

Harry Hosier: Black Preacher Extraordinary

Few individuals in American history have made a contribution to the Black Church—or to the total Church, for that matter—equal to that of the itinerant preacher. This is especially true of the late colonial period and the subsequent early years of American independence. These formative decades of the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries saw the Invisible Church become increasingly vibrant. Formal ecclesiastical structure was likewise taking form as denominations came into being. Evangelism was aggressive and the results clearly evident as membership increased.

Who is responsible for much of the remarkable advance? Who traversed the Atlantic seaboard, going to the cities, the hamlets, the rural areas: to remote plantations, to the brush arbor in the grove of live oaks, to the small weatherbeaten church by the riverside, to the mountain cabin? It was the traveling preacher, the circuit rider whose name is frequently unknown to recorded history, but that same little-known itinerant made history, and he has bequeathed a noble legacy.

Symbol of the traveling preacher is Harry Hosier, "Black Harry," who represents the ministry of horse, saddlebags, and a Bible which he knew by memory but could not read.¹ He likewise denotes a vital part of the Black Experience—the Christian message proclaimed and lived out in the slave era—a glorious ministry yet set amidst appalling circumstances of oppression. "The Negro preacher played a significant part in the social and religious development of Negro life," says Harry V. Richardson. "First, preaching was an outlet for leadership ability. It was the one position of leadership permitted Negroes, and the office carried considerable prestige." Richardson goes on:

... the Negro preacher was able to communicate religion to the slave in a useful and intimate form. Being one of the people and suffering with them, he could make religion not only a discipline but also a living ground of hope.²

Black preachers, slave or free, had an extremely difficult task. "While

¹See Warren Thomas Smith, "The Incomparable 'Black Harry'" in *Together*, October 1970, pp. 40-41.

²Harry V. Richardson, *Dark Glory* (New York: Friendship Press, 1947), pp. 7-8. Also see Donald G. Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965) for an overview.

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preaching to slaves, they could not attack slavery. Many had been granted the privilege of preaching and the liberties that went with it through the kindness of masters who trusted them." A frontal assault upon the institution would have spelled the end of any freedom to preach. Riding the circuit offered certain advantages, for "moving to different parts of the country on annual appointment from the bishop . . . [itinerant preachers] were less likely to become attached to the regional customs or emeshed in local patterns of power."³ There was also less danger arising from "recalcitrant congregations" which might withdraw ministerial support.

It is against this background that we see Harry Hosier, moving resolutely, evangelizing all classes, races and denominations. At a time when we seek to find new data and insights regarding the Black Church and the total life of the American community, we turn to this dynamic—albeit relatively obscure—"Black Harry" who holds a special place in the saga of America. Harry Hosier (spellings vary: Hossier, Hoshur, Hoosier) becomes a fascinating study in historiography. Sketches of his life become components in a jigsaw puzzle, pieced together from oral history, assorted documents—all encrusted with traditional stories, greatly influenced by folklore, myth and pious legend. As new data emerge an increasing number of questions arise. Seeking the historical Harry Hosier becomes all the more important in that he symbolizes hundreds of similar, almost forgotten circuit riders.

Methodist Involvement

In 1909 Booker T. Washington made sweeping claims for Methodism. "The Negro," he said, "seems from the beginning to have been very closely associated with the Methodist Church in the United States." He continued:

Methodism had started in England among the poor and the outcast; it was natural, therefore, that when its missionaries came to America they should seek to bring into the Church the outcast and neglected people, especially the slaves.

Washington proceeded to picture the Methodists in mission to a despotized people:

In some parts of the South the Methodist meetinghouses were referred to by the more aristocratic denominations as "the Negro churches." This was due to the fact that the Methodists often began their work in the community with an appeal to the slaves.

As an example of this ministry, Washington pointed to the man who accompanied Dr. Thomas Coke on several of his America tours, "Harry Hosier, a coloured minister who was at the same time the bishop's servant and an evangelist of the Church. . . . He travelled extensively through the New England and Southern states and shared the pulpits of the White

³Lester B. Scherer, *Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1975), p. 138. Also see H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . .* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1972) and E. Brooks Holifield, *The Gentlemen Theologians* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1978) for assessment of slavery as viewed by many churches.

Harry Hosier

ministers whom he accompanied. But he seems to have excelled them all in popularity as a preacher."⁴

Birthplace

Traditionally, Hosier's place of birth is given as near Fayetteville, North Carolina.⁵ Fayetteville was not named as such until 1783. Previously it had been known as Cross Creek or Campbellton. Cumberland County, in which the town is located, was carved out of Bladen County in 1754. Hosier's birth is usually given as 1750. Documentation is difficult to find. What of his parents: who were they? Where did they come from? Africa, yes, but what country and when? The well-known Virginian, Henry Evans (c.1740-1810), who established the first Methodist Church in Fayetteville, is widely recognized in the area. Did the two men know each other? One story is that Hosier was a member of Evans' congregation.

There exists an unidentified manuscript which states that Harry Hosier was a slave of Henry (or Harry) Dorsey Gough (?-1808) at Perry Hall, the large plantation on the Bel Air road some twelve miles northeast of Baltimore; the house was "the most spacious and elegant building" one English preacher had ever seen. Gough "had inherited a large estate from relatives in England. His fortune in money, lands and slaves was valued at more than three hundred thousand dollars." Gough's wife, the wealthy, aristocratic Prudence Ridgeley, was intensely religious; later her husband had a dramatic conversion after hearing the prayer of an elderly slave. Announced Gough, "I have found the Methodists' blessing! I have found the Methodists' God!"⁶ When visiting the Goughs on March 11, 1776, Francis Asbury noted, "May this family evidence that all things are possible with God; though their salvation should be attended with as much apparent difficulty as the passage of a camel through the eye of a needle! If they prove faithful stewards they will."⁷

Apparently Asbury's prediction was correct. The Goughs built a chapel (a frequent venture by plantation owners) at Perry Hall, "the first American Methodist church that had a bell,"⁸ and the circuit preacher

⁴Booker T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), I:257-259. Also see *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* (Privately Published, 1914), IX:15-16, article by Thomas E. Brigden.

⁵See Joshua E. Licorish, *Harry Hosier, African Pioneer Preacher* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Afro-Methodist Associates, 1967), also in the *Central Christian Advocate*, June 15, 1966. Also see Licorish, "Harry Hosier" in *The Encyclopedia Of World Methodism*, ed. by Nolan B. Harmon, (Nashville, Tennessee: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), I:1157-1158. Harry Hosier is not mentioned in John A. Oates, *The Story of Fayetteville and The Upper Cape Fear* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Litho Industries Inc., 1972, 2nd ed.). When asked about Hosier, the Register of Deeds of Cumberland County reported, "We find no record of the above stated Name."

⁶James Edward Armstrong, *History of the Old Baltimore Conference* (Baltimore: Printed for the Author, 1907), p. 27.

⁷*The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, ed. by Ciark, Potts, Payton, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), *The Journal*, I:180, entry dated "Monday, 11."

⁸Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1864), I:237.

The Journal of the I.T.C.

came twice a month; various local preachers filled the other Sundays.⁹ If no preacher was available Mrs. Gough would conduct a prayer service, with Bible readings and the singing of hymns. Perry Hall remained a center of Methodist activity, with Asbury, Coke and other frequent guests. Our question: was Harry Hosier ever a slave on this plantation? There is no supportive documentation, but the case is reasonable. It is possible that Hosier may have been born in North Carolina and then taken to Maryland. If Fayetteville was his original home (the slave market still stands), we have no reference to his ever returning. Perry Hall would have been a natural spot for Methodist ties, and Maryland remained one of the areas for Hosier's ministry. There is general consensus that Hosier was born a slave, at some time manumitted, but when, and by whom? Did he buy his freedom? These queries remain unanswered. The same is true of his conversion. When, and under what circumstances, did it take place? Why did he become a Methodist? What individuals influenced him? Said to be the first African local preacher in American Methodism, what was the situation? His call?

What of Harry Hosier's physical appearance? A universal description states, "He was small, very black, keen-eyed, possessing great volubility of tongue."¹⁰ An old cartoon depicts Hosier in fervent conversation with a repentant sinner.¹¹ The only extant picture, a line drawing, shows his face with emphasis on the large, compassionate eyes. An oil portrait, painted from this drawing by Virginia J. Kiah of Savannah, Georgia, now hangs at Old St. George's United Methodist Church in Philadelphia. One author portrays Hosier:

Harry was small in stature, coal black, and with eyes of remarkable brilliance and intelligence. He had a quick mind, a most retentive memory, and such an eloquent flow of words, which he could soon put into almost faultless English, that he was pronounced by many "The greatest orator in America."¹²

With Asbury

The year 1775 has been suggested as the time of meeting with Francis Asbury (1745-1816), but our first and most reliable introduction to Hosier comes as Asbury envisioned a method whereby slaves might be reached with the Gospel. On Thursday, June 28, 1780, at "Todd's" in North Carolina, Asbury recorded, "I have thought if I had two horses, and Harry (a coloured man) to go with, and drive one, and meet the black people, and to spend about six months in Virginia, and the Carolinas, it would be attended with a blessing."¹³ Obviously the two had met, and

⁹John Lednum, *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1859), p. 155.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 282.

¹¹See Elmer T. Clark, *An Album of Methodist History* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 169. The caption, "'Black Harry' Hoosier, Methodist Negro evangelist who frequently accompanied Asbury on preaching tours."

¹²W. P. Harrison, *The Gospel Among the Slaves* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South, 1893), p. 127.

¹³Asbury, *Journal*, 1:362. Todd's was near the Virginia line.

Harry Hosier

Hosier was needed if a Virginia-Carolina mission was to be contemplated.

Almost a year later we find Asbury on Sunday, May 13, 1781, at Fairfax Chapel, Falls Church, Virginia:¹⁴ "Preached at the Chapel; afterwards Harry, a black man, spoke on the barren fig-tree. The circumstance was new, and the white people looked on with attention."¹⁵ The barren fig tree (Matthew 21:19-21 and Mark 11:13-14, 21) was manifestly a favorite sermon for there are later references to it. Repetition was standard for the itinerant preacher. Again, on Monday, May 21, 1781, Asbury preached at P. Hite's and "Harry Hosier spoke to the Negroes, some of whom came a great distance to hear him." Hosier's message had potent effect for "certain sectarians are greatly displeased with him, because he tells them they may fall from grace, and that they must be holy."¹⁶ Clearly this is a reference to the ever familiar, popular Methodist-Baptist debate "once in grace, always in grace."

In most instances, Hosier first addressed the slaves; as the message progressed, more whites joined the congregation. Was the attitude of the whites one of condescension? To be sure, the novelty of hearing a former slave would have initially drawn many. Hosier's power seems to have won his hearers beyond idle curiosity: they lingered because of genuine interest. What of his message? Being unable to read and write, research and study (from a book) were impossible. His strength undoubtedly came from his power of observation, concentration, memory, personal faith and remarkable innate ability. During months spent with Asbury and others, he would have heard the best of frontier preaching—and *good* preaching it was! Most itinerants had scant formal education (erudition-wise, Hosier posed no threat to his colleagues), yet frequent sermonizing produced a remarkable style. At Camp Meeting all the area preachers attended and preached in turn. A man of rare talent, Hosier could have caught views and methods from his associates—and the associates could well learn from Hosier. During the long horseback rides, he and Asbury would have engaged in leisurely dialogue on theology, Bible study, prayer, the life of faith. In short, Hosier lived in an environment in which it was possible to absorb ideas and techniques and all coupled with his own pulsating encounter with Jesus Christ.

We have an important clue to Hosier's preaching: "While Harry was travelling with Bishop [Richard] Allen, the bishop attempted to teach him to read, (for he could not read;) but, to use Harry's phrase, 'when he tried to read, he lost the gift of preaching,' and gave it up entirely." We have additional references:

Harry could remember passages of Scripture and quote them accurately; and hymns, also, which he had heard read, he could repeat or sing. He was never at a loss in preaching, but was very acceptable wherever he went, and few of the white preachers could equal him, in his way.

¹⁴ See William Warren Sweet, *Virginia Methodism, A History* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1955), p. 102, see note 5.

¹⁵ Asbury, *Journal*, I:403.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

The Journal of the I.T.C.

What was his secret?

When he was questioned as to his preaching abilities, complete command of voice, aptness in language, and free delivery, as to Scripture and doctrinal truth, his reply was a description of the Elocution of Faith: "I sing by faith, pray by faith, preach by faith, and do everything by faith; without faith in the Lord Jesus I can do nothing."¹⁷

Autumn of 1781 found Asbury in Pennsylvania, working on an abridgment of Baxter's "Cure for Church Division," and thinking he should plan a return to Virginia in the winter. "Harry," noted Asbury, "seems to be unwilling to go with me: I fear his speaking so much to white people in the city has been, or will be, injurious; he has been flattered, and may be ruined."¹⁸

Adulation by white people may have posed a problem in Asbury's mind, but much of the praise was forthright, and from competent sources. Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), noted Philadelphia physician who had been a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was Benjamin Franklin's personal friend, and a leading abolitionist, heard Hosier and stated, ". . . making allowances for his illiteracy he was the greatest orator in America."¹⁹ Hosier's fame as a public speaker was widespread. He commanded unusually large hearings, "and his sermons were appreciated by audiences without distinction of color."²⁰

Travels With Dr. Coke

In 1784 Thomas Coke (1747-1814) arrived on the American scene as Wesley's representative. Asbury met Coke at Barratt's Chapel in Delaware on November 14th. Harry Hosier was surely among the preachers who briefly assembled, because Asbury gave him an assignment: to guide Coke. Prior to the Christmas Conference, Asbury thought it wise to provide Coke a taste of American frontier life—a preaching tour of a thousand miles through Delaware and Maryland. "He has given me his black (*Harry* by name) and borrowed an excellent horse for me,"²¹ noted the Doctor. "Black Harry" completely charmed the Oxford-educated Coke, who recorded on Monday, November 29, 1784:

. . . I have now had the pleasure of hearing *Harry* preach several times. I sometimes give notice immediately after preaching, that in a little time *Harry* will preach to the blacks; but the whites always stay to hear him. Sometimes I publish him to preach at candle-light, as the Negroes can better attend at that time. I really believe he is one of the best Preachers in the world, there is such an amazing power attends his preaching, though he cannot read; and he is one of the humblest creatures I ever saw.²²

¹⁷G. A. Raybold, *Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey* (New-York: Lane & Scott, 1849), pp. 166-167.

¹⁸Asbury, *Journal*, I:413, entry for Saturday, October 27, 1781.

¹⁹See *Proceedings*, IX:16, also Stevens, II:174.

²⁰John Fletcher Hurst, *The History of Methodism* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1902), IV:291.

²¹*Extracts of the Journals of the Rev. Dr. Coke's Five Visits to America* (London: G. Pamore, 1793), p. 16.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 18.

Harry Hosier

A bit later, Monday, December 6, 1784, the Welshman expressed profound gratitude:

. . . I had this morning a great escape in crossing a broad ferry. After setting off, *Harry* persuaded me to return back, and leave our horses behind us, to be sent after me the next day, on account of the violence of the wind. I have hardly a doubt but we should have been drowned if we had not taken that step. We were in great danger as it was; . . .²³

Baltimore

Coke met Asbury and others at Perry Hall on Friday, December 17, 1784 to plan the forthcoming Christmas Conference. Hosier must have been with the men. The Conference assembled in Baltimore at Lovely Lane Chapel, December 24, 1784-January 2, 1785. Richard Allen (1760-1831)—later to be designated Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church—and Harry Hosier would surely have been present (documentary proof is missing). We are told:

When the historic Christmas Conference met at Baltimore in 1784 to carry out John Wesley's plan to organize Methodism in the colonies, two Negro preachers were present: Richard Allen and "Black Harry," whose real name was Harry Hoosier. He had traveled with Thomas Coke and Asbury, and the former regarded him "as one of the best preachers in the world."²⁴

Allen has no comment on Hosier. It is regrettable that references do not appear—stories of personal experiences of the two. Were they very close? Obviously Allen did not share the same relationship—that of intimate friend—as he had with Absalom Jones (1746-1818).

Allen, like "Paul, . . . worked with his hands for his own support as he preached."²⁵ We see a marked difference in personality in Allen, quite in contrast to Hosier who continued to travel with Asbury and seemingly got along quite well with him. With Allen and Asbury it was an altogether different story (at least in the early years). Allen tells us:

Rev. Bishop Asbury sent for me to meet him at Henry Gaff's. I did so. He told me he wished me to travel with him. He told me that in the slave countries, Carolina and other places, I must not intermix with the slaves, and I would frequently have to sleep in his carriage, and he would allow me my victuals and clothes. I told him I would not travel with him on these conditions. He asked me my reasons. I told him if I was taken sick, who was to support me? and that I thought people ought to lay up something while they were able, to support themselves in time of sickness or old age.

Asbury's response:

He said that was as much as he got, his victuals and clothes. I told him he would be taken care of, let his afflictions be as they were, or let him be taken sick where he would, he would be taken care of; but I doubted whether it would be the case with myself. He smiled, and told me he would give me from then until he returned from the eastward to make up my mind, which would be about three months. But I made up my mind that I would not accept of his proposals.²⁶

²³Ibid., p. 19.

²⁴See *The Life Experiences And Gospel Labors Of The Rt. Rev. Richard Allen . . . Written by Himself* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960. Originally published in 1880), p. 6, "Introduction" by George A. Singleton. Also see *Forever Beginning* (Lake Junaluska, North Carolina: Methodist Historical Societies, 1967), Grant S. Shockley, "Negro Leaders in Early American Methodism," pp. 45-46.

²⁵R. R. Wright, Jr. Compiler, *Encyclopaedia Of African Methodism* (Philadelphia: Book Concern of the AME Church, Second Edition, 1947), p. 13.

²⁶Allen, *Life*, pp. 22-23. Also see Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbaths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 32.

The Journal of the I.T.C.

Why did Harry Hosier not stand up to Asbury? He may have—boldly—but we possess no record. On the other hand, did Hosier accommodate himself to a well-nigh hopeless social condition? Did he, of necessity, play up to the white majority—a spiritual Uncle Tom? Or, free man that he was, did he by choice remain in the setting wherein he felt God had called him to render the greatest good?

Continued Travels

Hosier accompanied Asbury to New York in the autumn of 1786 and preached his first New York sermon at the John Street Church in September. The *New York Packet* of September 11, 1786 commented:

Lately came to this city a very singular black man, who, it is said, is quite ignorant of letters, yet he has preached in the Methodist church several times to the acceptance of several well-disposed, judicious people. He delivers his discourses with great zeal and pathos, and his language and connection is by no means contemptible. It is the wish of several of our correspondents that this same black man may be so far successful as to rouse the dormant zeal of members of our slothful white people, who seem very little affected about concerns of another world.²⁷

This is the first reference to Methodist preaching in any New York press.²⁸ The John Street congregation contributed two pounds toward Hosier's travel expense, recording the transaction in the *John Street Church Records*.²⁹

In May, 1787, as Coke made another of his nine American tours, Hosier rode with him and Asbury from Baltimore to New York. Again two pounds was paid, on June 11, 1787, to help defray travel cost.³⁰ On another trip with Asbury, in Wilmington, Delaware, where Methodism was exceedingly unpopular, a large number came to hear Asbury and many had to stand outside Old Asbury Chapel. Affirmed one listener, "If all Methodist preachers could preach like the bishop, we should like to be constant hearers." Another replied, "That is not the bishop, but the bishop's servant that you heard." The answer, "If such be the servant, what must the master be?" To put it bluntly, and perhaps correctly, "The truth was, that Harry was a more popular speaker than Mr. Asbury, or almost anyone else in his day."³¹ Undeniably Hosier possessed amazing personal magnetism which shown beyond the platform, a charismatic power which mesmerized his congregations. In the final analysis this unlettered former slave was near genius with the spoken word: perhaps we might call him genius!

Hosier toured with Richard Whatcoat (1736-1806) during 1786-1788, when Whatcoat served as Presiding Elder in Delaware, Eastern Maryland and Eastern Pennsylvania. Whatcoat reported an increase of 847 Negro members from the three charges under his supervision for the

²⁷Samuel A. Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892), pp. 92-93.

²⁸Ibid., p. 93. Also see Asbury, *Journal*, I:494, note 54.

²⁹Asbury, *Journal*, I:494, see note 54.

³⁰Ibid., p. 539, see note 33. Also see Seaman, p. 95.

³¹Lednum, p. 282. Also see Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1921), p. 57.

Harry Hosier

year 1787.³² Harry Hosier could have been responsible for this increase. At Duck Creek, Delaware, services were held in the Friend's Meeting House. Sermons by Whatcoat and Hosier "were long remembered"³³ by people in the area. In 1800 Whatcoat was elected Bishop in The Methodist Episcopal Church, the third person so designated, following Coke and Asbury. Harry Hosier was intimately acquainted with the Methodist hierarchy.

Blacks held special interest for The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1787, when a disciplinary requirement was adopted for all preachers: "*What direction shall we give for the promotion of the spiritual welfare of the coloured people?*" The answer:

We conjure all our Ministers and Preachers by the love of God, and the salvation of souls, and do require them, by all the authority that is invested in us, to leave nothing undone for the spiritual benefit and salvation of them, within their respective circuits, or districts; and for this purpose to embrace every opportunity of inquiring into the state of their souls, and to unite in society those who appear to have a real desire of fleeing from the wrath to come, to meet such in class, and to exercise the whole discipline among them.³⁴

Could Harry Hosier's ministry have influenced such action? It cannot be gainsaid that his message and personality carried considerable popular appeal. Legislative power could be another matter.

Hosier and Garrettson

Freeborn Garrettson (1752-1827), born "near the mouth of the Susquehanna River in Maryland" had a close association not only with Harry Hosier but with the cause of freedom for slaves. Garrettson recorded his conversion of 1775:

While I was giving out a hymn, this thought powerfully struck my mind. "*It is not right for you to keep your Fellow-Creatures in Bondage! You must let the oppressed go free.*" I knew this was the voice of the Lord. Till this moment, I never suspected that the practice of Slave-keeping was wrong; having neither read any thing on the subject; nor conversed with persons respecting its sinfulness. After a minute's pause, I replied, "Lord, the oppressed shall go free."³⁵

He then "addressed the Slaves, and told them, 'You do not belong to me: I will not desire your service without making you a sufficient compensation.'" Later he said it "was God, and not man, that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves: and I shall never be able to praise him enough for it." He then added, "My very heart bleeds for Slave-holders, especially those who make a profession of Religion."³⁶

³² *Minutes Taken At The Several Annual Conferences Of The Methodist Episcopal Church For The Year 1788 found in Minutes Of The Methodist Conferences Annually Held In America; From 1773 To 1813, Inclusive* (New York: Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ward, 1819), pp. 59-67.

³³ *Asbury, Journal*, II:389, see note 32.

³⁴ *Minutes*, pp. 66-67.

³⁵ *The Arminian Magazine For January 1794, The Experiences and Travels of Mr. Freeborn Garrettson [sic], Minister of the Gospel, in North America*. Extracted from the Narrative written by himself, and printed in Philadelphia in 1791. p. 58.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59

The Journal of the I.T.C.

Garrettson meant what he said. "In September 1777, I travelled in Roanok Circuit, North Carolina. The cruelties which the poor Negroes suffered affected me greatly." He told of his preaching:

I endeavoured frequently to inculcate the doctrine of Freedom, in a private way, which procured me the displeasure of some interested persons. I set apart times to preach to the Blacks, and adapted my discourse to their capacity; these were refreshing seasons from the presence of the Lord: Often were their sable faces overflowed with penitential tears, while their hands of faith were stretched out to embrace Salvation through Jesus Christ. Their captivity and sufferings were sanctified, and drove them to the Friend of sinners; many of them were exceedingly happy, through the manifestations of pardoning mercy.³⁷

Garrettson's personal ties with Hosier provide significant records and dates. Their travels began in 1789. Garrettson was responsible for New York, from the Hudson River to Schenectady and eastward into New England. In describing Methodist work for 1789, Coke noted, "*Freeborn Garrettson*, one of our Presiding Elders, has been greatly blessed; and is endued with an uncommon talent for opening new places . . . The numbers in the State of *New-York*, are 2,004; the increase 900."³⁸

The summer of 1790 Garrettson and Hosier made a tour of New England.³⁹ They started from New York, Garrettson outlined the itinerary: "Having stayed a few days in the city, on Wednesday, June the 2nd [1790], accompanied by Harry, who is to travel with me this summer, I rode as far as Mile's Square [New York], and preached to more people than could get into the house." Later, on "Saturday 5th, we met in King-street: . . . Harry exhorted after me to the admiration of the people." The two continued their journey, and on "Tuesday 8th" there was a "joyful season" and the "people of this circuit were amazingly fond of hearing Harry." "Thursday [June] 10th" was a "wet day" yet a large group was not prevented from gathering at an undesignated spot for preaching; in the afternoon "the old English church" was almost full, and Garrettson preached on the theme, "He that is born of God doth not commit sin." The service continued, and "Harry, though it was a heavy cross, exhorted afterwards."⁴⁰ The following Monday there was a large afternoon crowd, people "who came from almost all parts of Oswego, some perhaps from curiosity to hear Harry."⁴¹

The evangelists arrived in Connecticut, and on "Saturday 19th" at Mr. Herricks there was preaching by Garrettson and "Harry exhorted after me with much freedom." At Litchfield, "Wednesday 23rd" in the Episcopal Church, Garrettson delivered the sermon, then, "I left Harry to preach another sermon, and I went on to the center of town." On "the 28th" at Hartford "five or six hundred people" were at the courthouse.

³⁷Ibid., p. 169.

³⁸Coke, *Journal*, pp. 113-114, entry for May 28, 1789.

³⁹See Harry V. Richardson, "Early Black Methodist Preachers," in *The Journal of The Interdenominational Theological Center*, Fall 1975, Number 1; III:5, called a "pioneering excursion into New England."

⁴⁰Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lane, 1838), pp. 186-188.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 189.

Harry Hosier

Alas, "while Harry gave an exhortation some rude people behaved very uncivilly."⁴²

Boston was finally reached, and on "Tuesday, July 1st" Garrettson noted, "I boarded Harry at the master mason for the Africans."⁴³ This would have been Prince Hall (1735-1807), founder of the first Masonic Lodge—Prince Hall Masonic Order—for Africans. Hall had become a Methodist in 1774. Did Harry Hosier become a Mason? Probably so. Once the Boston mission was completed the two preachers journeyed south.

On July 4, 1790, Jesse Lee (1758-1816) recorded preaching several times in a private house and at the courthouse at Providence, Rhode Island.⁴⁴ As he was leaving the city, ten miles from town, he saw Garrettson and Hosier on their way from Massachusetts. "One of these horsemen was an intelligent but humble-looking colored man, who seemed to enjoy his position more than if he were attending a hero in a triumph." Of course the "colored companion was the well known 'Black Harry,' who not only ministered to the temporal convenience of his master, but aided in his spiritual labors by frequently exhorting and preaching after him."⁴⁵ In subsequent years Lee and Hosier were to be associated, and Hosier proved to be helpful to Lee in establishing and furthering the cause of Methodism in New England.⁴⁶

Garrettson and Hosier made themselves at home in Providence, preaching for several days in "good old Mr. Snow's meeting house." On "Sunday 11th" at six in the evening "Harry preached in the meeting house to more than one thousand people."⁴⁷ The evangelists moved on. "Sunday [July] 25th" there was preaching at Canaan, Connecticut, to about five hundred people, in the open air since "it was too warm in the house" and "Harry preached after me with much applause." There was a "tender" meeting at Salisbury, with copious weeping "especially while Harry gave an exhortation." On "Wednesday, July 28th" Garrettson "sent on Harry to supply my afternoon appointment." Continued travel brought the men back to New York, and "July 29th" at Hudson, "I found the people very curious to hear Harry. I therefore declined preaching that their curiosity might be satisfied. The different denominations heard him with much admiration, and the Quakers thought that as he was unlearned he must preach by immediate inspiration."⁴⁸ In some respects, the tour with Garrettson represents one of the most successful milestones in Hosier's career.

What was the relationship of Asbury, Coke, Whatcoat and Garrettson

⁴²Ibid., pp. 189-191.

⁴³Ibid., p. 192.

⁴⁴Asbury, *Journal*, I:681-682, see note 66.

⁴⁵Stevens, II:448-449.

⁴⁶See George A. Singleton, *The Romance of African Methodism* (New York: Exposition Press, 1952), p. 7. Also see James M. Buckley, *A History of Methodism in the United States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890), I:320.

⁴⁷Bangs, p. 192. Also see Harry V. Richardson, *Dark Salvation* (Garden City, New York: Anchor-Press/Doubleday, 1976), pp. 172-173, 304, notes 13 and 15.

⁴⁸Bangs, pp. 194-195.

The Journal of the I.T.C.

to Hosier? Paternalism? Possibly so, at least in the beginning. Asbury tended to be paternalistic regarding most of his preachers, whatever their color, and may have so regarded Harry Hosier. It would seem, however, with the passing of time Hosier was accepted as a person and respected as a gifted evangelist. Caution is necessary, lest a saccharine situation be imagined. There are many references, usually by later writers, to Hosier as driver, guide, servant, companion. Nonetheless, for many preachers and laypersons, brotherhood was experienced.

A growing concern for the education of children was demonstrated in 1790 when The Methodist Episcopal Church asked, "What can be done in order to instruct poor children, white and black, to read?"

Let us labor as the heart and soul of one man to establish Sunday schools in or near the places of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach gratis all that will attend and have a capacity to learn, from 6 o'clock in the morning till 10, and from 2 P. M. till 6, where it does not interfere with public worship. This council shall compile a proper school-book to teach them learning and piety.⁴⁹

Progress was made. "The Methodist is the only denomination which has preserved returns of the number of colored members in its connection," observed one writer. "The Methodists met with more success during this period in the Middle and Southern States than in the Northern, and as they paid particular attention to the Negroes large numbers were brought under their influence."⁵⁰

Accusations

In 1791—or possibly earlier—charges were brought against Harry Hosier by Sally Lyon. What the specific accusation was is not known. Was it misconduct? This would not be the first time a designing individual has laid a trap for a well known preacher, seeking to embroil him in scandal. Whatever the charges, Hosier was absolved:

Sally Lyon agt. Henry Hosier

We the under named Subscribers having deliberately heard the Evidence on the part of the said Sally Lyon as well as that on the part of said Henry Hosier, and according to said Evidence the Charge against the said Henry Hosier we have severally agreed he is not Guilty.

James McDonald, Rev. Isaac Foster, Gilbert Thorn, Thomas Sands, John Ferris, Charles Brundige, Squire Dann, Abraham Hart, Isaac Smith.

Northcastle, Oct. 15th 1791

This Certifies that the above is a true copy from the Original report taken by us.
Thomas Morrell Elder Jacob Brush Elder⁵¹

⁴⁹Cited in Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in The United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969. Originally published by Thomas Purse, Savannah, 1842), pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵¹Original in the Morrell Collection, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, courtesy Leo M. Constantino, Reference Librarian. A copy is in the Lovely Lane Museum, Baltimore, courtesy of Edwin A. Schell, Curator.

Harry Hosier

Boehm's Story

Gaps in the Hosier biography can be filled in through notations made by fellow preachers. One is Henry Boehm (1775-1875), who was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and self educated. As an itinerant preacher he served in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; he spent time traveling with Asbury. He preached—in English and German—until the time of his death at age one hundred. Splendid, firsthand observations of Harry Hosier began at the Philadelphia Conference of 1803, “I heard, during the session, a number of admirable sermons: . . . I also heard ‘Black Harry,’ who traveled with Bishop Asbury and Freeborn Garrettson.” Boehm continued, patently fascinated by Hosier:

He was a perfect character; could neither read nor write, and yet was very eloquent. His text was, “Man goeth to his long home;” his sermon was one of great eloquence and power. The preachers listened to this son of Ham with great wonder, attention and prophet [*sic*]. I shall say something more concerning him.⁵²

Interesting questions were raised: “Having heard this African preach, I have been asked a great many questions concerning him. The preaching of a colored man was, in those days, a novelty.” Boehm thought that Hosier first traveled with Asbury in 1782, then with Coke, Whatcoat and Garrettson, as crowds “flocked to hear him, not only because he was a colored man, but because he was eloquent.” But, “Some inquired whether he was really black, or whether Anglo-Saxon blood was not mixed in his veins?” Boehm’s response was immediate, “Harry was very black, an African of the Africans. He was so illiterate he could not read a word. He would repeat the hymn as if reading it, and quote his text with great accuracy.” Boehm went on, “His voice was musical, and his tongue as the pen of a ready writer. He was unboundedly popular, and many would rather hear him than the bishops.”⁵³ The narrative continued as Boehm told of Hosier’s travels with Garrettson; references were cited of Rush and Coke who acclaimed Hosier’s preaching skill.

Raybold

Another observer was G. A. Raybold (1802-1876), a member of the New Jersey Conference, who called Hosier “One of the greatest prodigies of those early days . . .”⁵⁴ Raybold went on, “He had been a slave in the South, but was manumitted, converted, and became a preacher; which at that time was considered a most extraordinary affair.” Raybold was anxious to have historical perspective, “Harry flourished long before Bishop Allen, of Philadelphia, had established his African Methodist Episcopal Church.” Hosier and Asbury “preached alternately” in many states, “but especially in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.” Raybold continued, with relish, describing how Hosier was “sent into Jersey, in 1803, to travel on Trenton Circuit, in company with Rev. John

⁵²Henry Boehm, *Reminiscences, Historical And Biographical, Of Sixty-Four Years In The Ministry* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1865), pp. 90-91.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁵⁴Raybold, p. 165.

The Journal of the I.T.C.

Walker,⁵⁵ whose reminiscences of Black Harry are distinct and interesting.”

At that time Harry was becoming old, and his head grey. He was of middling stature; slim but very strongly built, and very black; capable of great labour and much endurance. He also possessed a most musical voice, which he could modulate with the skill of a master, and use with most complete success in the pathetic, terrible, or persuasive parts of a discourse.⁵⁶

One of the most vivid scenes, as told by Raybold, had its origin from John Walker (1764-1849) who served the Trenton Circuit:

On one occasion, at an appointment at Hackettstown, there was a lady in the house where the preachers stayed who declared “she would not hear the black.” Harry heard it, and retired into a corner of the garden, and prayed in great fervour, until the hour of meeting.⁵⁷

Walker, it had been agreed, preached at the meeting and “Harry sat upon a chair in front of the preacher, the service being held in the dwelling-house.” Whether it was prearranged or not:

At the conclusion of the sermon, Harry arose, stood behind the chair, and began, in the most humble manner, to speak of sin as a disease; all were affected there, and the Lord had sent a remedy by the hands of a physician; but, alas! he was black! and some might reject the only means of cure, because of the hands by which it was sent to them that day.

Gradually the theme was developed, “He went on in the same strain, until all hearts were moved; then he prayed, (few had the gift of prayer as had Black Harry; he was like Bishop Asbury in this respect—awful, powerful, and overwhelming!)” It was the moment for decision, “a great time” indeed, and “the lady was cut to the heart, and speedily converted, as were many others, on that memorable occasion.”⁵⁸

Raybold also cited “The justly celebrated Dr. Sargent, of Philadelphia,” who “pronounced Black Harry ‘the greatest natural orator he ever heard.’”⁵⁹ Thomas F. Sargent (1776-1833), “One of the chiefs of the ministry of those times” was one who “had a lofty sense of honor, and an absolute loathing for everything mean and or despicable.”⁶⁰ He certainly loved preaching—he literally died in the pulpit—and he was a good judge of homiletics.

Colbert's Vignettes

Some of the most poignant references to Harry Hosier come from William Colbert (1764-1835), who ministered in Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York. For several years he was a Presiding Elder. In his unpublished *Journal*, Colbert portrays Hosier during the latter years of his career. Despite his novel spellings of Hosier's

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 166.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 167.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 168. Also see Stevens, III:140-141 regarding Thomas F. Sargent.

⁶⁰Stevens, III:140-141.

Harry Hosier

name, Colbert came to be a close personal friend. In Maryland, on Saturday, September 15, 1804, Colbert recorded, "This forenoon . . . at our Camp meeting we had about 100 people . . . Henry Hoshur gave a powerful exhortation." The following day was highly successful, "This forenoon I suppose we had 1500 people . . . bro. Cooper gave an excellent and lengthy discourse from Matt. 24 ch 14 v. after Harry Hoshur spoke from Matt. 6 ch 10 v."⁶¹

Some four months later Colbert was in Pennsylvania, and on Saturday, January 19, 1805, "Our Quarterly meeting began at Centerville . . . at night Thos Smith preached for us . . . Henry Hosure a black man spoke after him with life and power." He went on, "we had a joyful season this morning in the Love-feast: both whites and blacks spoke with wisdom from above and animation." A jubilant Colbert noted, "at night Harry Hoshure a black man; commonly call Black Harvy gave us an excellent discourse from Rev. 3rd ch 20th v. This is not a man made preacher. It is really surprising to hear a man that cannot read, preach like this man."

A few weeks later, Wednesday, February 6, 1805, "We were invited to dine at Thomas Battens, where we spent the afternoon, and at night heard Henry Hersure a black friend preach from Isaiah 3 ch 10 v. The people were affected. I spoke after him, and concluded the Meeting. We lodged at James Batten." Colbert and Hosier were in Philadelphia on Tuesday, February 19th and "preached at St. Georges . . . Henry Hosure a black man gave a powerful exhortation after me." Two days later, Thursday the 21st, "We left Philadelphia and rode to Germantown where I preached at night. . . . This meeting was appointed for Henry Hosure, who on some account did not attend." As he began his journey from Wilmington to Baltimore, on Tuesday, March 26, 1805, Colbert mentioned, "This forenoon I started with Alward White and Henry Hosure, a black preacher."⁶²

Possible Ordination

Colbert was very likely the leader in drawing up a request, signed by nineteen preachers of the Philadelphia Conference, petitioning the Bishops and the Methodist Episcopal Conference—slated to meet in Chestertown, Maryland on May 1, 1805—probably for Harry Hosier's ordination. The term *ordain* is never mentioned.

The Preachers recommendations
Henry Hosure
African

May 1, 1805

To the Bishops and conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to assemble in Chestertown the 1st May 1805

Dear Brethren,

We your brethren the official members of the Methodist Church in St. George in Philadelphia Believe Henry Hosure an African, a man that would be very useful if the

⁶¹William Colbert, *A Journal of the Travels of William Colbert Methodist Preacher thro' parts of Maryland Pennsylvania New York Delaware and Virginia in 1790 to 1838*. Typescript Copy, World Methodist Building, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, V:33.

⁶²Ibid., V:47-56

The Journal of the I.T.C.

Bishops and Conference in their wisdom could without establishing a bad precedent direct him

William Colbert, W. Bishop, John Davis, William Fox, Hugh Macurdy, A. K. M'Caskey, Thos. Branagan, John Woolson, Hugh Smith, Daniel McCurdy, John Jones, Jacob Lamb, Daniel Doughty, Alexander Cook, John McCurdy, Jacob Bechtel, Jacob Knows, John Andrews, David Abbott⁶³

There is no documentary evidence that Harry Hosier was ordained.⁶⁴ Why was ordination withheld? Asbury ordained Richard Allen a deacon on June 11, 1799 and thus Allen became "the first coloured man that was ever ordained by the Methodists in the United States," said Jesse Lee. "Several others have since been ordained in New-York and Philadelphia, and one from Lynchburg, Virginia. As the rule has not been known in general among our preachers," noted Lee in retrospect, "I have thought it proper to give it this publication."⁶⁵ Blacks and ordination: the legislation was not passed until 1800.⁶⁶

Tribulation

Unhappily, Hosier is said to have "fallen from grace" and become an alcoholic. Could this situation have prevented his ordination? Conversely, could his disappointment have driven him to drink? "He fell by wine, one of the strong enemies of both ministers and people." He is described, "now, alas! this popular preacher was a drunken rag-picker in the streets of Philadelphia." And he had moved on such "a tide of popularity for a number of years."⁶⁷

Boehm gave a reason for the fall of one who had been so great:

'Tis painful to mar a picture so beautiful. Gladly I will leave it as it is. But, alas! poor Harry was so petted and made so much of that he became lifted up. Falling under the influence of strong drink, he made shipwreck of the faith, and for years he remained in this condition.⁶⁸

Boehm's reference "for years" must be examined. As late as 1805 Hosier was thrilling congregations with his preaching. The alcoholic condition—or nervous breakdown—would probably have been a matter of months. Happily, Boehm concluded, "He was afterwards reclaimed, and died in peace in Philadelphia."

A much more dramatic—and highly charged—conclusion is provided by other writers. On a particular evening Hosier started down the Neck, below Southwark, "determined to remain there until his backslidings were healed." Under a tree he wrestled and, like Jacob, was victorious.

⁶³Original in the Archives of St. George's United Methodist Church, Philadelphia, courtesy of Robert L. Curry, Pastor and Joshua E. Licorish, Pastor of Zoar United Methodist Church.

⁶⁴See *Proceedings* IX:16.

⁶⁵Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodist in the United States of America* (Baltimore: Magill and Clime, 1810), p. 272.

⁶⁶See Joseph T. Wilson, *The Black Phalanx* (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1890), pp. 29 f., 51.

⁶⁷Lednum, p. 282.

⁶⁸Boehm, p. 92.

Harry Hosier

Though his power in preaching now seemed passed, he nevertheless continued as a faithful disciple. He “finished his course; and, it is believed, made a good end.”⁶⁹

Death

On Wednesday, April 30, 1806, in Philadelphia, William Colbert noted, “At night I visited Henry Hosure an old Black happy in the Lord and to appear with in but a few days of eternity.” The following evening he wrote, “This day has been a day of disappointments to me. I got me a creature, and set off on a journey to Baltimore but had to return in consequence of her being so lame. This afternoon I visited Henry Hosure who appears to be but for a short time for this world but happy in God.”⁷⁰ Colbert is said to have remarked, “I was very much affected at some of the experiences of Harry Hosier which he in private conversation related.”⁷¹ Speculation needs to be made regarding Hosier’s age. Assuming he was born in 1750, he would have been but fifty-six. The years and burdens had aged him. It is also possible his birth was prior to 1750.

Harry Hosier died in Philadelphia, and was taken to a free cemetery, Palmer Burying Ground in Kensington. On Sunday, May 18, 1806, William Colbert sadly recorded, “This morning preached at Kensington from 1 Thes. 5 ch 19th v. and in the afternoon heard Christopher Atkinson a black man preach the funeral of Henry Hosure another Black man, from Tim 2nd 4ch 7,8th. He was very broken but he made out better than I expected. Jeffry Budd spoke after him, and he spoke well—the people were affected.”⁷² It is said that “a large crowd of white and black, followed his body to its resting place.” Harry Hosier’s grave cannot be located in the designated cemetery.

Raybold concluded that Harry Hosier “died in Philadelphia, and was buried in the ground attached to Old Zoar.” This is at variance with the Kensington site. Did admirers name their children after Harry Hosier and could this result in duplication and confusion of names and persons—even place of burial? Raybold described the funeral:

... on which occasion the late Jeffrey Bewley, a coloured preacher, and himself a wonder for capacity and performance, in eulogizing Black Harry, applied a term by which he was well known: “Here lies the African wonder.”

Raybold then added his own appraisal of Harry Hosier:

Harry was, indeed, a wonder of grace, a wonder as a gifted minister of the gospel; all things considered, he was the greatest wonder or prodigy of the kind that had ever appeared before, whatever education and religion may have produced since his day.⁷³

⁶⁹Lednum, pp. 282-283.

⁷⁰Colbert, *Journal*, V:106.

⁷¹Licorish, “Harry Hosier” in *Encyclopedia*, I:1158.

⁷²Colbert, *Journal*, V:107, Most writers give 1810 as the date for Harry Hosier’s death. Colbert is conclusive. Also see *Methodist History*, October 1969, pp. 88-89, noted by J. Gordon Melton; and Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1974), p. 168.

⁷³Raybold, p. 168.

Assessment

Without question Harry Hosier was a public speaker of phenomenal skill. Asbury, it is said, knew the best insurance for a capacity congregation was to announce "Black Harry" as the preacher. Hosier stands as one of Methodism's most extraordinary preachers. Booker T. Washington gave the final assessment of Harry Hosier—a monumental claim—"the first American Negro preacher of the Methodist Church in the United States, . . . one of the notable characters of his day."⁷⁴

Paul N. Garber corroborated Washington's claim regarding ministry to the Negro, "Methodism made phenomenal progress among the blacks. . . . In 1786 there were 1,890 colored Methodists in America. By 1790 this number had increased to 11,682. From 1790 to 1810 one fifth of the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church consisted of Negroes."⁷⁵

In evaluating Harry Hosier's ministry the excessive romanticism of the nineteenth century cannot be overlooked. "White and black shared alike in the new life. Down in the cabin, up in the 'great house,' alike were heard the shouts of joy over the newfound pearl of great price," wrote L. M. Hagood. "White Bishop Asbury declared the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, black Harry by his side preached the same gospel. . . ." Sinners were saved "when black Harry pointed . . . to the cross."⁷⁶ W. P. Harrison, in his quixotic hyperbole, painted a far too sanguine portrait of the traveling preacher:

The Methodist itinerants, having their hearts aglow with the pure missionary fire, preached at *all* alike. "Christ came into the world to die for *every* sinner," were the broad and liberal words emblazoned upon their shields. Everywhere that Methodism went, it went in that spirit. It was the religion for the rich and the poor, for the black and the white, for the master and slave; in short, for *all*.⁷⁷

Harry Hosier represented, in realistic, demonstrable terms, the evangelical outreach of the Church of his day. His ministry became a venture in faith, and a proclamation of faith. He stood as an important symbol for his time: the one who bore a living witness.⁷⁸ He was—in large measure—accepted as the person he claimed to be, a preacher called of God. Not only regarded for his own intrinsic worth, he betokened a host of companion preachers who labored tirelessly to reach people with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

⁷⁴Washington, p. 257. Also see *The Negro History Bulletin*, October 1939, No. 1, III:8, "The fact was that at that time there were few preachers in America who could compete with Black Harry. The high and low heard him with great satisfaction and acknowledged his unusual gift for evangelism. . . ."

⁷⁵Paul Neff Garber, *The Romance of American Methodism* (Greensboro, North Carolina: The Piedmont Press, 1931), p. 304.

⁷⁶L. M. Hagood, *The Colored Man in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970. Originally published in 1890), p. 11.

⁷⁷Harrison, p. 124.

⁷⁸Henry L. Masters, "Harry Hosier, An Appreciation" in NOW, January 1978, p. 8, reports, "On Friday, September 30, 1977, the Black Ministers of the Central Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church [held] 'The Harry Hosier Religious Extravaganza,' stressing the ongoing ministry of Harry Hosier. Also see A. W. Crump, Jr., "Black Harry' Hoosier" in the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate*, August 26, 1976, p. 5.