once had 150 members, but has dwindled to 23 participating members today. This little church seems to

⁴⁷Interview with a gentleman in the Universe community who wished to remain anonymous.

have a permanent home in the wildwoods of East Texas, and its 23 members shudder at the thought of closing their church home.

THE SMALL TOWN CHURCH--CENTER, TEXAS

Center, the county seat of Shelby County, is located in the timbered hill country in the Sabine River Valley watershed on the western edge of the Sabine National Forest. Center has a population of 7,500 and is part of the East Texas culture area (Figure 9). Center has been selected for this study because of its concentration of CME communicants and their known influence in the general church.

Shelby County was settled by Anglo-Americans between 1824 and 1836. J. E. Latham, the first Anglo-Saxon in Shelby County, settled at East Hamilton in 1818 (Figure 9). He was followed by settlers from Tennessee and Kentucky. The area, originally a district of the municipality of Nacogdoches, in 1835 became the municipality of Tenahaw with Nashville as the seat of government. Nashville had been settled by people from Tennessee but the name was changed to Shelbyville in honor of Isaac Shelby, a gallant officer in the Continental army. On March 17, 1836 Shelby County was created as one of the 31 original counties of Texas. In 1866 the county seat was moved to the center of the county and the town was appropriately named Center, Texas.

The cotton culture of the Old South became dominant in Shelby County. For many years this county was one of the leading cotton producing areas in East Texas. The planters shipped their cotton down the Sabine River to New Orleans from the small port settlement of East Hamilton (Figure 9).

Religion was not neglected in this East Texas "piney woods" country. James English was a Methodist circuit rider in this area in 1825. The first Methodist church, built in Shelbyville in 1845, was destroyed by a storm and rebuilt in 1897. The current church is an impressive stately structure bringing a New England flavor to the East Texas hills.

Many of the white settlers who brought Methodist ideas with them from Kentucky and Tennessee also brought Negroes. The Methodist church at Shelbyville, which later became the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, lost a number of its members to the organization of the ME Church, South in Center. The church at Center, like all other Methodist Episcopal churches in the Southern conferences, was concerned with the religious life of the slaves. Slaves worshipped with the whites in their churches and were a part of the East Texas Conference of the ME Church, South. Missions giving religious instruction to the slaves were also founded in Shelby County which was a part of the East Texas Conference.

After the Civil War, due to the emancipation of

Negroes, and the upheaval of social conditions throughout the South, there had to be change at Center.⁴⁸ An interview was held with several pioneer Negroes concerning the separation of Negroes from the ME Church, South.

When there was a need for the establishment of a church for the colored folk to be called the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, my father donated the land for the building of our church. We now have a church and a small cemetery on that spot of ground.⁴⁹

Another mentioned:

Our church, Mt. Zion Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, was organized in 1877 with twenty organizing members and Rev. Napoleon Bonaparte was our first preacher. The AME's came here but they were not successful with our folk. Some of the old-line Negro families were organizers and members of the original church, such as the Jennings, Hicks, Booths, Osbys, Cooks, McCollisters, Nelms, Greers, Nobles, Browns, Rushings, Chandlers, Becketts, Fountains, Akers and the Hearnese. Most of these families were slaves or their descendants who were brought to Shelby County from the Old South with their masters.⁵⁰

The Center circuit was visited by M. F. Jamison, the most noted circuit rider in Texas, who influenced the spread of "Colored Methodism" in Shelby County. Center remained a circuit in the Nacogdoches District within the Texas Conference for many years. The idea of "Colored Methodism" was easily diffused in this environment because

⁴⁸"History of Shelby County," (Center, Texas: Shelby County Historical Society, 1969). Mimeographed paper.

⁴⁹Interview with Mrs. Lola Liscomb who is a member of Mt. Zion CME Church, Center, Texas, November, 1970.

⁵⁰Interviews with Mrs. Agatha Osby who was 94 years old in December 1970, and Mrs. Blanche Pilot McClelland whose father H. B. Pilot served as church secretary for 29 years.

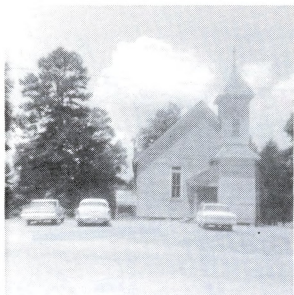
it was similar to the Methodist territory in the Old South from whence many of these settlers came.

The Mt. Zion CME Church in Center is built on a hill and many of the members refer to it as "our Zion." (This reference "our Zion" is used throughout "Colored Methodism" in referring to the general church.) The physical site as well as the reference to Zion resulted in the naming of the church Mt. Zion (Figures 12a and 12b).

The cultural geography of the area around Mt. Zion Church is associated with a group of poor, rural, common laboring people who nevertheless support their institution. The impact of the church is noted in the number of its communicants who have migrated to the cities of the North and South, but have remained loyal to the CME Church upon changing their physical and cultural environments⁵¹ (Figure 13). The impact of this small church is apparent from the contributions to the church by its members who have migrated to other environments. Former members of the Mt. Zion Church at Center are now a part of the First, Second, Fourth and Ninth Episcopal Districts of the CME Church (Figure 2).

In the decade 1950-1960 this small group of communicants saw the need for a new church building. These

⁵¹This information was received via interviews in November, 1970 with Christine McClelland, Willard McClelland, Norman Fountain, Myrtle Adams, Thelma Ayers, Doris Bell and O. K. Jennings. All are members or former members of Mt. Zion Church.



Mt. Zion CME Church, Center, Texas. This small town church was built when its members traveled to church via horses, wagons and buggies.
Contributed by Mrs. Mattie Bolton.

FIGURE 12a



The new Mt. Zion CME Church, built in 1963. This is an evidence of change in the small town church on the East Texas landscape.
Photo by author.

FIGURE 12b

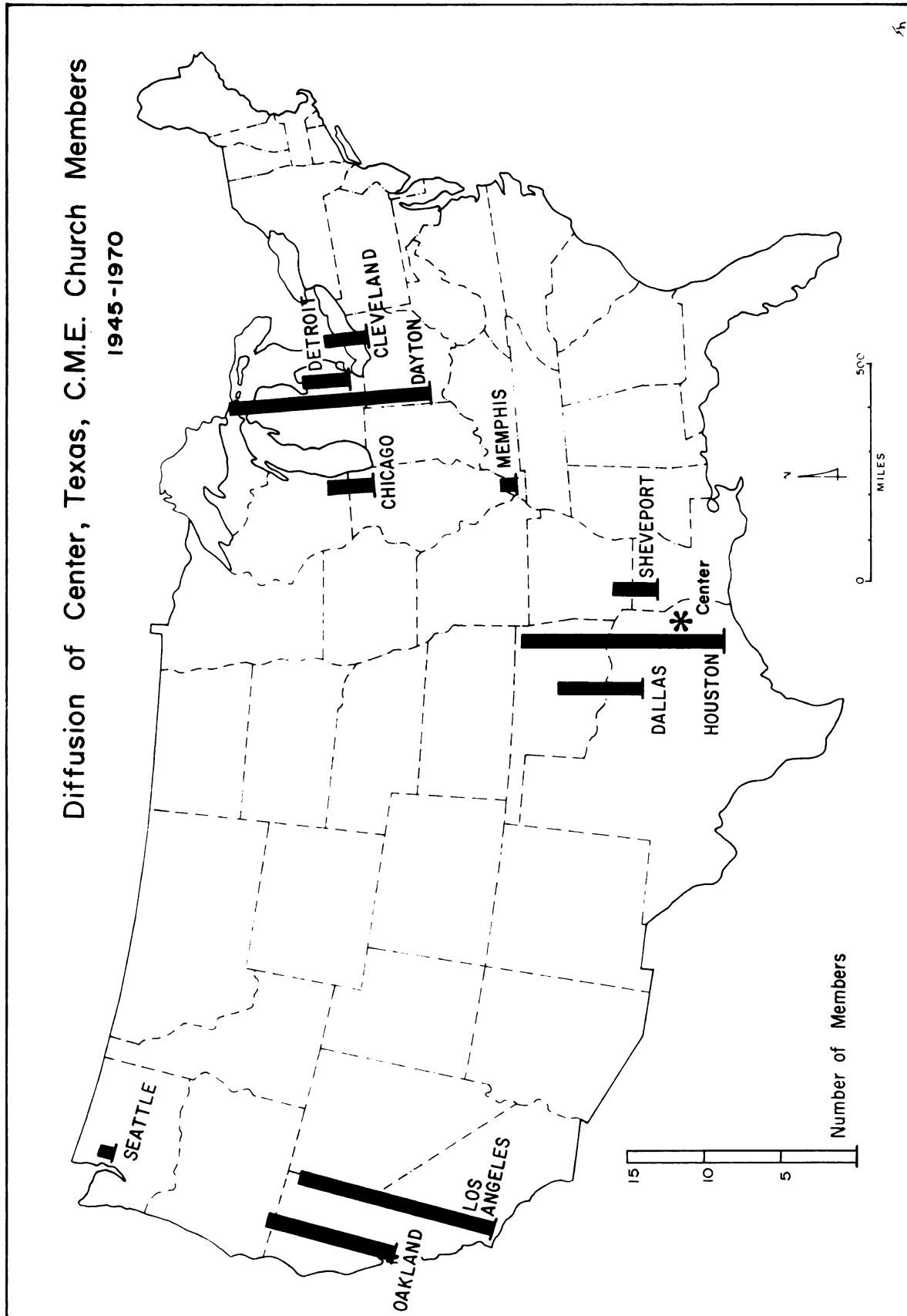


FIGURE 13



hard working people used their own resources and then sought financial help from former members who had moved away. With their cooperation they were able to construct an attractive new church, which has air conditioning, cushioned pews and stained-glass windows.

In the decade 1960-1970 a former member of the church saw the need to purchase an organ and sought financial help from the former members. Contributions, large and small, from Tokyo to London, and from Cleveland to Los Angeles were received, and a Hammond organ was purchased with cash.

This small town CME church has been able to overcome its rural ways and move into the present age. These folk have adjusted to twentieth century ways; they are an exception compared to many rural and small town CME churches in Texas. Because of the improved standards of living and increased incomes (cotton was replaced by beef cattle grazing, the poultry industry, and tourism), the Mt. Zion CME Church continues to thrive as a religious social system on this East Texas landscape. This institution is presently maintaining a stable membership of 179 members, a station church in the Nacogdoches District Conference of the Southeast Texas Annual Conference.

This study of a century of "Colored Methodism" in Texas revealed the rural nature of the church; its appeal to those of a low socio-economic stratum, and its predominance first as a rural East Texas church and then moving to a limited extent to urban centers with migration of

blacks to the cities (Figure 7).

Seventy-one per cent of the CME churches in Texas are circuits, 25.5 per cent are stations and 3.5 per cent are missions, all of which shows the church's rural nature. Because of this rural character, the Universe CME community and its church were studied, revealing a need for consolidation and re-consolidation of numerous CME circuits in Texas. Missions, circuits, and stations are also located in small towns. The small town of Center was studied, showing the stability that can be found among small town churches when their members show an awareness of the present age.

The impact of the CME Church in rural Texas is significant, but today there is also a trend toward urbanization. A discussion of this urban trend and the impact and diffusion of the CME Church in urban Texas, with emphasis on Houston, follows.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN URBAN TEXAS

As Afro-Texans are becoming more urban, the CME Church is also becoming urban. Thus it is important to examine the nature and impact of this church in urban Texas. No attempt will be made to examine all of the social and cultural features that would concern the urban geographer;¹ only those features that are applicable to the relationship of the CME Church to the Texas landscape will be discussed.

AFRO-AMERICANS AND URBANIZATION IN TEXAS

Problems of urbanization have become an important issue in American life, and the plight of decaying and troubled cities is receiving a sympathetic hearing. Texas is no exception for the state has been growing by an average of about 200,000 people annually since 1960. There were 23 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's)

¹Urban geography deals with the spatial aspects of city development. The urban geographer is concerned with cities as entities--their location, character, growth, relations to the countryside and to each other. He is equally interested in patterns of the city's interior land-use, social and cultural patterns, patterns of circulation, and patterns of the natural environment as they exist in an interrelationship and an interaction in the urban area. Raymond E. Murphy, The American City--An Urban Geography (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 1-2.



in Texas, with a combined population of approximately 8 million residents or 71 per cent of the total population.² The largest of these are Houston (1.9 million) and Dallas (1.6 million), which together contain almost a third of the state's people.³

Population increases in Texas have been unequally distributed. The Gulf Coast with its rapid industrialization has experienced the most remarkable growth. Movement from rural areas to Texas cities, which began in the mid-1930's, has continued at a rapid pace and is expected to continue.⁴ This movement has been conceived as a combination of "push" and "pull" factors--the push of limited social and economic opportunities characteristic of many rural areas in the South, and the pull of more promising opportunities at the urban destination point. In 1900, for instance, three-fourths of the Negroes in the U. S. were in the rural areas of the South. By 1950 the

²SMSA refers to the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. Such an area includes one or more cities of 50,000 or more, the one or more counties in which they are located and any adjoining counties where the people outside the central city are closely integrated socially and economically with the major city. R. L. Skrabanek, "Urban Growth--Texas Population Redistribution Creates Dilemma," Texas Agricultural Progress, Vol. 15, No. 3 (College Station, Texas: Texas Agricultural Extension Service, Texas A & M University).

³R. L. Skrabanek, "Time to Catch Up: Texas Population Factors," Texas Agricultural Facts, Vol. 14, No. 3 (College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University), pp. 4-6.

⁴Skrabanek, "Urban Growth--Texas Population Redistribution Creates Dilemma," pp. 4-5.

urbanization pull was so great and so many had moved to the cities, in the South and elsewhere, that roughly a third were in northern and western cities alone.

The urbanization of Texas has brought willing but unskilled hands into the cities. Blacks moved out of rural East Texas and are the latest in the sequence of people to undergo urban misery.⁵ Both Dallas and Houston are increasing in black population and are significant to CME diffusion in Texas. Each of these cities will be discussed in relation to the impact of the church.

THE CHURCH IN URBAN TEXAS

There are two main factors in the pattern of church location in urban areas. One is the location of the people whom the church seeks to serve; the other is the theory of parish structure.⁶ Urban CME churches operate under a system of "self-chosen" parishes in which individual parishioners may attend the church of their choice regardless of its location. In order to understand the geography of urban CME church parishes it is necessary to know something about the spatial distribution of the Negro population (Figure 5d). CME parish location in urban areas correlates with black population nodes. Each CME church has a commuting populace that may bypass other churches in

⁵Meinig, op. cit., p. 85.

⁶Hotchkiss, op. cit., p. 33.

order to get to a CME church where family ties are bound by tradition.

As previously mentioned, the CME Church has traditionally been attractive to those in a low socio-economic position. In order to understand the nature of the CME Church, its appeal to Negroes in the lower socio-economic strata, and its trend toward urbanization, an analysis of significant aspects of the socio-economic status of the Texas Negro populace is necessary.

In 1960, 57 per cent of the nonwhite⁷ population in Texas 14 years of age and older was in the labor force. Approximately 87 per cent of the employed nonwhites were service workers, craftsmen and operatives, private household workers and laborers⁸ (Table 13).

The median income of Texas nonwhite families in 1959 was \$2,591, slightly less than half the median income of white families in the state but also slightly above the family incomes of nonwhite families in the South as a whole. Median family incomes for nonwhites varied by

⁷The term "nonwhite population" is used by the U. S. Census Bureau. It includes Negroes, American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Asian Indians and Malaysians. Since Negroes comprise 98.5 per cent of all nonwhite persons in Texas, the terms "nonwhite" and "Negro" may be, for all practical purposes, used synonymously in Texas. R. E. Patterson, The Nonwhite Population of Texas (College Station, Texas: Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A & M University, November, 1966).

⁸Ibid., p. 13.

residence classification, from \$1,430 in rural farm areas to \$1,684 in rural nonfarm and \$2,915 in urban areas. It is in these income categories that the CME Church has its strength even to this day.

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED NONWHITES IN TEXAS, 1960

Occupation	Total	Males	Females
		Percent	
Professional and managerial	7.1	5.6	9.2
Farmers and farm managers	2.1	3.3	0.4
Clerical and sales	4.0	4.2	3.7
Craftsmen and operatives	21.6	31.6	7.4
Private household workers	21.4	0.9	50.3
Service workers	22.8	20.2	26.8
Farm laborers and foremen	5.1	7.7	1.5
Laborers, other than farm	15.9	26.5	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Vol. 1 "Characteristics of the Population," in R. E. Patterson, The Nonwhite Population of Texas (College Station, Texas: Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas A & M University, November, 1966).

The median number of years of school completed by the adult nonwhite population (25 years of age and older) in Texas was 8.1 in 1960. One-fourth of this population had not attended school beyond the fourth grade; 60 per cent completed no more than eight years; about one-fifth graduated from high school and only four per cent from college.⁹

⁹Ibid., p. 12.

This educational background of nonwhites in Texas gives credence to the statement that the CME Church appeals to those with little formal education.

The traditional economic heritage of Afro-Texans has been agricultural. Their cultural heritage has been rural and their institutions and values had their origin in local experiences. Yet, at the present time the majority of Afro-Texans are urban. In 1960 over 75 per cent of all nonwhites in Texas lived in urban areas, and only 25 per cent were rural residents.¹⁰ This urban trend affects the nature of the CME Church.

The CME Church in urban Texas is correlated with the presence of black ghettos. These urban churches have an extensive interchanging of membership as they compete for members in the lower class. This competition accounts for the development of the many small inefficient churches in Houston and Dallas which are really little "city circuits." Partly because of this, many of the ministers must engage in other occupations to supplement their low salaries.

Church classification is based upon two factors:

(1) parish geography and (2) the population served (Table 14). Parish geography refers to the linear distance a member resides from the church with which he is affiliated. This analysis takes into account the dominant congregational patterns. The population served refers to the principle

¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.



TABLE 14

A CLASSIFICATION OF CITY CHURCHES

<u>Type I</u>	<u>Type II</u>
A widely-dispersed parish	A compact parish
A selected clientele	A dominant neighborhood penetration
Downtown church	Traditional church
Prestige church	Institutional church
One-of-a-kind	"Store front"
Church-for-the handicapped	Sect church
	Foreign-language church
	Suburban church

Churches in Transition*

A semidispersed parish
An unstable constituency

Local church merger
Bilingual background
Merged denominations
Theological eccentricity
Stranded church
Relocated church
Federated church

*Churches in Transition occupy an intermediate status, are currently in transition and cannot be considered as types at all. Eventually the seven situations will yield Type II churches. However, this eventuality can be realized only at the end of a process of settling down and emergence from the intermediate status.

Source: Richard D. Knudten, The Sociology of Religion (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 162.

utilized in the recruitment of a congregation. Some churches attract people from the immediate neighborhood while others reach out across the city for their clientele.

Types I and II in Table 14 represent two basic types of urban churches. The middle column reveals a group of congregations which belong in an intermediate or transitional status. The "Churches in Transition" will eventually go into the Type II category.¹¹ Type II churches are characterized by compact neighborhood parishes and a dominant neighborhood penetration. They draw their members from a relatively short radius around the church and hence are unable to influence the life of the larger community. The churches in the urban areas of Texas are intermediate in status, and fall under "Churches in Transition."¹²

The CME Church prelates are well informed about the social environment in which the church exists. At the 1970 General Conference of the CME Church in Memphis, the Rt. Rev. Norris S. Curry, Presiding Bishop of the Eighth Episcopal District reported:

Mission congregations are adversely affected by the fate of many small towns and rural communities of Texas. Changes are impelling the population of this nation from an agrarian society to one which is urban.¹³

¹¹Richard D. Knudten, The Sociology of Religion (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 161.

¹²Ibid., p. 166.

¹³General Conference Minutes, 1970, The CME Church (Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1970), p. 82.

He continued:

The citizens of this nation are in the cities and are going there. Over 70% of the population of Texas live now in 22 cities and the percentage will increase in the seventies. Our denomination in Texas is called to engage in Missions in urban society, to the degree and extent, that we shall be relevant and involved. We delight to report to you that God has provided the insights and we have the right approach in Texas through which to grow as a denomination and to serve as the Christian Church during these changing times.¹⁴

Of the 23 SMSA's in Texas, 19 have CME churches.

No attempt will be made to discuss the impact of the church in each of these urban centers. Dallas will be considered because it is in the only urban conference in Texas, but greater emphasis will be placed on Houston in the Southeast Texas Conference. References will be made to Ft. Worth since it is a part of the urban Dallas-Ft. Worth Conference. Detailed consideration will also be given to Texas College, a CME supported institution in Tyler which was important in the diffusion of the CME Church. The discussion of the Dallas, Houston, and Tyler cases will present an overview of the impact of the CME Church on the urban Texas landscape.

URBAN EXAMPLES

Dallas-Ft. Worth--An Urban Conference

Dallas, known as a city which links Texas to the rest of the nation, is located on the Trinity River.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 83.

Ft. Worth will possibly join Dallas to become Dallas-Ft. Worth in the near future; the two cities are connected as one huge urban complex. The growth of Dallas has been attributed to several migratory trends: (1) the long-term east to west movement generally characteristic of the nation, (2) the in-migration of Negroes from rural areas to urban centers, and (3) the out-migration of whites to suburban and urban fringe areas around the core of the city within the last decade. Dallas has attracted many blacks and they now total an estimated 22 per cent of the population. Of the 1,187,125 Negroes in Texas in 1960, 11 per cent resided in the Dallas SMSA¹⁵ (Table 15).

The amenities of Dallas have attracted many Texas Negroes searching for better ways of life. This growth in the Negro population is reflected in Table 16. The majority of this populace lives in East Dallas, South Dallas (Oak Cliff) and a lesser group in West Dallas. These locations are synonymous with the locations of CME churches in Dallas (Table 17).

Negro population growth in Dallas has been accelerated by technology and changing urban patterns. Nevertheless they are largely the lowest income group and also have the largest average families. The number of persons per Negro household far exceeds those for the total

¹⁵Meinig, op. cit., p. 121.

TABLE 15

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NEGRO POPULATION IN TEXAS, 1850-1960
AND PROJECTIONS FOR 1970

Year	Negro Population	Increase Since Preceding Census	Per Cent of Total Population
1850	58,558*		27.5
1860	182,921	124,363	30.3
1870	253,475	70,554	31.0
1880	393,384	139,909	24.7
1890	488,171	94,787	21.8
1900	620,722	132,551	20.4
1910	690,049	69,327	17.7
1920	741,694	51,645	15.9
1930	854,964	113,270	14.7
1940	924,391	69,736	14.4
1950	977,458	53,067	12.7
1960	1,187,125	209,667	12.4
<u>Projected</u>			
1970	1,426,000	238,875	12.2

*Figures for and prior to 1850 were not reported for "other races." Therefore the 1850 Census recorded the same number for the nonwhite and Negro populations in 1850.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau.

TABLE 16
GROWTH OF THE DALLAS NEGRO POPULATION
1900-1967

Year	Negro Population
1900	9,035
1910	18,024
1920	24,088
1930	38,854
1940	50,488
1950	56,958
1960	129,242
1967	185,100

Source: Naomi W. Lede, The Negro Voter in Dallas, A Study in Political Socialization (Dallas: Center for Social Science Research, Bishop College, 1962).

TABLE 17
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN
DALLAS AND FORT WORTH, 1970

Name of Church	City	Membership
Cedar Crest CME Church	Dallas	1350
Porter Temple	Dallas	532
Kirkwood Temple	Dallas	473
Elizabeth Chapel	Dallas	429
Carter Temple	Dallas	259
Ezell Chapel	Dallas	256
Christian Chapel	Dallas	198
Mosley Chapel	Dallas	165
Magnolia Temple	Dallas	145
Layman Chapel	Dallas	72
Maude B. Porter	Dallas	57
Bullock Chapel	Dallas	30
Carter Metropolitan	Fort Worth	508
Morning Chapel	Fort Worth	493
Stewart Chapel	Fort Worth	182
Benson Chapel	Fort Worth	101
Jubilee Temple	Fort Worth	64

Source: Northeast Texas Annual Conference Minutes, 1970, The CME Church (Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1970), p. 31.

population. In 1960, 27.7 per cent of all Negro households in Dallas had five or more persons compared to 19.8 per cent for black households in Dallas County. An estimated 52.8 per cent of these families had incomes under \$3,000; an additional 21 per cent lived on incomes of less than \$5,000. In a number of predominantly Negro census tracts median incomes were less than \$2,000. It is to these poor groups that the CME Church appeals in Dallas.¹⁶

Dallas has been a stronghold for the CME Church ever since M. F. Jamison established the church there in the first period of "Colored Methodism" in Texas. The church was organized in Dallas before diffusing to Houston and to this day remains the Texas urban center for "Colored Methodism."

The Dallas-Ft. Worth Conference was carved out of the original territory of the East Texas Conference and was structured to include the Ft. Worth District and the Dallas District (Figure 11d). The boundaries for the annual conference as well as the district conferences have been realigned many times since the beginnings of the first CME church in Texas.

There are twelve CME churches in Dallas and five in Ft. Worth (Table 17). Cedar Crest CME Church, the largest CME congregation in Texas with 1350 members, was

¹⁶ Naomi W. Lede, The Negro Voter in Dallas, A Study in Political Socialization (Dallas: Center for Social Science Research, Bishop College, 1962), pp. 5-7.

the first CME congregation in Dallas. It has relocated from Boll Street to the black enclave of Cedar Crest in South Dallas. The church presently houses the headquarters of the Eighth Episcopal District.

Dallas has historically been the urban stronghold for the diffusion of the CME Church in urban Texas. Its proximity to the bulk of the black populace who lived predominantly in East Texas accounts for its early importance in the diffusion of the church. As rural CME communicants moved to this urban center, so did the ideas of "Colored Methodism."

Houston--The Special Example

The city of Houston displays a variety of cultures from the rural hinterland. Houston is on the muddy banks of the Buffalo Bayou giving it an outlet to the markets of the world via Galveston Bay. It started as a sawmill town, progressed to being a cotton center, then a railroad junction with rice storage facilities; now the city has become a part of the technological age, boasting to be the nation's sixth largest city.

Houston benefited from the urbanward flow of Negroes more than any other city in Texas. The percentage of Negroes living in this city increased from 12.4 in 1900 to 21.2 in 1950 (Table 18). Their origin was Southeast Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, while the Dallas Negro origin was predominantly Northeast Texas.



TABLE 18

GROWTH OF THE HOUSTON NEGRO POPULATION, 1900-1954

Year	Negro Population
1900	14,608
1910	23,929
1920	33,960
1930	63,337
1940	86,302
1950	125,400
1954	156,573

Source: Naomi W. Lede, The Negro Voter in Dallas, A Study in Political Socialization (Dallas: Center for Social Science Research, Bishop College, 1962).

The 1960 indices listed 41.9 per cent of Houston's Negroes as making \$3,000 a year or less. Negroes accounted for 53 per cent of the poverty group according to the 1965 census. Figure 14a shows the areas in Houston where 25 per cent or more of the people have incomes below poverty guidelines. There is a considerable correlation between the location of CME churches and poverty in Houston (Figures 14a and 14b).

Houston is an excellent example of a city whose residential space has been organized according to racial, social, and economic factors. Modern geographers are cognizant of the spatial variations in urban residential

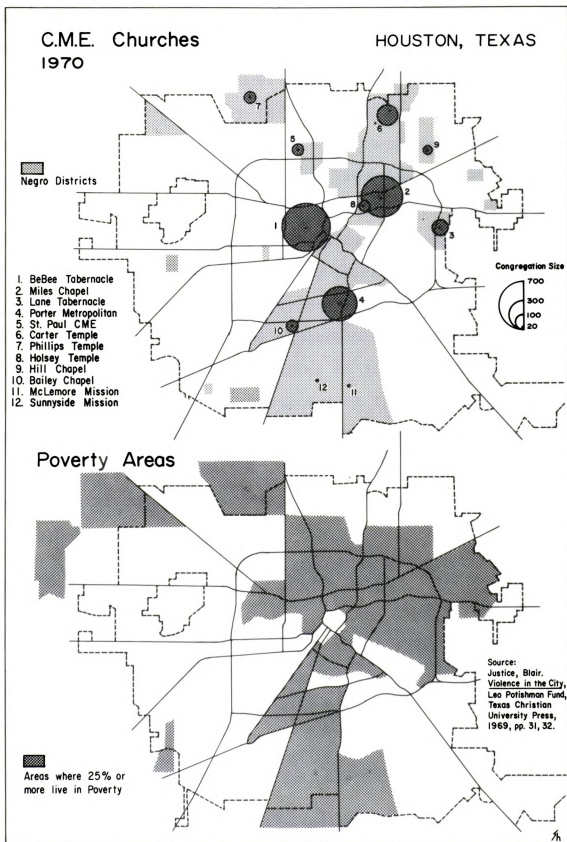


FIGURE 14, a and b

patterns based on racial, ethnic and social factors. Morrill¹⁷ and Rose¹⁸ have completed research in the urban geography of minority groups. One key term to an understanding of this geography is "ghetto." For this study, a ghetto is an area in an American city occupied predominantly by members of a minority group who live there because of socio-economic pressure. The institution of the ghetto has provided a strong cultural base for black Americans.¹⁹

Houston's Fourth Ward²⁰ is an inner core of urban blight occupied by economically disadvantaged people who have neither the income, the education nor the ability to move (Figure 14a). The boundaries of this ghetto have been reinforced by the construction of freeways. Its side streets reveal well-known marks of an area which has seen better days and now waits in a run-down and disheveled state until the pressure of the city calls it back to more

¹⁷R. L. Morrill, The Negro Ghetto: Alternatives and Consequences, The Geographical Review, Vol. 55 (1965), pp. 221-38.

¹⁸Harold M. Rose, "Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice," Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1969); "The Development of an Urban Subsystem: The Case of the Negro Ghetto," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 60 (1970), pp. 1-17.

¹⁹Louis Seig, "Concepts of 'Ghetto,' A Geography of Minority Groups," Professional Geographers, Vol. 23 (January 1971), p. 1.

²⁰Houston's blighted areas commonly called "ghettoes" are also referred to as wards. There are six wards with a predominant populace of Negroes, Chicanos, and poor whites.

up-to-date uses. Most of the dilapidated property is owned by people who live outside the area. This area is overlain with the "culture of poverty."²¹ This culture provides a unifying force which ties human communities together.

There are ten CME churches and two missions in Houston today (Figure 14b). No attempt will be made to analyze each of these but two of the largest congregations, the BeBee Tabernacle CME Church, and the Metropolitan CME Church will be discussed. The emphasis will be on the BeBee Tabernacle CME Church because of its age and prestige as the symbol of "Colored Methodism" in Houston.

BeBee Tabernacle CME Church. BeBee Tabernacle CME Church, located on West Dallas Avenue in Houston's Fourth Ward ghetto, is the oldest CME church in the city and has 716 members (Figure 14b). As this is the largest CME congregation in Houston, its location has been marked by the constituency as "CME territory."

The church began in 1879 when a Houston missionary group from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South purchased a lot for \$175.00 and encouraged believers to organize a CME church. A small mission was organized in 1879 and was called Sherman Chapel CME Mission. The name was later changed to BeBee Tabernacle CME Church in honor of

²¹Rose and Morrill both use the term "culture of poverty."

J. A. BeBee, a bishop of the CME Church. It was one of the first public community organizations in Houston that was owned and controlled by Negroes.²²

Urban problems have been thrust upon the BeBee Church but its members are unable to change the locality as many churches have done. Its parishioners are rural in origin and tend to find city life radically different and correspondingly perplexing. The church reflects the rural ideals of its parishioners and has not kept pace with some facets of urban progress (Table 19). Many of the parishioners are living on the fringes of urbanity where there is no acute pressure to change their religious habits. Their working styles have taken on city form, but their living environment has much in common with their rural Southern origin (Table 20).

BeBee Church's membership was 1521 in the 1940's and decreased markedly to 716 in 1970. The 50 per cent loss of membership indicates a fluctuating and impermanent constituency. During the 1940's the institution served its incoming membership in an excellent manner. But in spite of the rise in economic standards from 1950 to the present, the church has progressively decayed. It has lost hundreds of communicants and dropped one function after another. Its outward physical appearance resembles the ghetto environment

²²Centennial Session, Southeast Texas Annual Conference, Bulletin, 1970 (Memphis: The CME Publishing House, 1970), p. 23.

TABLE 19

CULTURE AREA ORIGIN OF THE BEBEE TABERNACLE
CME CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, 1970

Culture Area	Number of Members
East Texas	111
Gulf Coast	46
Northeast Texas	19
Central Texas	18
West Texas	5
German Hill Country	2

Source: Survey by author, August, 1970.

TABLE 20

BEBEE TABERNACLE CME CHURCH MEMBERSHIP
ORIGINATING IN ANOTHER STATE, 1970

State	Number of Members*
Louisiana	56
Arkansas	6
Mississippi	6
Alabama	5

*These communicants were all members of the
CME Church before coming to Houston.

Source: Survey by author, August, 1970.

in which it is located.

The architecture of the church is not in a standard Protestant ecclesiastical form, for it resembles Spanish missions in the South Texas culture area. It comfortably seats 1000 parishioners in a pleasant air conditioned sanctuary. However, it does not have a gymnasium, a nursery, Boy and Girl Scout troops or any other organizations that would appeal to a youthful constituency.

Most of the church's parishioners describe themselves as belonging to the middle class, even though most are actually in the lower class (Table 21).

TABLE 21
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF BEBEE TABERNACLE
CME CHURCH COMMUNICANTS

Occupation	Number
Housewives	162
Maids	103
Retired	61
Students	37
Teachers	22
Beauticians	13
Barbers	9
Longshoremen	5
Silk Blocker	1
Occupational Therapist	1
Librarian	1

Source: Survey by author, August, 1970.

The church is located at a strategic point in the city for social need, for it is surrounded by drunks, winos,

the feeble-minded and the unfortunate, drug addicts, prostitutes, waifs and strays in their second childhoods, wandering children, the damned and the downtrodden. Its environment is shared by a tri-ethnic society of blacks, chicanos and poor whites (Figure 14a). This grouping of human beings needs to be understood by the church. Yet, BeBee Tabernacle CME Church is responding to these people only to attenuate its existence as an institution but not enough to transform its environment. Its congregation is only interested in surface cures of their institutional malaise. The function of an institution such as a church is to meet the needs of a population. Since these needs change with a changing environment, all social institutions must make adjustments. If the church will recognize this, it has an excellent opportunity to lift the cultural level of its environment.

The movement of the Negro populace means the BeBee Church is no longer properly located to serve its congregation. In its embryonic years it was the leading CME church, was located on the edge of the central business district and had a localized parish. Now its parish is a scattered, commuting one, so that the church does not have a specific local areal identity.

Another important factor in understanding CME churches is the pattern of CME church locations. The connectional church had its own diffusion strategies which were passed on to local congregations. In the past

laissez faire was the order of the day with most CME congregations going their own way in the location of churches. Thus some areas were over-churched while others were neglected.

Because of the rapidly changing spatial structure of Houston and the displacement of BeBee's constituency, several motions have been proposed for moving the church to another neighborhood. Church officials, however, have convinced the Southeast Texas Conference that this church should remain in its present location to later become a downtown church because of its proximity to the central business district. Its proximity to the business district, valued by many denominations as a metropolitan symbol, places it on the edge of some very valuable real estate. Under the very able leadership of its pastor, the institution is trying to modify its program to meet the needs of its ghetto environment.

The Metropolitan CME Church. Not all CME churches in Houston are as old, nor located in as poor a section as BeBee Tabernacle. One of these is the Metropolitan CME Church. Metropolitan was originally located in the Third Ward ghetto, but has been relocated in the Foster Place ghetto. The church was moved when it was discovered that the black population was moving toward southeast Houston (Figure 14a).

It is the most modern CME church structure in

Houston. The church has slightly adapted to urban ways with some departure from its rural prototype and some response to the challenge of the city. The Metropolitan Church's advantage over BeBee Tabernacle is expressed in a more extensive physical plant, a younger membership, and a desire to change. It reflects a population of mixed antecedents--urban and rural--in which the process of urbanization has been speeded up, but it too has not yet shaken all the dust of the rural backwoods from its feet.

Eight additional CME churches are distributed over the Houston urban landscape (Figure 14b). Of the ten CME churches in the city, only three are financially able to support a full-time minister. The ministers of the other congregations are employed as barbers, mail carriers, long-shoremen, taxi drivers, contractors, teachers and auto salesmen. Most of these other institutions grew out of the mother church, BeBee Tabernacle.

TEXAS COLLEGE--AN URBAN INSTITUTIONAL STRATEGY

In 1894 Tyler was the center of the CME population in East Texas (Figure 15). Texas College was founded at Tyler in that year by a small group of CME preachers under the auspices of the church. Three students were in attendance when it opened its doors on January 9, 1895. Its physical plant consisted of one and one-half acres of farmland and a crude frame building with very meager equipment. By 1905 the enrollment had reached 205 students, a reflection

Origin of Instate Students

Texas College, Tyler, Texas

1970

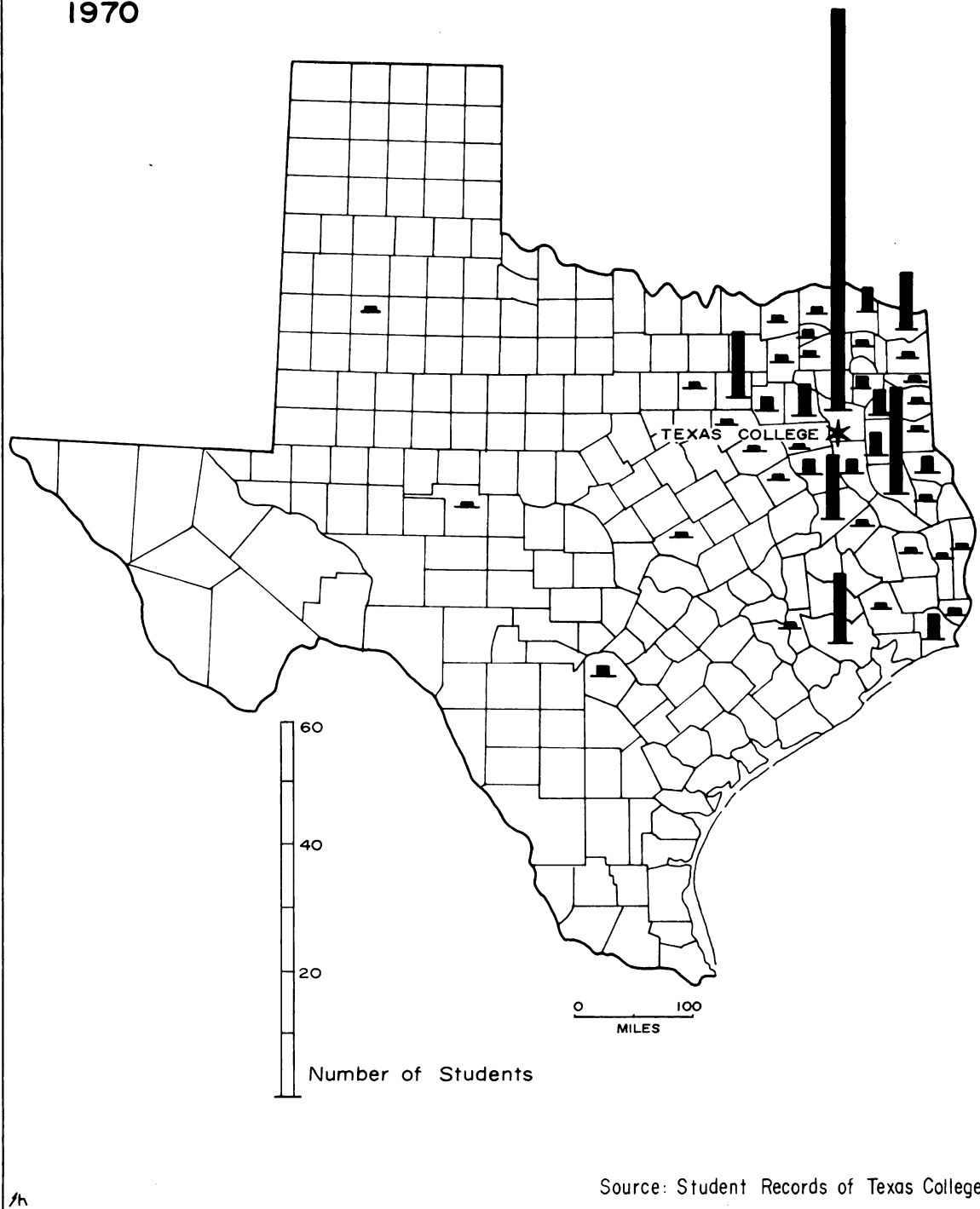


FIGURE 15

10

of the importance of the church in Texas in that era.

Today Texas College, supported by a predominantly black church, has seven white students, three African students who were sent to the college from CME churches in West Africa, and also an ethnically mixed faculty and Board of Trustees. The institution owns 66 acres of land and 18 buildings. In 1970 the student body included 534 regular session students. From a study of student records (November, 1970) student religious preferences were indicated as shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES OF TEXAS COLLEGE STUDENTS

Religious Preference	Per Cent of Student Body
CME	63%
Baptist	23
AME	10
AMEZ	1
Catholic	1
No Preference	2
Total Students: 534	

Source: Student records, Texas College, and Survey by author, November, 1970.

The leaders of CME congregations and the laity as well continually encourage students to attend their church-supported institution of higher learning. The importance of the college to the church is stated as follows:

Our Church and its schools are interdependent. The survival of each is linked with that of the other. The continued growth and expansion of the CME Church is the only hope of our educational institution. . . .²³

A study of figures 15 and 16 reveals the impact that the CME Church continues to have on the American landscape.

Prior to 1950 the vast majority of the students were from counties within the East Texas culture area. Figure 15 shows that the Texan members of the 1970 student population were from counties in the Northeast Texas, Southeast Texas, Central Texas and the East Texas Conferences which are part of the East Texas and Gulf Coast culture areas. The number of students from Lubbock, Tom Green and Bexar Counties also shows the influence of the church in those West Texas and Central Texas counties. Figure 15 also indicates the influence of the CME Church in East Texas by the large number of students from Smith County, an area of concentration of CME communicants.

Texas College has an impact on the church populace throughout the CME Southern territory (Figure 16). The Southern influence of the CME Church on Texas College is apparent from the large number of students who come from the South. It was previously mentioned that the CME Church remains a Southern church to this day. Georgia, comprising the Sixth Episcopal District, sends the largest number of students. It is followed by Florida, South Carolina,

²³General Conference Minutes, 1954, The CME Church, (Jackson, Tenn.: The CME Publishing House, 1954), p. 301.

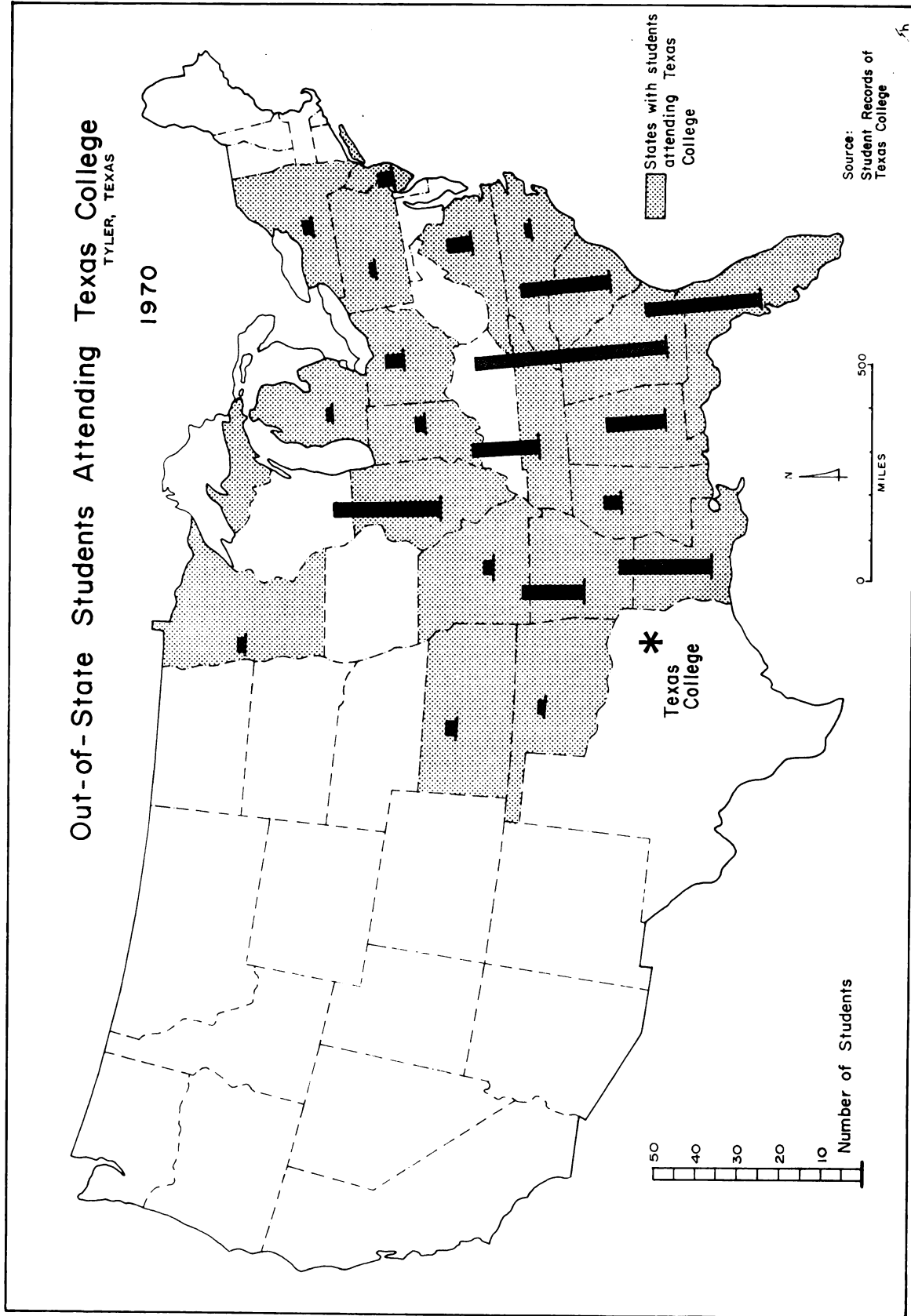


FIGURE 16



Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia and Mississippi. Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama are "CME states," but each has a CME supported college which may account for the small number of Texas College students from those states.

The urban Middle West is also well represented by students. Outside the South, Illinois leads in the number of students and is followed by Ohio and Washington, D. C. Thirty students are enrolled from Illinois, twenty-three of which are from CME churches in metropolitan Chicago. St. Paul CME Church in Chicago, one of the largest CME churches in America, sends a large number of students to Southern CME colleges (Figure 16). The influence of the late Bishop R. A. Carter, who lived in Chicago and presided over the Texas Episcopacy, early influenced Chicago CME communicants to attend Texas College. His influence is still very strongly felt to this day.

Texas College is supported by the five annual conferences of the Eighth Episcopal District of the CME Church in Texas. It is further supported by the connectional church. One major role of Texas College is to provide the trained leadership without which no institution can survive. The college complements the work of the CME Church in its continued expansion.

Texas College has produced four bishops who were either students and/or faculty members at that institution. The late Bishop John W. McKinney, born in rural East Texas,

was influential in promoting the work of Texas College. The late Bishop H. P. Porter, 17th bishop of the CME Church, was born in a rural CME community near Kilgore in the East Texas culture area. He graduated from Texas College and his efforts as bishop over the Texas episcopacy reflected the progress of the college. Bishop Elisha P. Murchison was born in Fort Worth, Texas. He was a graduate of Texas College and also served on the faculty. Bishop Norris Samuel Curry was born in Naples, Texas, and is the present presiding bishop of the Eighth Episcopal District of Texas.

The presiding bishop of the Eighth Episcopal District is the supreme head of Texas College along with the college president. The presidents of most CME Church supported institutions are graduates of CME colleges.²⁴

Texas College grew from a junior college to senior college status. It was accredited as a senior institution of higher learning by the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities in 1970. It continues to serve as a "CME bulwark" in the East Texas culture home of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. The role of college trained leaders in the diffusion of the CME Church is considerable.

The CME Church in Texas was originally characterized as a rural East Texas church catering to cotton pickers and other peasants, but today this picture is changing. The CME Church is becoming an urban church. CME churches in

²⁴Harris, op. cit., pp. 19-28.

Dallas and Houston have been discussed as examples of the urban church in Texas and its appeal to the lower socio-economic class. Dallas, long a CME stronghold, has twelve CME churches; the Cedar Crest CME Church houses the headquarters of the Eighth Episcopal District. The two examples in the city of Houston illustrate (1) a church in a decaying ghetto struggling to meet the needs of area residents, the BeBee Tabernacle CME Church, and (2) a more progressive church with a younger membership, the Metropolitan CME Church. The role of Texas College is considerable as an urban strategy, in importance in training the leadership of the church, and in changing and relocating churches and church memberships.

The general officers and leaders of the CME Church are fully aware of the flexible environment in which they live. They have expressed the challenge of the church as follows:

In the light of modern trends, if our Church is to accept the challenge of this new day it must adopt every worthy technique to accomplish its task and purpose. It must be alert to every need of its environment and stand ready to meet it. It must mold opinion and influence Christian conduct in its community. . . .²⁵

Fundamentally, the CME Church has left its imprint upon the urban landscapes of Texas and will continue to diffuse within these complexes.

²⁵Christian Education, A General Board of Christian Education of the CME Church, Chicago, Illinois, 1942, p. 20.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Today, in black ghettos from Harlem to Watts, there is a renaissance of everything that is related to the black experience--African, quasi-African or Afro-American. All that belongs to Afro-American history as well as cultural geography is being examined and if possible, renewed in the search for black identity. Harold Rose and R. L. Morrill have expressed the need for a geography of minority groups. This study concerns religion as an important part of the culture of the Negro.

This research has emphasized the cultural geography of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in America from 1870 to 1970 with emphasis on the experiences of Afro-Texans. It is an inquiry into the spatial impact of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church on the American landscape.

The literature on the geography of religion reveals that the Greeks, Germans, French, and Americans have written about religion and its relationship to geography. Some work has been done on the distribution of religions but very few studies have been made on the substantial nature of religion and the spatial impact upon people and culture.

Even more significant is the lack of cultural-geographic studies of black religious bodies. Therefore, this study will help to fill that void in cultural geography.

The idea of Methodism originated as a movement in England by John and Charles Wesley in 1729. In 1735 the Wesleys were invited to Georgia to Christianize the Indians and the slaves. After their return to England, Francis Asbury was sent as an itinerant preacher to America and was the initiator of American Methodist institutionalization.

The schism over slavery divided American Methodism into a Northern and a Southern branch. Prior to this Negroes had seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church forming an African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New York City.

Prior to the Civil War, the slaves attended church with their masters. Due to changed social conditions after the war, the question was asked: "What shall we do with the colored members in our church?" The result was the establishment of the CME Church at Jackson, Tennessee, in 1870. From Jackson, Tennessee the CME Church spread throughout the South and followed black migration to most parts of the United States (Figure 7).

The church has played a significant role in the evolution of the culture of the American Negro. Thus a study of a particular church such as the CME Church reveals a great deal about the culture, movement and impact of the

Negro in various parts of the United States. It was hypothesized that there is a close correlation between the spread of the Negro in America and the diffusion of the CME Church. The following statements were used to evaluate this hypothesis: (1) the American black man's culture and his mobile history are related to the evolution of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; (2) as the black population of a region increases, the CME Church population will grow; (3) CME parishioners will increase as the socio-economic status of an area decreases, and (4) there is a relationship between the migration of blacks from rural to urban centers and within cities and the distribution of CME Church membership in Texas.

The research revealed the following conclusions:

(1) that the Methodist Church from its beginning expressed an interest in the slaves and its growth was in part related to the spread of slavery; (2) the CME Church arose out of the environment of slavery and the schism over slavery that divided American Methodism; (3) slavery not only shaped the character of the Negro but greatly influenced his religious institutions which developed after the Civil War; (4) CME Church polity was somewhat autocratic as were slave masters and the decisions made by church leaders were highly influential in the development of the institution (Figure 7); (5) the strategies of circuit riders, CME colleges, the itineracy system and publications used by the leaders in the diffusion of the CME Church revealed the character of

the institution. This church was characterized as an ethnicized, Southern church, whose parishioners were predominantly poor, rural, and uneducated and were largely associated with the cotton culture; (6) a mixture of African and Anglo-Saxon cultures have brought adaptations in the CME Church that were rooted in the Negro's indigeneous culture, emotional needs and his introduction to Western Christianity; (7) the black man's culture and his mobility continued to aid in the sustenance and the diffusion of this religious social system through the period 1870 to 1970; (8) the socio-economic conditions of Afro-Texans indicated that "Colored Methodism" has continued to appeal to those in the lowest socio-economic level. However, the CME Church is becoming increasingly middle class in composition and outlook. Today, it has difficulty reaching and communicating with the poverty-stricken Negro but also experiences difficulty in holding the affluent Negro; (9) migrations from rural to urban centers and within cities are the primary key to the movement and present locations of CME churches and members, particularly in Houston and Dallas; (10) after 100 years on the American landscape, the CME Church remains primarily rural and Southern, though it is increasingly found in the poor sections of Northern and Western cities. The study proves conclusively that there is a close correlation between the spread of the Negro in America and the diffusion of the CME Church.

Based on this analysis of a particular church, the

following recommendations seem justified:

(1) There is a need for more research concerning the CME Church, its related ethnicized systems which include the AME Church, the AMEZ Church and the multitude of Baptist bodies that have certainly left their imprint upon the American landscape. The understanding of the impact of religion in the field of cultural geography is only beginning.

(2) The realignment of CME conference boundaries will be necessary as long as the mobility of its possible communicants is evident.

(3) There is a need for consolidating many of the missions, circuits and stations as well as several of its institutions of higher learning. A pooling of church resources would open more avenues for youthful participation and enable the institution to better serve the present age.

(4) More attention needs to be given to the role of the church in West Africa and other foreign lands.

(5) Because of changed social conditions in America, it is wise for the CME Church to be actively concerned about COCU.¹ There is a current ecumenizing trend in Protestant

¹COCU--The Consultation on Church Union is a venture in reconciliation of nine American communions which has been authorized to explore the formation of a united church truly catholic, truly evangelical, truly reformed. The participating communions: AME, AMEZ and CME Churches, Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), The Episcopal Church, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S., The United Church of Christ, The United Methodist Church, and the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

groups. The CME Church would not lose its identity, as some believe, but would be able to fulfill its missionary obligation as an ecclesiastical social system.

In the first conference year 1870-1871 the CME Church began with a connectional budget of \$1,700, two bishops, two general officers, ten annual conferences and approximately 40,000 members. In the year 1970 the connectional budget was \$1,007,300.00. The church had nine bishops, eleven general officers, nine episcopal districts, five colleges and one seminary, thirty-nine annual conferences and a constituency of over one-half million. The period from 1945 to 1970 was the most significant in the diffusion of the church nationally and internationally as it correlated with the movements of Negroes north and west. If the mobility of blacks remains constant one can expect diffusion to continue.

The CME Church has become institutionalized as an ecclesiastical organization on the American landscape and seems to contain all the elements of permanence and broader development. Yet it remains for time, circumstances, and the ever-changing human environment to determine the future spatial impact in a dynamic world.

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