The Limited Impact of Pentecostal Interracialism on Systemic Racism in the USA

Harold D. Hunter

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Abstract

The centennial of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre demands a careful review of the impact of systemic racism on Christian communities. This study starts by looking at early Pentecostal interracialism in the USA. There is a striking difference between those churches that founded the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America (PFNA) and those who were not invited or even barred. The renewed ascendancy of white supremacy forces a review of black Pentecostal victims who suffered discrimination, violence, even death. Pentecostals who would extend Jim Crow laws into the heavenly realm need to revisit the founders' emphasis on repentance, reform, and restitution.

Introduction

Churches and scholars who are not only sensitive but proactive about responding to systemic racism know the value of looking back at the May 31—June 1, 1921, Tulsa (Greenwood) Massacre. The African-American community in Tulsa at that time celebrated what was known as the Black Wall Street. When one considers the plight of Greenwood, Oklahoma, African-American Pentecostals during this madness, the shroud of darkness that suppressed the victims and their families is evident in that the story was buried by whites for decades only to be rediscovered in recent years. Local activists in Tulsa, "60 Minutes," and the likes of LeBron James have put the spotlight where it belongs.[1]

Marking the centennial of this grisly event that witnessed a few Pentecostal survivors forces Classical Pentecostals in the USA to address systemic racism as this was not simply an outburst and certainly not an aberration. Christians ignore to their own peril the reality that while black prosperity surged during Reconstruction defenders of the "Lost Cause" narrative would dictate otherwise. White "redeemers" found countless ways to suppress the votes of African-Americans. Likewise, how is one to understand that a vagrancy conviction could lead to horrific atrocities suffered under the "convict-lease" system to be followed by the equally malicious "redlining"? The May 18, 1896, *Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court rule mandated "separate but equal." Systemic racism that is institutionalized extending to criminal justice, employment, housing, health care, political power, and education, among other issues, is not a binary issue, but with the focus on marking the Tulsa Massacre centennial this study will be limited in scope.[2]

It is claimed that no international group brings a greater church diversity to a common table than the Global Christian Forum. The same claim is made for related groups like Christian Churches Together USA (CT-USA) and Christian Churches Together UK (CCT-UK). All of these groups include Pentecostal leaders and ecumenists connected to the Pentecostal World Fellowship (PWF) and Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches of North America (PCCNA). Several of the annual conferences run by CCT-USA have had sessions devoted to various forms of racism. These sessions have been driven by the Historical Black Churches and Sojourners, among others. One year the group watched the powerful 2019 documentary *Emanuel* and heard the daughter of the senior pastor of Mother Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church who was slain by white supremacist Dylann Roof**.** During the October 2–4, 2019, conference, in Montgomery, Alabama, "Commemorating the Quad-Centennial of the forced transatlantic voyage of enslaved peoples to America," all in attendance had dinner and a service in the legendary Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church and also walked past the First White House of the Confederacy then went through the Legacy Museum of the Equal Justice Initiative and its Peace and Justice Garden.

In an October 14–15, 2019, Journey of Lament, the National Council of Churches of Christ USA (NCCC-USA), took Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and historical Protestant church participants to Old Point Comfort, Virginia. This is the place where the first slaves reached American soil in 1619.[3] In a parallel development, Bishop Charles Edward Blake, Presiding Bishop of the Church of God in Christ, in February 2017 led a group of top Pentecostal leaders to visit Mother Emmanuel AME in Charleston, South

Carolina. Bishop Blake hosted the twenty-fifth anniversary of PCCNA at Mason Temple, Memphis, Tennessee. This is where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his last speech before being assassinated the next day. Bishop Blake, who had previously declared December 14, 2014, "Black Lives Matter Sunday" for the Church of God in Christ, compelled white Pentecostal leaders to address systemic racism

Early Pentecostal Interracialism in the USA

While mainstream white Holiness Pentecostals of the twentieth century in the USA were preoccupied with personal sins, structural sins were most often addressed as they impacted individual members of their churches. USA Pentecostals took on unjust structures through a variety of avenues like Jim Crow laws. The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and Church of God of Prophecy excelled at this, which will be visited momentarily.

In its interracial character, the early Pentecostal movement also departed at times from larger cultural norms as seen in mainstream Christianity. Most Pentecostal denominations in the South originally had some degree of fellowship across racial lines, including not only the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) and the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church (FBHC), but also the Church of God (Cleveland) and C. H. Mason's predominantly African-American Church of God in Christ. All of these groups derived the Pentecostal teaching through W. J. Seymour's African American Azusa St. Mission, where multi-ethnic worship services were the rule and where, in the words of Frank Bartleman, "the 'color line' was washed away in the blood."[4]

Historians have celebrated the Pentecostal movement's early interracialism as, in Edward Ayers' words, an example of how "religion could overcome, for a while at least, the worst parts of Southern culture." They have also noted the eventual decline of interracial worship, citing conformity to cultural mores, the waning of interracial worship as revivals gave way to increasingly organized forms of worship, and the relatively shallow nature of white Pentecostals' interracial commitment.[5]

The early PHC's experience suggests that a variety of these elements influenced the course of Pentecostal interracialism. White Pentecostals in North Carolina may not have completely believed in racial unity and equality nor were they, as Robert Anderson implies, subconsciously tormented by interracial contact. Perhaps they originally evidenced minimal concern with the social implications of interracial fellowship. Even before Azusa, interracial worship was not uncommon in the Southeastern holiness movement. The FBHC had interracial conventions and a

few congregations since 1898, and in 1905 the church listed African American William E. Fuller as one of three assistant general overseers.[6]

Outsiders criticized the interracial character of some of A. B. Crumpler's revivals, and in 1903 G. B. Cashwell reported preaching at "the colored" church near Goldsboro in a meeting also attended by whites. The language used by PHC leaders when they related accounts of interracial gatherings suggests that such meetings were the exception rather than the rule. In Cashwell's 1903 report, he mentioned the black churchgoers "seemed to be filled with the Spirit, and the white people of the community say they live it. God bless those people. I expect to meet many of them in the kingdom of Jesus."[7]

In 1906, Cashwell took the train to Los Angeles to find the Azusa St. Mission led by W. J. Seymour. During one of the times Clara Lum read letters to the group, she included a letter by T. B. Barrett at which time G. B. Cashwell broke out in tongues. Cashwell raced back to North Carolina to share this new message with the PHC, FBHC, and the Free-Will Baptist Church in and around Dunn, North Carolina.[8]

Alexander Boddy, editor of the respected British magazine *Confidence*, sets the scene for those unaware of societal mores at the time. While touring North America, he wrote about the 1912 sitting arrangements on the trains and the waiting areas at train stations. He tells that if a white minister does preach at a black church, he dare not go to the black minister's home because neither black nor white would accept him.

Boddy says that those in different contexts can appreciate the dilemma only while being in the "old slave states." To give an example he quotes a white minister talking about a time in Florida when he looked out his house windows and saw six black men lynched. Their crime? They had "insulted" some white women and with no trial they were lynched and shot repeatedly—he says even the wrong one—to which Boddy adds, "The whites are determined to keep their position as a dominant race." Further he says:

> Only a few white people has one heard speak kindly of the black ones, but one has heard from saintly white folks of those in the Negro race who had known and loved their Lord as much as they did.

Boddy elaborates on this point:

> One of the remarkable things was that preachers of the Southern States were willing and eager to go over to those Negro people at Los Angeles and have fellowship with them, and through their prayers receive the

> same blessing. The most wonderful thing was that, when these white preachers came back to the Southern States, they were not ashamed to say before their own congregations they had been worshipping with Negroes, and had received some of the same wonderful blessings that had been poured out on them. [9]

R. B. Hayes sponsored integrated services including integrated altars as early as 1898.[10] The June 1, 1907, issue of *The Holiness Advocate* spoke of a white minister, Rev. R. F. Wellons, who preached to "colored people at Fayetteville." Wellons also spent time in the home of Pastor Treadwell. G. B. Cashwell's inaugural *Bridegroom's Messenger* in October 1907 carried a letter, as does a February 1909 article from F. M. Britton about his ministry in Florida, which presumably included African Caribbeans.[11]

Elder G. T. Haywood had a letter published in *Bridegroom's Messenger* in December 1908. *Bridegroom's Messenger* in August 1909 carried a letter from Carrie L. Justice in Locust Grove, Georgia, with the heading "Pentecost Among the Colored People."[12] This was followed by similar reports.[13] In the early years of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAW) prior to the white exodus in 1924, the two top leaders were black and white and the bishops were 50/50 black and white. However, the PAW did not surrender the notion that they should strive toward racial unity in their churches and leaders.[14]

The racial identity of W. J. Seymour and the Azusa St. Mission was not mentioned in *Bridegroom's Messenger* or G. F. Taylor's theological tracts. Influential periodicals like the *Bridegroom's Messenger* rarely addressed racial matters, and when they did so it was usually in the context of stories about charismatic revivals or testimonies specifically designated as those of "colored" churches or individuals. However, in light of the Pentecostal proclivity to imitate narrative theology, these testimonies should not be minimized. Occasionally Cashwell's paper did make bold racial statements, such as one in an article about Filipinos that denounced "the haughty Anglo-Saxon who regards all other races as his inferiors." Regardless of prevailing racial attitudes, though, Cashwell and other white Southern Pentecostals proved more than willing to incorporate the teaching they obtained from Seymour, whom they considered a vehicle of God just like themselves.[15]

Unlike other prominent Southern denominations such as the Church of God (Cleveland), the PHC was only loosely affiliated with black congregations or organizations. Its neighboring denomination, the FBHC, did maintain more explicit connections. The FBHC was interracial from 1898 to 1908, when its black

members left under William E. Fuller's leadership to form their own denomination. Notice that while the Wesleyan Holiness stream was strong enough to bring together W. E. Fuller with B. H. Irwin then J. H. King, the message of the Azusa St. Revival could not keep Fuller and King together.

Sometime soon before the 1911 merger between the PHC and the FBHC, a separate "colored convention" was formed, but in 1913 this black convention withdrew and became the autonomous Gethsemane Pentecostal Holiness Church. The North Carolina organizations' racial schisms paralleled those of other Pentecostal denominations, most of whom experienced separations during the 1910s and early 1920s. The PHC and other white denominations claimed that the decisions to separate were mutual and that the initiative often came from within the black groups. Additionally, both white leaders and black groups cited criticism of interracial meetings and the racial prejudice of outside whites (including potential but unrealized converts) in explanation.[16]

Regarding Church of God of Prophecy (CGP), like Church of God missionary to Palestine Margret Gaines' book suggesting that Palestinians are *Small Enough to Stop the Violence*, CGP was isolated and small enough not to be co-opted by all the mainstream religious trends in the USA, not even by mainstream Pentecostals, nor by Evangelicals, Protestants, and so on. They were marginalized while embracing an exclusive body ecclesiology that merged with a radical Pentecostal spirituality and as such could carry on shattering racial norms, which is not to say that racism was not present in CGP.[17] While their story merits a close examination, due to space limitations, research notes will be added in a footnote but here is one example.

In 1924, the CGP passed a resolution against the Klu Klux Klan.[18] While the published language emphasizes secret societies, correspondence to and from A. J. Tomlinson at the time makes clear that racial issues were central to this declaration. An enlarged photo of the 1924 CGP General Assembly shows that there was no segregated seating at that time. CGP would go on to become the most racially integrated of all the PFNA (Pentecostal Fellowship of North America) type Pentecostal churches in the USA for several decades.[19]

Figure 1: 1924 Church of God of Prophecy General Assembly in Cleveland, TN

While outside criticism and Southern mores certainly played a significant role in the demise of interracialism within Pentecostalism, many white Southern Pentecostals never sought to forge a completely integrated movement. The fact that they rarely addressed racial equality might suggest that they were less concerned with their violations of cultural strictures than the society around them, but also that they did not make a sustained effort to come to terms with the questions and meaning of interraciality. White PHC leaders did not fight to keep their organization interracial when separations occurred, nor did they push, even in the earliest years, for substantial consolidation across racial lines.

Most instances of interracial worship occurred either when whites visited black churches to hear white ministers like G. F. Taylor or G. B. Cashwell preach or, more frequently, in the less structured environments of revivals and camp meetings. The PHC's effort toward black churches was part of its overall proselytizing endeavor, though black Pentecostals embraced the doctrine of speaking in tongues for their own purposes and on their own terms. As the PHC and other groups became more centralized and denominationally formal, and

therefore more structured and less flexible, the interracial character of the movement declined.

White Pentecostals had to address interracial worship in formal denominational terms, rather than as a (largely unaddressed) aspect of the loosely composed early revivals that drew interdenominational as well interracial crowds. The striking interracial character of the early Pentecostal movements in the South was part of the broader departure from cultural norms, but it was often more ambivalent and not as deeply ingrained or theologically based as doctrinal beliefs and therefore could not withstand external pressure and internal transformations successfully.

"Black Jesus"

It is a sad fact that at the time this nation was being "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," 20 percent of its population was being held in slavery. Evangelical Christians were, for the most part, supportive of slavery. Southern Presbyterian J. H. Thornwell and even George Whitefield were among them.[20]

Why was this so? In the first place, African-Americans were not valued as persons. Second, there was not only an unwillingness but resistance to protecting black family rights. For those slaves who were brought to America it was not uncommon to sell a husband to one master and a wife to another. Children were frequently severed from their parents. Marriages between slaves were not even recognized by prevailing laws. In the third place, culture, customs, and history of the blacks were taken away from them. Slaves were forced to adopt the white man's religion, the white man's customs, the white man's mode of dress, the white man's value system.

Next, the slaveholders refused slaves access to any education. Some slaveholders were instrumental in passing laws that forbade slave education. Alabama, for example, levied $250 to $500 fines on anyone who taught a slave or even a free black to read or write. In Mississippi anyone who attempted to teach a black could be fined $30, be put in jail for ten days, or receive thirty-nine lashes. In North Carolina it was deemed a criminal act to distribute any pamphlet or book, not excluding the Bible, to blacks. Black history is still often looked upon as something outside USA history.

One way to unearth white supremacy regardless of how we camouflaged it is to consider the question of a "Black Jesus." Deane Ferm gives a good description of some of the 1970's black theologies that advocated for a black Jesus. Ferm[21]

singled out Albert Cleage's *The Black Messiah* (1968), which portrays Jesus as a revolutionary black leader whose purpose is to free black people from oppression, and Henry Turner's *God Is a Negro*. Ferm also mentions *Your God Is Too White* by Salley and Behm. This was published in 1971 by IVP and the revised edition came from IVP under the title *What Color Is Your God?*

Space does not allow a close look at a black Pentecostal who advocated for a black Jesus. This is Rev. Herbert Daughtery, previously pastor of The House of the Lord Pentecostal Church in Brooklyn, New York. This same era saw Pentecostal Bob Harrison's 1971 *When God Was Black*.[22] Consider these theological notes. The greatest artists in the West have portrayed the Christ principally in the tradition of the Salvator pictures—calm, serene, and dignified, and in the tradition of the Ecce homo pictures—stricken with grief and crowned with thorns.

Inasmuch as even the greatest pictorial creations reflect the culture of the artist and his or her times, black people who are victimized by a white racist culture understandably find it difficult to identify with a white, blue-eyed, golden-haired Jesus. There have been many black Madonnas with Child sculptured and painted in European and Central and South American cities. Throughout the regions of Christian Africa, Christ has always been depicted as a black man.

It is a scientific fact that Jesus was neither a blond northern European nor a forest Negro from the Congo. He was, no doubt, of dark complexion—not unlike today's Palestinians—as were the Semites and the peoples of North Africa. Secondly, the true meaning of his person and work transcends all differentiation of race, ethnicities, and culture.

When White Supremacy Gives Way to Violence against Black Pentecostals

The February 28—March 2, 2019, Society for Pentecostal Studies Annual Meeting (SPS) was hosted by W. J. Seymour College in Lanham, Maryland. During the African-American Archives session, Sherry DuPree said that some African-Americans who were lynched were Church of God in Christ members. DuPree drew attention to the mutilated body of falsely accused Emmett Till, who had a Church of God in Christ background. Till is one of a few singled out on a unique wall at the National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama. Unfortunately, the list of names from various counties at this memorial has not been researched to identify other Pentecostals who were lynched. In addition to oral

histories, DuPree pointed to FBI records that kept track of the largest black-led Pentecostal church in the USA starting in the late nineteenth century. DuPree has saved relevant FBI files at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City. The lynching of black Pentecostals was dramatized in another 2019 SPS session by Jacqueline C. Rivers.

On April 1, 1918, a headline in the Vicksburg Post read, "Draft Evasion in Holmes County Due to Pro-German Teachings among Blacks." The state adjutant general's office, the paper reported, had found it "virtually impossible" to get blacks to comply in Lexington because of Church of God in Christ founding Bishop Charles H. Mason's allegedly pro-German sermons and his advice to "resist" conscription. What made the situation seem all the more sinister was the fact that in the preceding two months only a small proportion of several hundred black registrants called up for service had reported for induction.

The story linking Mason and draft resistance was picked up by the national wire services. By April 18, Rev. Jesse Payne, a COGIC pastor in Blytheville, fell into the hands of a mob and was given a coat of tar and feathers—a public ritual usually done with hot tar on a naked or near naked body, with the victim being released in a public place where he could be seen, chased, laughed at, and mocked. Concluding its article, "Negro Preacher Tarred," the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* editorialized that the tar-treatment "will result in great good to demonstrate to not only blacks but some whites that it is time to get into the war work and quit talking such rot as is attributed to Payne."[23]

By contrast, a survey of early white Pentecostal papers like *Bridegroom's Messenger*, *Latter Rain Evangel*, *Church of God Evangel*, and *Apostolic Evangel* link lynching with white people being threatened for teaching holiness dogma and advocating a view of divine healing that meant no medication or physicians.

One can search for several relevant keywords on the web sponsored by the Consortium of Pentecostal Archives at https://pentecostalarchives.org/. A simple search for the "Klu Klux Klan" will return results that may surprise some. One quickly finds the story about the CGP minister Grady Kent who was beaten by the KKK. Another find is seeing the time that Aimee Semple McPherson allowed the KKK into Angelus Temple. Then there is a discussion by an IPHC editor that some unwarranted criticism of the KKK comes from elites from the North who safeguard the Knights of Columbus.[24]

Let us review a few things about the KKK. Tony Brown's *Journal*, televised on July 8, 1984, centered on interviewing Stetson Kennedy, who wrote *I Rode with the Klan* and *Klan Unmasked* (London: Arco, 1954). Kennedy infiltrated the Klan and

evidently turned over some evidence of their violent behavior. Kennedy said when he would give this to the FBI that often they would not respond to him, but would tell the leaders that a traitor was among them. Each Klan member took an oath that they will accept death if they reveal any Klan secrets.

Brown claimed the Klan began in 1864 in Pulaski, Tennessee, with four ex-confederate soldiers. The Klan used potent superstitions to scare blacks with their robes and burning crosses. In the 1880s they went underground because of the amount of violence. Jemar Tisby carefully documents the life and legacy of Nathan Bedford Forrest, the first Grand Wizard of the KKK. Tisby shows that the second incarnation of the KKK "fused Christianity, nationalism, and white supremacy into a toxic ideology of hate."[25] The third revival of the KKK in early twentieth century owed much to the son of a slave-owning Baptist preacher, Thomas Dixon, Jr.

The Ku Klux Klan arose in the aftermath of the Civil War, but not until after the release of D. W. Griffith's 1915 film, *The Birth of a Nation*, did the movement gain widespread support. A 2020 Netflix movie titled *Birth of a Movement* lays bare the real mission and impact of that 1915 movie. Filmmaker D. W. Griffith adapted Dixon's 1905 book *The Clansman* into a movie shown to President Woodrow Wilson in the White House.[26] The movie *The Birth of a Nation* romanticized the Klan and fueled racial fears so that by the mid-1920s, KKK membership had peaked at nearly 5 million members. During the next fifty years their activities were often violent—lynchings, murders, bombings. By the 1960s and 1970s, many members had gone underground, many had quit, and a few had remained. Splits and rivalries occurred among various Klan factions.[27]

In the early 1980s there were twenty-five different Klans. The three largest then were the United Klans of America, based in Tuscaloosa, Alabama; the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan, based in Tuscumbia, Alabama; and the Invisible Empire, based in Denham Springs, Louisiana, led by Bill Wilkinson. Their combined national membership reportedly amounted to less than 10,000 persons.

When one lives in Alabama and speaks out for social justice—as I did from 1979 to 1981—one is saturated with stories about the KKK. As I heard various conspiracies about the KKK, I wondered if the mainstream media was accurately representing them, so I drove to the Knights of the Klu Klux Klan headquarters in Tuscumbia, Alabama, to get original literature directly from the source. What I found in pamphlets like "The White Primer" and "NIGHTMARE: What Could Happen to White Americans in the Later 1980's" was beyond belief, but there is no space to elaborate in this article.

KKK public teachings have been and still are echoed in various Christian communities that not surprisingly had a negative impact on the legendary Azusa St. Revival. One of these views, based on the account of Noah and his three sons in Genesis 9:20–27, erroneously assumes that Ham was a Negro and Noah's curse of him therefore extended to the entire Negro race.[28]

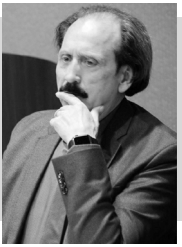
Another prevalent view is that Eve had sexual intercourse with Satan in the Garden of Eden and bore Cain. Cain is identified as the seed of the serpent in Genesis 3:15, and the Jewish race descended from him. According to Klan teaching, the Jews then fled to the woods where they had sex with the animals and created all the other minority groups. Jews and non-whites are viewed as clearly inferior to the true chosen people, the white race, descended from Adam. Wasn't Jesus a Jew? Klansmen neatly skirted this problem by saying Jesus was descended from Adam.

Flogging, which became a trademark, was first introduced in 1921. When even murder could go unpunished, the strength of the local Klan was demonstrated to all. In 1926 when sensational raids, incidents of violence, intimidation, and murder were carried out, but no convictions were obtained, the greatest event of the year was the election of Klansmen to important state, county, and local political offices (at least in Alabama).[29] With a long history of influence in the South and particularly Alabama, it is not surprising that Alabama became a center for the Klan but also for black liberation in the form of freedom riders, the bus boycott, Martin Luther King, Jr., etc.

Dake's Annotated Reference Bible by Pentecostalist Finis Dake defends segregation in heaven and other positions taken by white supremacists.[30] Dake's Bible has long been used by ministers from PFNA type churches and was later seized on by prominent independent Charismatics.

My youth in CGP was dominated by "29 (Bible) teachings made prominent." The seventeenth such teaching based on Scripture, but often conveniently overlooked, was "restitution where possible." Although restitution was a hallmark of many early Pentecostal revivals in the USA, it has proven to have a short shelf life. The Pentecostal commitment for neighbors and communal well-being cannot be surrendered. It is to Jesus that we turn to lay on the altar our sins and seek forgiveness. Reform and restitution to those who have been wronged by us or our ancestors must follow our repentance.

Harold D. Hunter (Hhunter@iphc.org) is Director of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church Archives & Research Center, Bethany, Oklahoma, USA, and IPHC Liaison to the Greater Christian Community.



Notes

[1] Scott Pelley, "Greenwood, 1921: One of the Worst Race Massacres in American History," *60 Minutes* (New York: CBS, 14 June 2020). LeBron James with CNN Films is producing a documentary on the 1921 massacre. For Pentecostal stories, see Daniel Isgrigg, "Bishop Travis B. Sipuel: A Pentecostal Survivor of the Tulsa Race Massacre*," Daniel D. Isgrigg*, 3 May 2020, n.p., https://danieldisgrigg.com/2020/05/03/bishop-travis-b-sipuel-a-pentecostal-survivor-of-the-1921-tulsa-race-massacre/ (23 November 2020). Isgrigg is also devoting a chapter to this topic in a forthcoming book to be published by Seymour Press in 2021.

[2] David Michel, "Toward an Ecclesiology of Racial Reconciliation: A Pentecostal Perspective," (PhD diss., Chicago Theological Seminary, 2018); Jemar Tisby, *The Color of Compromise: The Truth about the American Church's Complicity in Racism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2019); Abram X. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist* (New York: One World, 2019); Robert P. Jones, *White Too Long: The Legacy of White Supremacy in American Christianity* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 2020). During the "Memphis Miracle" that saw the transition from PFNA to PCCNA, the 1994 conference distinguished between prejudice and discrimination while the Racial Reconciliation Manifesto and a few presenters pointed to systemic racism.

[3] See the 1619 Project, *New York Times Magazine*, 2019, n.p., https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html.

[4] Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980 [1925]), 54. A useful account of the presence and decline of interraciality in Southern Pentecostal denominations is found in Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 165–84. See also David E. Harrell, Jr., *White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), 94–96; Harold D. Hunter, "Church of God of Prophecy," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 208. But also see James S. Tinney, "Competing Strains of Hidden and Manifest Theologies in Black Pentecostalism," paper presented to the Society for Pentecostal Studies Annual Meeting, Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, OK, 14 November 1980.

C. H. Mason's Church of God in Christ ordained numerous white ministers until the formation of the Assemblies of God in 1914, but whites mainly sought its credentials because it was incorporated and so its ministers could legally perform marriages and obtain reduced railroad rates. See Synan, *Holiness Pentecostal Movement*, 169–70. Cecil M. Robeck, Jr., "The Past: Historical Roots of Racial Unity and Division in American Pentecostalism," paper presented to Pentecostal Partners: A Reconciliation Strategy for 21st Century Ministry, Memphis, TN, 17–19 October 1994, 33, published in the *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-*

Charismatic Research 1 (May 2005), goes so far to say that the Assemblies of God is an "offspring" of Mason's Church of God in Christ. See Estrelda Y. Alexander, *Black Fire: One Hundred Years of African American Pentecostalism* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2011), 177–80. PCCNA President Jeff Farmer speaking at the twenty-fifth anniversary of PCCNA (2019) inside Mason Temple said he was amazed to learn that Mason's church still had white congregations. Farmer said this from the pulpit where Martin Luther King, Jr., preached the night before he was assassinated in Memphis, TN.

[5] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 407. Ayers also observes that "during the years that marked one of the lowest points in American race relations, the Pentecostal movement remained almost uniquely open to exchange between blacks and whites"; 407.

Iain MacRobert argues that the demise of interracialism resulted from white Southern Pentecostals' own bigotry and disinclination to challenge regional mores; Southern churches were only "fleetingly touched" before they "destroyed Seymour's [interracial] dream on the altar of racial supremacy." Iain MacRobert, *The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 66–67, 94.

Robert Anderson's conclusions are marked less by Vinson Synan's retrospective disappointment than by incorporation into his larger deterministic "misdirected social protest" argument. The early interracialism of Pentecostalism represented a "radical criticism of prevailing race relations and a radical departure from them." But racial prejudices "glossed over in the first flush of revival constituted a latent source of frustration and, hence, aggression," which boiled to the surface as the early emotionalism waned and the basically conservative nature of Pentecostalism's social orientation became more evident. Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 154, 196.

[6] *Live Coals of Fire* 1:7, 1 December 1899, printed a sermon entitled "A Whirlwind from the North," which B. H. Irwin preached November 12, 1899, to the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Lincoln, Nebraska. In *Live Coals of Fire* 3:9, 11 January 1905, 3, edited by J. H. King, African-American W. E. Fuller wrote about trying to reach "his people" in Mississippi and of land promised by a white friend in Toccoa, Georgia, providing Fuller would open a school on the property. *Live Coals of Fire* seemed never to stray from paying some attention to African Americans. Listed in all issues were two such ruling elders—W. E. Fuller and Alice M. McNeil—and various ordained ministers like Isaac Gamble and Uncle Powell Woodbury. A number of stories highlight their specific contributions, which, more often than not, were in the Southeast. See: *Live Coals of Fire* 1:1, 6 October 1899, 8; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:4, 27 October 1899, 1; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:5, 3 November 1899, 1; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:6, 10 November 1899, 1; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:7, 1 December 1899, 2; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:10, 12 January 1900, 3; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:11, 26 January 1900, 1; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:15, 23 March 1900, 7; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:16, 6 April 1900, 3; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:20, 1 June 1900, 5, 8; *Live Coals of Fire* 1:21, 15 June 1900, 4. Cf. *Discipline of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas* (1978, n.p.). Not to be missed is the Irwin elder W. H. Fulford, who helped organize the United Holy Church of America. Similar stories can be told about those who went on to be a part of the Church of God in Christ. G. F. Taylor, "Our Church History: Chapter I," *Pentecostal Holiness Advocate*, 20 January 1921, 9, talks about pre-PHC Holiness type meetings in North Carolina that were avoided by "decent folks" so "nobody but poor folks and negroes would take any part in them. . . ."

[7] G. B. Cashwell report in *Holiness Advocate*, 15 October 1903, 8.

[8] Based on a late in life interview of IPHC minister L. R. Graham, Synan wrote, *Old Time Power: A Centennial History of the International Pentecostal Holiness Church: Limited Edition* (Franklin Springs, GA: LifeSprings, 1998), 97–98, that Cashwell's Spirit baptism was delayed due to racial prejudice that overtook him at the Azusa St. Mission. However, this narrative is not borne out in Cashwell's published reports at the time. A more substantial criticism has come from Michael Thornton in *Fire in the Carolinas: The Revival Legacy of GB Cashwell and AB Crumpler* (Lake Mary, FL: Creation House, 2014), 152–55, where the argument is advanced that Cashwell had a stronger ministry network with Seymour than with his own PHC.

Members of both races attended the monumental 1907 revival in Dunn, North Carolina, and Cashwell immediately informed the Azusa mission of this news. His letter noted that a number of black people had obtained their Pentecost and concluded that "all the people of God are one here." One theory is that some who made it to Dunn came from W. E. Fuller's Fire-Baptized Holiness Church of God. In his diary, G. F. Taylor recounted preaching to an interracial gathering once during 1908, also at a black rather than a white church. *Apostolic Faith*, January 1907, 1; Taylor 1908 diary, June 7 entry, Taylor Papers at the IPHC Archives & Research Center; Synan, *Old Time Power*, 73–74, 100–1, 148–49.

[9] *Confidence*, September 1912, 208–9.

[10] *Memoirs of Richard Baxter Hayes*, ed. W. M. Hayes (Philadelphia: by the Author, 1945), 35. Alexander, *Black Fire*, 85, singles out R. B. Hayes who in an 1898 revival in Carlton, Georgia, faced a "man with a stick" complaining that Hayes was "showing Negro equality." Hayes' tents were burned down several times, a Baptist minister punched him in the face, and he was shot at. Randall J. Stephens, *The Fire Spreads: Holiness and Pentecostalism in the American South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 241: "For Hayes's breaches of racial, social, and religious norms, his meeting tents were burned down several times, he was punched in the face by a Baptist minister, he was shot at, and he regularly faced belligerent crowds." Then page 310 note 79: "The white holiness evangelist AB Crumpler regularly held integrated meetings in NC. In 1896 the *Goldsboro Daily Argus* took notice of one such revival, reporting on a 'colored service' Crumpler held in a building 'filled with both races.' Unlike at other mixed race events, however, the African Americans in attendance, the reporter noted as a matter of fact, were 'given the right of way' and treated with utmost respects. 'The Crumpler Meetings,' *Goldsboro Argus* 24 (June 1895), 5."

[11] *Bridegroom's Messenger*, October 1, 1907; *Bridegroom's Messenger*, February 1, 1909.

[12] *Bridegroom's Messenger*, August 1, 1909.

[13] The page numbers for the cited references are as follows: 8, 4, 4, 3, 2. See: "Pentecost Among Colored People In Atlanta," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 2:45, September 1, 1909, 3; "Work Among Colored People" about Troy, Alabama, *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:17, October 1, 1909, 3; "Work Among the Colored People at Biloxi, Miss," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:49, November 1, 1909, 3; report on Richmond, Virginia, under the title "Work Among the Colored People," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:54, January 15, 1910, 2; "Work Among the Colored People," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:60, April 15, 1910, 4; F. W. Williams, "Work Among the Colored People in Biloxi, Miss," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 3:64, June 15, 1910, 4.

[14] Alexander, *Black Fire*, 21, points to PAW saying it "remained biracial for the longest period, working to ensure that not only its congregations but also its leadership reflected racial equality." But in the 1930s, the racial lines were drawn.

[15] Charles Parham's *Apostolic Faith* 2:2, October 1908, 8, calls Seymour "an African preacher." Missing issues of *Live Coals of Fire*, *Holiness Advocate,* and the *Apostolic Evangel* might clarify this point. Scholars who focus on white supremacist Parham when searching for "roots" would do well to learn more about the nineteenth-century Gift Adventists. See Harold D. Hunter, "A Portrait of How the Azusa Doctrine of Spirit Baptism Shaped American Pentecostalism," *Enrichment Journal* 11:2 (Spring 2006), 78–90.

Bridegroom's Messenger, March 1, 1909, 2–3; *Bridegroom's Messenger*, November 1, 1907, 2. Bartleman's accounts of Azusa, which the *Way of Faith* carried, mentioned the interracial character of the revival but not Seymour's racial identity; see Frank Bartleman, *Azusa Street*. Ayers claims that Cashwell did not initially tell his audiences of his baptism at the hands of blacks, but even when he did they still willingly accepted the message; Ayers, *Promise*, 407.

[16] Synan, *Old Time Power*, 100–1, 153; Synan, *Holiness-Pentecostal Movement*, 165–84; J. H. King and Blanche L. King, *Yet Speaketh: Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King: Written by Himself and Supplemented by Mrs. Blanche L. King* (Franklin Springs, GA: The Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1949), 125.

[17] See: Harold D. Hunter, "A Journey Toward Racial Reconciliation: Race Mixing in the Church of God of Prophecy," in *The Azusa Street Revival and Its Legacy*, eds. Harold D. Hunter and Cecil M. Robeck (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 2006), 277–96; Harold D. Hunter, "The Vision, Present but Not Realized in 1906," *White Wing Messenger*, April 2017; Harold D. Hunter, "Snapshots of a Spiritual Journey: A. J. Tomlinson," *White Wing Messenger 100 Years: Commemorative Issue*, June 2003, 14–18; Christopher W. Kinder, "'Let the Devil's Prejudice Forever Disappear': Race and Inclusion in AJ Tomlinson's Church of God," (Master's thesis, Graduate School Southeast Missouri State University, 2014); Harrell, *White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South*, 94–96; Alexander, *Black Fire*, 266–68; Stephens, *The Fire Spreads*, 240. One point of departure is that Kinder was perhaps not aware of data that showed CGP interracialism was not only part of national, state, and district conventions, but also some local churches. For a study in contrast, see Mickey Crews, *The Church of God: A Social History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1990), 163–72, who published a revealing Civil Rights survey at Lee College.

[18] *Minutes of our Nineteenth Annual Assembly of the Church over which AJ Tomlinson is General Overseer Held at Central Avenue Tabernacle, Cleveland, Tennessee, September 10-16, 1924*, 42, for the resolution against the KKK. The 1924 minutes also show the elevated status of African American ministers like T. J. Richardson along with Stanley R. Ferguson from the Bahamas. Synan, *Old Time Power*, 172–74, reports that at the 1925 PHC general conference all general officials had to be able to say they were not in fellowship with or affiliated in any way with the KKK after King organized the short lived "Buffalo Conference" with R. E. Erdman as superintendent. But see p. 183n32. Further, the 1922 minutes of the PHC General Board show they would only accept a relationship with Erdman's multiracial United Pentecostal Holiness Association if they agreed to stipulate the following: "The colored element shall always be confined to a conference or conferences north of the Mason-Dixon line" and that "no colored person shall ever hold office in an annual conference" nor shall they "ever be a delegate to a

general conference." The original 1922 PHC general board minutes signed by general secretary L. R. Graham are held by the IPHC Archives & Research Center.

[19] See forthcoming article: Harold D. Hunter, "Dismantling Systemic Racism for the Common Good: Excerpts from the Memphis Manifesto," in a 2021 book edited by Chris Green and Daniela Augustine produced for the Pentecostals and the Common Good Project. This study documents that PFNA not only did not invite the Church of God in Christ to join PFNA, but there was an undocumented agreement that black Pentecostal churches would not be received as members. This was not resolved until PFNA was dissolved in 1994 and replaced by the multicultural PCCNA (Pentecostal Charismatic Churches of North America). E. L. Jones, CGP African-American legend, told me that even CGP racially mixed services included whites who were sympathetic to the KKK.

[20] Jon Butler, "Enlarging the Bonds of Christ: Slavery, Evangelism, and the Christianization of the White South, 1690-1790," in *The Evangelical Tradition in America*, ed. by Leonard I. Sweet (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984), 87–112. Butler argues that the Anglican program of evangelization in the eighteenth-century North American colonies was not simply coincidentally related to the massive turn to slavery during the same period. Butler acknowledges that most religious systems nearly always supported slavery and the English colonists had a slavery model in the West Indies by 1660, but the Anglican influence was direct and not unimportant.

[21] Deane William Ferm, *Contemporary American Theologies: A Critical Survey* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1981), 43, 48, 41, 47. On a related front, Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 95, shows that the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected hundreds of monuments several decades after the Civil War to support the "Lost Cause" myth. A later spike in monuments was linked to racial ferment during the Jim Crow era. Tisby quotes Fitzhugh Brundage, a historian of lynching and the Jim Crow era, who said, "They tended to be erected at times when the South was fighting to resist political rights for black citizens."

[22] Frank Macchia and Jerry Shepherd interview of Herbert Daughtery was published under the title "The Gospel that Speaks to Blackness," *Agora* 4:1 (Summer 1980), 14–17, 9. Assemblies of God minister Bob Harrison, *When God Was Black* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971).

[23] Craig Scandrett-Leatherman, "'Can't Nobody Do Me Like Jesus': The Politics of Embodied Aesthetics in Afro-Pentecostal Rituals," (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2005), 153, 155, 165, 162, quoting Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *"Investigate Everything": Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press: 2002); and Charles H. Pleas, *Fifty Years Achievement From 1906 - 1956: A Period in History of the Church of God in Christ* (Memphis, TN: Church Public Relations, Church of God in Christ, 1991). Also see Craig Scandrett-Leatherman, "Rites of Lynching and Rights of Dance," in *Afro-Pentecostalism*, eds. Estrelda Alexander and Amos Yong (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 94–95, 104–6. See Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 106–10, and the horrific story (104) of the rape on September 3, 1944, of Recy Taylor, who was on her way home from the Rock Hill Holiness Church in Abbeville, Alabama.

[24] *White Wing Messenger* 20:7, April 4, 1942, 1; *Foursquare Crusader* 6:41, July 27, 1932, 1; and *Foursquare Crusader* 6:39, July 13, 1932, 2; *Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* 30:21, September 19, 1946, 3, 9. See Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited*, 190–91.

[25] Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 100. See Michael, "Ecclesiology," 55–63; Gaston Espinosa, *William J. Seymour and the Origins of Global Pentecostalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), ch. 6.

[26] Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 101.

[27] "The Counterfeit Christianity of the KKK," *Christianity Today*, 20 April 1984, 30–32.

[28] Michel, "Ecclesiology," 61. Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 90–91, points out that W. J. Seymour was part of a wave of African-Americans who searched for family members after emancipation. Tisby, *Color of Compromise*, 101–2, quotes the Grand Dragon of Oklahoma of merging Christian religion with white supremacy that helped account for 40,000 ministers belonging to the KKK.

[29] William Robert Snell, "The Ku Klux Klan in Jefferson County, Alabama: 1916-1930," (Master's thesis, Samford University, 1967); William R. Snell, "Masked Men in the Magic City: Activities of the Revised Klan in Birmingham, 1916-1940," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly* 34:3, 4 (Fall & Winter 1972), 206–27.

[30] See *Dake's Annotated Reference Bible: The Holy Bible: King James Version*, by Finis Jennings Dake (Lawrenceville, GA: Dake Bible Sales, Inc., 1963), 144, 159. Compare Dake's Bible to the series by Clarence Jordan that included *The Cotton Patch Version of Luke and Acts* (Piscataway, NJ: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1960). A good summary of these racial issues found in *Dake's Annotated Reference Bible* is provided by Stephen R. Haynes, "Distinction and Dispersal: Folk Theology and the Maintenance of White Supremacy," *Journal of Southern Religion* 17 (2015). Cf. "Scholars Scrutinize Popular Dake's Bible," *Christianity Today* 38:1, 10 January 1994, 50.