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History of the Bethel Literary and Historical Association, by John W. Cromwell, Founder's Day, 1896

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HISTORY
OF THE
BETHEL LITERARY
AND HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION,
AND
PROGRAMME
FOR THE
YEAR 1895-6.

METROPOLITAN A. M. E. CHURCH,
WASHINGTON, D. C.
HISTORY

OF THE

BETHEL LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BEING

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION

BY

MR. JOHN W. CROMWELL,

(OF THE WASHINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS).

ON

FOUNDER'S DAY,

February 24, 1896.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: PRESS OF R. L. PENDLETON.
1896.
PRESIDENT,
EDWARD A. CLARKE;

VICE-PRESIDENT,
L. M. HERSHAW;

RECORDING SECRETARY,
MISS LAURA E. JOINER;

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
ARTHUR S. GRAY;

TREASURER,
MISS M. R. BOWEN.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

REV. JOHN T. JENIFER,
PROF. W. H. RICHARDS,
J. W. CROMWELL,
LEWIS H. DOUGLASS,
MISS MARIA L. JORDAN,
R. S. SMITH,
F. G. BARBADOES.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON MUSIC:

J. T. LAYTON,
J. HENRY LEWIS,
THOMAS A. JOHNSON.
HISTORY
OF THE
BETHEL LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is impossible for me to write a comprehensive history of this organization; even if it were possible it is impracticable to do more, in the time allotted me in this evening's program, than briefly to outline a sketch.

It is impossible, for there is no accessible official record covering the entire existence of this Literary. Different secretaries having had vastly different conceptions of what constituted an adequate record,—some reporting the barest outlines; others going into details, their journals even were they at hand, would render but meagre assistance. Besides, of the chief executive officers the first year the president and the acting secretary are dead, and the first vice-president is practically living a hermit life. Hence, the writing of such a history, however desirable, is as before remarked, impossible. Fortunately, however, I have had access to the notes of one who was a most interested attendant at and an almost constant participant in nearly all its discussions. These notes being made at the time, I can rely on them as sufficiently accurate for the scope of the present exercise.

It was on the evening of November 9, 1881, the date of the first general election following the death of President Garfield and the accession of President Arthur, that Bishop D. A. Payne organized this Association in Bethel Hall, adjoining the Magruder School. The spot on which this edifice now stands marked the foundation walls of the present structure; Union Bethel Church as an edifice had passed into history nearly four months previously.
Robert J. Smith was elected President, Miss Annie E. Geary 1st Vice-President, Miss Amanda R. Bowen 2nd Vice-President, Mr. Charles H. Shorter, Secretary, Miss Chanie A. Patterson, Librarian, Mr. William Beckett, Treasurer, Mr. C. C. Freeman, Daniel Hardy, William Johnson, Miss Julia R. Bush and Miss Belle Nickens, Executive Committee, who with one exception were at that time members of the Bethel A. M. E. Church. Of this original board of officers Miss A. R. Bowen alone remains officially connected with the organization, an unbroken relation sustained through all administrations. The President and last named member of the Executive Committee no longer breathe the vital air; the others falling by the wayside left the organization whose reputation has outstripped that of the Church of which it is an adjunct. I have been credibly informed that about seventy-five members were enrolled at the organization and they were those who responded to the call given out in Church the previous Sunday, without regard to their qualification or interest.

It was the original plan for the meetings to be held twice a month; but the interest was such that they almost immediately became weekly sessions.

Rev. A. W. Upshaw, a native of Georgia, a graduate of Atlanta University College Department, and Theological Department of Howard University, had the honor of being appointed to open the first discussion on, "Who were the Ancient Egyptians and what did they accomplish?" and Miss Annie E. Geary, then a very promising teacher in our public schools and brilliant essayist of more than local reputation, was selected as first essayist on "What are the Elements of True Womanhood." At the next meeting of which the notes make reference, held November 22nd, there was quite a large audience, when the Rev. John L. Davis, then a theological student at Howard University, spoke on "True Manhood," Miss C. A. Patterson read an essay on "The Botany of a Flower" and Rev. A. W. Upshaw a paper entitled "Are the present inhabitants of Egypt identical with the Ancient Egyptians?" But while the paper was listened to with rapt attention, it led to no discussion. Bishop Payne who had determined by his prolonged stay in Washington to nurture the foundling, endeavored to excite interest among
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the teachers of the colored schools by showing how they could spend their summers abroad in visiting the museums of London and Paris and continuing the investigations along the lines of the subjects discussed.

At the third meeting Mr. J. H. Lawson spoke on "The hand of God in America," and Mr. J. W. Cromwell, editor of "The People's Advocate," on "The Ethiopians—Who Were They?" There was a larger attendance than at the previous meeting, but still no discussion. The next theme presented was, "What Causes are in Operation for the Redemption of Egypt." The notes previously referred to do not show that this topic was formally considered; but December 6th, "Eminent Men of the Negro Race" was the title of a paper by Rev. A. W. Upshaw and "The Racial Connection of the Zulus," the title of one by Rev. R. M. Cheeks.

The audience had steadily grown larger, and their character had visibly changed from the brothers and sisters of the "amen corner," of which they were nearly exclusively composed, to those brought out by their interest in the topics discussed. The discussion which followed the papers on this occasion contented itself with supplementing the information contained in the paper read on eminent men in the Negro race, and the President left the chair to pay a tribute to the prowess, skill and intrepidity of the Zulus, who, to use his epigrammatic language, had "outstripped England's prime minister, out-maneuvered their generals, converted a Bishop and killed a prince." His reminiscences of the Zulu war were entertaining, thrilling, instructive and eloquent. Mr. Lewis H. Douglass who, if I mistake not, was first present at this meeting, was so impressed that he published a letter in the Advocate enthusiastically commending the new movement as promising to accomplish very much more for the enlightenment of the people than the social literary organizations for which our city had been noted.

A word next of Robert J. Smith, first President of the Literary! He was a native of Bermuda who came to Washington to join the Law Department of Howard University. Being married to an English lady of some means he had abundant leisure for making personal solicitations for such contributions to its programs as would make the meetings interesting and instructive. A stranger to our
George T. Downing and Richard T. Greener at this time came forth and participated in the discussions, increasing their interest. At this period no one without some prestige would dare to venture on the sea of discussion without some definite message, on the penalty of manifest popular disapproval.

At this time Calvin D. Johnson threw in the apple of discord by submitting a very well written paper on "Separate Schools." Though only a graduate of the Hampton Institute, Mr. Johnson had a command of idiomatic English that would put many an academician or collegiate to blush. Possessing also a keen mind, sarcastic by nature, cool, calm and controversial, he provoked the most lively discussion had up to this time. Two evenings did not exhaust the list of those eager for the fray. Among those who dashed bravely with lances and foaming chargers into the contest were Mrs. M. A. S. Cary, R. J. Smith, ex-trustee John H. Brooks and J. W. Cromwell in favor of separate schools in this District and G. W. Cook, Geo. T. Downing and Dr. C. B. Purvis against them. One of the disputants reminds me of the fact that at the close of one of these meetings, Prof. Gregory in a state of high excitement mounted a chair, gesticulated wildly and in a voice heard far above the din of the breaking up of the meeting exclaimed, "The suit against the county trustees will go on notwithstanding." Be it remembered that Mr. Gregory was then endeavoring, by legal action, to obtain admission for his children into the white schools of the county.

After the storm the calm, and what can soothe one's nerves more quickly than music! At the next meeting Mrs. Ruth Murray, now Mrs. Collett, read a paper on "Eminent Musicians of the Negro race," in which much that is now contended by the great Hungarian composer Dvorak as was so well expressed by Mr. William Cook and illustrated by Mr. Burleigh this year, was foreshadowed. "The trades or the professions;--which should our young men undertake?" the topic of an essay, the joint contribution of the Misses Mary J. and Chanie A. Patterson, led to a lively discussion in which Dr. Crummell and Dr. Purvis led opposing forces.

At this time the growing influences of the literary for good and its meetings had been acknowledged by the
presence night after night of the very highest social elements among us. The Hon. Frederick Douglass, whose interest in the Association during its latter years needs only to be mentioned, at the early date of February 7th, 1882, read a paper on "Self-made Men;" a lecture which he had delivered throughout the country to crowded houses and always for a good round sum. Bishop T. M. D. Ward, whose relative Samuel Ringgold Ward had been a colleague of Mr. Douglass in the Anti-Slavery reform, was to have presided; but not being promptly present Prof. K. T. Greener had the distinguished honor of making the first formal presentation of Mr. Douglass to the Bethel Literary.

"Race Pride" by Mr. L. H. Douglass shortly followed, and "The Moral and Statistical Status of the Colored Church" by Rev. J. L. Davis, both on the same evening.

At this juncture occurs the first break in the holding of the meetings at Bethel Hall. Dr. J. W. Stevenson, the pastor of the Metropolitan Church, not being able to control the Literary, as he had dominated all other church interests, drove the Literary out of doors, thinking that in this way he would destroy the Association and prevent the development of that freedom of speech and action which was diametrically opposed to his ideas of government and methods of church promotion. But the noble Bereans opened their doors, and there for several weeks the sessions were held.

"The Negro in the 10th Census" by T. J. Minton, "Co-operation" by Prof. James Storum, "The Future of the Negro" by Prof. Cardozo, "Man" by Dr. Augusta, "Dress as a Fine Art" by Miss Belle Nickens, "African Experiences" by Hon. J. H. Smyth, "Mohammedanism vs. Christianity" by Prof. Greener, "The Negro in Journalism" by J. W. Cromwell, "The Negro in Business" by R. C. Douglass, show the variety of the themes and the personnel of the leading disputants for the remainder of the season.

One of the most memorable occasions of this first year was that of the eulogy by Dr. Alexander Crummell on his friend, associate and colleague, the Hon. H. H. Garnet, this was delivered in the 19th Street Baptist Church before a packed house. The platform was graced with the presence of some of the most distinguished men of the race,
and no higher average of the competence, intelligence and culture of the American Negro could have been found elsewhere under the broad canopy of heaven than was assembled there to listen to the tender and eloquent tribute to that princely orator and clergyman, Dr. Garnet, by one whose scholarship and eloquence, whose intimacy and sympathies made him the best qualified living human being for the discharge of this sad duty. Following the formal eulogy, brief tributes were also paid by the Hon. Frederick Douglass and Bishop H. M. Turner, while appropriate resolutions offered by George W. Cook were unanimously adopted. The Hon. John F. Cook presided.

After the return of the meetings to their regular place of meeting in the Hall, which occurred after the removal of Dr. Stevenson, an ineffectual effort was made by him through third parties either to break up our meetings or to force us to pass a series of resolutions stultifying the course of the Literary in its attitude towards the Doctor. For quite a time there was confusion and disorder. At a critical moment Mr. John A. Sims rose and said to the ringleader, "I will have peace if I have to conquer one by the aid of the law." The leader subsided and Col. Arnold who was introduced by Bishop Turner, spoke of the duty of the people of the United States to the Colored Soldier. It was June 20th when the final meeting was held, thus showing that the interest was kept up even after warm weather had fully set in. It should be noted here that both Bishops Payne and Turner made formal addresses during the latter part of this year.

October 4, 1882, the second season's meetings opened with a review of the first year's work by George W. Cook, who had been quite active hitherto and had developed marked power, both as an off-hand speaker and as one who could grasp the salient points of a subject and present them with the ease and grace of a popular orator.

The first year's success had demonstrated several things, that the Literary had met a popular need; that an appeal to the intellect would receive as ready a response as would one to the pleasurable emotions; and that there was ample material ready and willing to supply all the people's intellectual needs.

The topics of that year were on the same general lines, but there was greater variety in the themes, the interest
was broadening and deepening; new faces were always eager to be introduced. During this new year, besides the old favorites, Rev. Walter H. Brooks who had but recently been settled as the pastor of the 19th Street Baptist Church, made his debut both in a paper on "The perils, possibilities and hopes of the Colored people of the South" and in the general discussions throughout the term; Judge W. J. Whipper, of S. C., presented a most philosophical paper on "Reconstruction," taking the conservative position that its failure was attributable to bad legislation enacted by the Republicans; Prof. Wiley Lane on "The Freedman's Bank" gave a historical sketch of that marvelous corporation and recommended legislation that has subsequently been put in the form of law.

Among the new contributors to the discussions was Everett J. Waring, a young man from Columbus, Ohio, who could always be depended on to lead even a forlorn hope, if need be, in support of his convictions. Bethel Literary has had no abler, no readier, more vigorous debater; nor one who appreciated to a greater degree the help which the Literary had rendered in serving to train him for that severe school of competition in which he is now winning and is still to win greater laurels—the Baltimore bar. Of another applicant who passed muster this year, but did not regularly enlist until some years after, more anon.

A very notable paper this year, especially so because of the discussion which it evoked was that on "United Efforts, or the Principles of Combination," by L. H. Douglass. Messrs. A. St. A. Smith, G. W. Cook, Rev. W. H. Scott and J. W. Cromwell, sustaining the position of the essayist, that most of the difficulties with which we have to contend are subjective, and E. J. Waring, Jesse Lawson, E. M. Hewlett and the Hon. Frederick Douglass in opposition. It was in this discussion that the "Old Man Eloquent" pleaded that we be allowed to be under the wing of Japheth and Prof. Cook's quick repartee, that the trouble was that we had been under the wing of Japheth too long already, provoked a long and hearty laugh at the expense of the "Sage of Anacostia" and showed that in the opinion of the audience, who had the better of the argument.

The crowds that thronged Bethel Literary only indicated the local interest. The discussions in one form and another were echoed throughout the country. Every Wash-
lington correspondent of the Colored press, and there were more than than now, gave conspicuous notice to this institution, and the editors of their home papers often continued the discussion sometimes dissenting most emphatically from our trend of thought. This may have led to the appearance of Bishop (then Rev.) Benjamin T. Tanner, editor of the "Christian Recorder" with a paper entitled "The Year 2,000 and What of it." Rev. Tanner who is as imaginative as he is graphic, left little uncertainty as to his beliefs and boldly advocated his views. The criticisms on his paper were merciless, unsparing and scathing. The prelate stood all very well until a somewhat unknown and unpretentious youth humbly arose. After apologizing for his venturesomeness, he subjected the Doctor's argument to the tests of cold logic, and so exposed the weakness of his positions that at the conclusion of the youth's remarks, there was nothing left of the good editor's lecture but the paper on which it was written. Dr. Tanner blushed and blenched by turns. President Smith who had left the chair to participate in the discussion, with extreme difficulty restrained himself from explosive laughter. After the benediction, Dr. Tanner warmly expostulated with the officers for inviting a stranger to read a paper to the Association and then permitting it to be picked to pieces. "I will never read for you again," said he as he strode toward the door, forgetting until reminded, that he had not been paid his railroad fare. The Dr. has kept his word; he has never since run the gauntlet of our criticism. The unknown, the unpretentious youth, then a collegiate student who fairly paralyzed Dr. Tanner's paper disappeared from our discussions and meetings, but after a lapse of several years he became a regular visitor—one of us; and when he rises and catches the President's eye, the latter says: "Prof. Kelly Miller has the floor."

The Literary having for nearly sixteen months continued its existence by virtue of the liberality of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church in permitting it to use the Bethel Hall, the first opportunity came for a return by doing something substantial for the Church. It was decided to give a novel entertainment "A Symposium" February 22, 1883 and Lincoln Hall, the site of the Academy of Music, was selected. Every seat was filled. The audience was most enthusiastic as the sequel well showed. The Met-
ropolitan A. M. E. Choir, under the leadership of its famous chorister assisted. The program was as follows: Solo and Chorus, "Give Thanks;" German Solo by Miss Martha Freeman, (Mrs. R. M. Cheeks); Prayer, Bishop J. M. Brown; Music (instrumental), B. D. Fleet; "What we may learn from the past for the future," Frederick Douglass; Duet, "I know a Bank." Miss C. McPherson and Mrs. Maria Ricks; "Some of the stumbling blocks our young ladies can remove," Miss Rosetta Coakley (Mrs. Lawson); Solo, "La Capricciosa," Miss Blanche D. Washington; "The numerical importance of the Negro in the U. S.," Hon I. C. Wears, of Philadelphia; Duet, "A B C," Miss Sarah Jurix and Mr. J. T. Layton; "What may we do for our industrial education independent of the forces against us?" Mrs. Fannie Jackson Coppin, of Philadelphia; "The Three Chafers," Ideal Quartette; "The time has arrived that the moral and intellectual standard of our ministry should be raised," Rev. J. C. Price, of North Carolina; Solo and Chorus, "Inflammatus," Solo by Miss B. D. Washington.

Aside from the unique feature of the literary and musical combination of such excellence that more than a thousand persons were held together for more than two hours, this meeting was significant as being the occasion when Rev. Joseph C. Price was first formally introduced to the Washington public. His name had been frequently mentioned, his reputation had preceded him, but few, indeed, had either seen or heard him. His many friends from North Carolina were naturally solicitous for him, for it was about twenty minutes to ten when he was introduced and the people were preparing to leave in large numbers. But when he arose and uttered his first sentence the effect was electrical. He captured the audience at the start, held them spell-bound until long after ten by a most eloquent address on his theme, so that forever afterward the mere announcement of his presence as an orator was sufficient to attract a large crowd.

Mr. Price became the lion of the hour. As he remained in the city a few days, his popularity displayed itself on all sides. On Sunday crowds assembled to listen to his eloquent words. The next night he assisted Frederick Douglass and J. H. Rainey in opening the Fair of the Capital City Guards. So when the Literary held its next
regular meeting, its success was foreshadowed. Let me give the account as published at the time, without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t:"

BETHEL LITERARY.

[The People's Advocate, Saturday, March 3, 1883.]

Last Tuesday night, if such a thing was possible, was the most memorable session that has yet been held in the history of Bethel Literary. Not only was every seat of the pews filled, but the space on either side of the pulpit and within the altar was occupied, and the aisle from the front to the rear of the hall was crowded with people, who contentedly stood from the beginning to the close. After the preliminary exercises Dr. O. M. Atwood was announced as the speaker for the evening. His subject was "Individual Development."

The nature of modern civilization, of intellectual and moral culture, he said, was such as hold in abeyance, if not in subjection, racial characteristics. In laying stress upon race pride we are apt to lose sight of individual development. These propositions he elaborated by a very careful analysis of the law of growth and development, which, he insisted, required a certain degree of isolation, concentration of energies, perseverance and persistence. He spoke of the opportunities of the Negro youth just emerging into manhood as being highly favorable for success in whatever field of endeavor aspiration might lead. The Negro had passed from the period of unconscious forward movement to that of conscious growth. The discussion which followed was an animated one, in which Messrs. A. St. A. Smith, G. W. Cook, F. L. Cardozo, J. W. Cromwell, Rev. J. C. Price and Prof. Greener participated.

Mr. A. St. A. Smith thought that the tendency of the exclusive policy of individual development led to indifference to the needs and conditions of the masses. Mr. Wears stated as he understood it the central idea of the paper, and afterwards developed his line of argument as hereafter indicated. R. J. Smith called attention to several inconsistencies in Mr. Wears' position as ignoring race; he said while the policy of individual development might be sufficient for the 500,000 colored people in the North scattered among a people largely their superiors in point of numbers, the idea of stimulating race pride as a factor in the development of the millions who live in the South and who in a few decades would control several states was quite a different thing.

Mr. Cook resented the charge that the Negro had nothing to be proud of. The decline and fall of Egypt should no more be placed to the discredit of the Negro, as Mr. Wears had asserted, than that of Greece and Rome to the white races. Mr. Cardozo said the problem to be solved in America was different from that of the ancient world. Then race contact meant destruction of one or the other. Now the point is, can two such distinct races as the Negro and the Caucasian assimilate? The theory of Mr. Atwood tends to assimilation, to the dispossession of the idea of race and he favored that policy, although he frankly admitted that the colored people must
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work together as a unit until their rights and privileges are accorded them. Mr. Cromwell said that the technical objection to the term "race" did not dismiss the issue so long as the term "variety" could be substituted. The material defect in the individual development theory is that the white people will not let you get rid of the idea of race. Attempt to follow out the theory of ignoring racial affinity and the restrictions of society, in its enlarged sense, act as a constant reminder. Last Thursday night Mr. Wears suggested the establishment of an organization that could be prepared to rebut by statistics and otherwise the opposition to which we are subjected. If Mr. Wears could reconcile such an agency with the policy of exclusive individual development he would give in his adhesion to this new gospel.

The interest of the discussion centered in the remarks of Messrs. Wears and Price, the former contending, first, that the Negro ought to forget the fact of his race because there was nothing in it of which he had cause to be proud, either as related to its past or present, and Mr. Price contending that in our upward struggle it was not necessary, nor should we lose sight of the fact that we are Negroes any more than the Irishman, the German or the Frenchman. In reply to Hon. Frederick Douglass, Mr. Price said that white Americans were eager to boast of the fact that they were of Puritan stock if any of their remote ancestors came over in the Mayflower, and he might have added with equal pertinency that the same is true of the descendant of the Huguenot. Mr. Price said moral, intellectual and material excellence was all that the Negro needed, and then the whites would, in spite of the Negro's race, accord him that position to which he was entitled. Mr. Price was most felicitous in his style and manner, and fertile in resource, which the several questions put to him by Messrs. Wears and Douglass fully established.

Mr. Wears followed Mr. Price and ingeniously, as he can, made the best of the weak points of those differing with him, generally raising the laugh at their expense.

Prof. Greener was the last speaker. He took issue with Mr. Wears and was demonstrating in his characteristic style the fallacy of the latter's reasoning, when his time expired and the meeting adjourned.


At the beginning of the 3rd year, which was again formally opened October 2nd, 1883, by G. W. Cook with a view, as in the preceding year, rules respecting the discussions were changed: the enforcement of which at this time would compel members to keep themselves financial, and continually replenish the treasury. During
this year the interest was fully sustained. The appearance of Rev. L. C. Coppen was a memorable occasion, in that besides the overflowing audience to greet the essayist, Rev. W. H. Brooks read a thrilling original poem entitled “Foul Massacres,” and Miss Georgie Gibbons, who subsequently joined a jubilee troupe and traveled around the world, excited the wildest enthusiasm by the manifestation of the phenomenal powers of her voice, which was both a high soprano and a deep contralto. Bishop B. W. Arnett conducted the devotional exercises on this occasion.

The next paper “The Philosophy and History of Reform” by Frederick Douglass, drew forth a severe but eloquent criticism from Rev. Brooks and occasioned a battle royal between him and Mr. Douglass, in which “Greek met Greek” with vigorous onslaught and heroic defence. “The North and the South” first displayed the mettle of Mr. A. F. Hilyer, late of Minnesota, whose bold statements drew the ire of those ablest and readiest in debate. Dr. Crummell’s “The Black Woman at the South,” did not meet the hearty approval when it was read before the Literary that it has since, by circulating to the extent of hundreds of thousands of copies and being the means of bringing more than a million of dollars to the treasury of the M. E. Church.

It was a decided innovation when Charles J. Gardiner, principal of the Adelphi Academy, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a member of the American Social Association, read the paper before the Literary on “The Race Problem in the United States,” which he had presented at Saratoga. Mr. Gardiner abated not in his statements because many of his positions were unpopular and contrary to the belief of his hearers, who were of another race. There were however, to challenge him, Mintin, Greener, Cardozo, Dr. Crummell, Waring, Hart and others. But such was the ability, the courtesies manifested, that Prof. Gardiner and the Literary became staunch friends. Three months later he readily came on as the principal speaker at a mass meeting held at the 19th Street Baptist Church under the auspices of the Literary, advocating the granting of National aid to education. Among the papers during the remainder of the year were: “The Wit and Humor of the Reconstruction,” by G. M. Arnold; “The Colored Church—a His-

Another Symposium at Lincoln Hall closed the year, when "Subjection, Absorption or Colonization," were discussed in able addresses, by Prof. Wiley Lane, for Absorption, Rev. (now Bishop) B. F. Lee, Dr. Alexander Crummell and Rev J. B. Reeve, against. In this connection the musical assistance of Prof. J. T. Layton and a list of others, which embraces nearly all the prominent male and female vocalists of our city, must be acknowledged.

The Fourth Year witnessed the first change in the administration. It was opened by two formal addresses, one by the President in reviewing and forecasting the work and the other by the present speaker on "The Negro at the New Orleans Exposition."

The President having decided to locate in one of the southern states, tendered his resignation and Mr. James Dean was elected his successor, November 12, 1884. Mr. Dean and Mr. Smith were law class-mates and the first two colored men to be admitted to practice in our local courts under the new rules which required graduates of law schools to be examined. Mr. Dean, like Mr. Smith, was an impressive speaker who cultivated with assiduity the arts and the graces of the orator. It might not be saying too much to add that he owed his election principally to the success which he had scored in a debate on the evening of the presidential election of that year, in his paper "Is it a wise policy to disturb the nation every four years by an election for its President?"

The fourth year is remarkable for another thing, the sudden change in the tone of the utterances of a political character, from radically republican to conservative and independent declarations. Two papers read early in this session illustrate the prevailing tendency, one of Reuben S. Smith, Esq., on "Is the Occupation of the Colored Statesman Gone?" and the other by Dr. George H. Richardson, "A Glance at the Situation." The limits of this sketch forbids more than this passing notice. The employment or the non-employment of married ladies as teachers in the public schools became a burning question,
by papers from Calvin D. Johnson and A. St. A. Smith, advocating diametrical views.

Among notable papers submitted were ones by T. J. Minton, on "R. B. Elliott;" "The Negro Race in America," by Robert H. Terrell, fresh from Harvard; Dr. Francis, on "The Mortality of the Colored Race;" George W. Williams, the historian, on "Technical Education;" Rev. Wm. Waring and Prof. Cardozo, opposing views on "Women's Suffrage," and Miss Mary Nalle, on the "Negro Problem."

At the close, June 2, 1885, Dr. L. W. Livingston read on "The Negro in Science," and Prof. P. T. Bailey on "Russia at the Gates of Herat," and Miss M. R. Bowen gave a summary, showing that twenty-five papers had been read, two of which were by women.

A resolution expressing condolence to the French nation on the death of the poet-novelist, Victor Hugo, was adopted at this meeting and the French Minister notified of the action.

At the beginning of the FIFTH SEASON, '85-'86, October 20, President Dean delivered an inaugural in which he discussed many of the suggestions made as to the practicability of the publication of a magazine or regular bulletin under the auspices of the Society. Three weeks thereafter Mr. Dean delivered his valedictory, Mr. Lewis H. Douglass having been chosen as his successor. About this time the present edifice was so far completed that this lecture room could be used. The first meeting was held here November 24, 1885. Preliminary to the regular order, Mr. J. A. Simms, on behalf of the trustees, spoke of the mutual relations subsisting between the Church and the Literary, after which the paper was read by Rev. (now Bishop) J. A. Handy, on "The Press."

Where there was so much that was excellent in the papers of this year, it is embarrassing as it is difficult to individualize, yet mention must be made of the remarkable paper by Prof. Isaiah Mitchell, brother to Rev. John G. and Samuel W. Mitchell, entitled "Has God made a mistake in the creation of man?" Though Mr. Mitchell defined himself as a Christian evolutionist he did not escape the shafts of the clergy and "Bro. Nimbus" was as usual a zealous and eloquent defender of the faith. Then there was that paper on "The Beauties of the Bible," by Mr. J.
H. Piles, in which he displayed a critical knowledge of the Bible, both as a literary production, or as an authority in ethics, in a style of such felicitous expressions that entitled it to rank with the classics of the language. During this year the Literary showed that it had heart as well as brains. An appeal in behalf of the Howard Row sufferers made by Rev. George W. Moore, who was the vice-president, resulted in the contribution of 250 parcels and $16.53 for the sufferers.

The death of Gen. David Hunter in the winter of '85-'86, was shortly followed by a memorial meeting under the auspices of the Society, in which Douglass, Lynch, Cook and Arnold voiced the popular regard for the first emancipator of the late war.

Besides these we can only notice here, Dr. Watts, on "Air, Water and Food;" M. M. Holland on "Co-operation;" Jesse Lawson on "The Commercial Importance of the High Seas," and Rev. G. T. Watkins, the pastor, on "Duty a Guide of Life."

The Sixth Season was presided over by Mr. J. W. Cromwell, he having succeeded Mr. Douglass to the presidency. If, during its existence, the notes are scanty and few, be it remembered that it was a year of much personal anxiety and affliction. Nevertheless, the Literary had the proud distinction of holding a memorial in honor of Gen. John A. Logan, whose family acknowledged the honor in such a manner that the society has seen fit to place it among its most conspicuous possessions. Among other papers were numbered contributions from Rev. T. G. Steward, Hon. G. W. Williams, J. H. Piles, W. S. Montgomery and Rev. W. H. Phillips.

The Seventh Year opened November 13, 1887, by a formal address with reference to the work, both retrospective and prospective. The President, Mr. Cromwell, was re-elected, with Rev. W. H. Brooks, first vice-president, Miss M. R. Bowen, second vice-president, who was also treasurer; Mr. George W. Jackson, recording secretary and Mr. George M. Arnold, corresponding secretary. There were several notable meetings this year. One was the celebration of the 71st anniversary of the birth of Frederick Douglass, at which more than 2,000 persons were present. Among those on the platform were Senator H. W. Blair, of New Hampshire; Hon. Julius C. Bur-
rows. Congressman Baker, of the Rochester, N. Y., district; George C. Gorham, Bishop Handy, and Gen. Robert Smalls. Addresses were delivered by Revs. T. G. Steward, G. W. Lee, F. M. Jacobs, W. H. H. Hart, J. L. Cardozo and the President. Miss Kate C. Lewis, on behalf of the pupils of the public schools, presented Mr. Douglass a bouquet containing seventy-one roses and Miss Kate Wall, a Normal School pupil, gave a recitation. Among the letters of regret sent were those from President Cleveland, S. S. Cox, Charles A. Dana, Roscoe Conkling, George William Curtis, John Greenleaf Whittier and Mrs. John A. Logan. The Charles Sumner and O. P. Morton Posts, G. A. R., and the Ladies' Auxiliary were present in a body, as well as the Junior Excelsiors, a social organization of young men, and the Washington Cadet Corps.

The Batson Concert, at which Miss Batson did not appear, was another success of the year. From it there was realized to the trustees of the Church the sum of one-hundred and twenty-five dollars, after the payment of expenses of sixty-six dollars.

Among the papers for the season I recall: "Books and Reading," by George W. Williams; "Crispus Attucks," by Col. Joseph T. Wilson; and "The Extension of the Area of Freedom," by George C. Gorham. The Roscoe Conkling Memorial was addressed by Mr. Douglass, J. R. Lynch, G. W. Cook, James Storum and G. M. Arnold; Mr. G. W. Jackson read the resolutions. The Judge Ruffin Memorial was held about this time. Judge Macon B. Allen, who had the distinguished honor of being the oldest colored lawyer in the United States, presided and E. M. Hewlett, Esq., delivered the oration.

The Eighth year was formally opened Nov., — '88, by Rev. William A. Sinclair, on "The Southern Problem and the Relation of the Church Thereto." Prof. James Storum, who had shown his earnestness and devotion to the Association by his constant attendance and by his readiness to serve in any capacity, especially as Chaplain, was elected President, the duties of which he discharged with such singleness of purpose that he was twice re-elected. The other officers elected at this time were, first Vice-president, T. R. Holmes; 2nd Vice-president, Rev. G. W. Moore; Secretary, G. W. Jackson; Corre-
sponding Secretary, Lewis H. Douglass, and Miss M. R. Bowen, Treasurer.

During the administration of Prof. Storum, one signal work performed was the creation and opening of the Library and Reading Room twice a week, at which could be found such periodicals as the North American Review, The Forum, and the Century. This feature promised much for the Literary, but the opening of the Y. M. C. A. with its greater attractions created the impression that the Reading Room was not a necessity, and languishing, it died.

The year 1889-90 was opened by Dr. Blyden, in a paper explaining his position on the Mohammedan Religion and the Negro; the season of 90-91 by Frederick Douglass; that of '91-92, also by Mr. Douglass. Mr. Douglass also delivered the Emancipation oration, April 16, 1890.

Other topics considered and discussed during his three years' incumbency were: "The Divine Art," by Miss Hallie Q. Brown; "Thought," by Dr. J. G. Mitchell; "What are we Worth?" by Mrs. A. J. Cooper; "Civil Service." by R. H. Terrell; "Roscoe Conkling," by George C. Gorham; "The Art of Counting and Criminal Statistics," by Kelly Miller; "The Evolution of Man," by Dr. J. M. Townsend; "The Future of the Negro," by Dr. Grimke; "What I Saw in London, Paris and the Exposition," by William E. Matthews. Maj. Powell's Stereopticon views of the great Northwest were also exhibited during his administration, as well as was held the Briggs Memorial, in honor of the late Miss Martha B. Briggs, one result of which was the naming of the Briggs School. Mrs. M. Church Terrell's "A Glimpse of Europe;" George W. Jackson's negative to "Is the Negro Capable of Self-Government?" "Savonarola and John Milton," by Mr. Williams, of the Interior Department, and "Is Marriage a Failure?" by Belva Lockwood, are other notable papers of his three years' administration.

With the beginning of the ELEVENTH year and the election of Col. G. M. Arnold, as President, is the renaissance of the Bethel Literary. Popular interest had somewhat abated, the average number attending the regular meetings had fallen far below what it had been five years previously; but two things could always be depended on
during Col. Arnold's administration—good audiences and good humor.

In the month of December, 1891, the Association paused to take formal action, first, on the death of T. R. Holmes, the faithful and talented vice-president, the eulogy on whom was eloquently delivered by his friend, W. T. Andrews, and one the same evening on the death of Col. J. T. Wilson, author of "The Black Phalanx," by his friend of twenty-five years' standing, who now reads this sketch, and John Mitchell, Jr., Esq., editor of the "Planet."

At the beginning of 1892 Col. Arnold issued an elegant circular which contained a schedule of the list of speakers, with their subjects for the months of January, February and March and a supplementary list containing those for the remainder of the year. Had every president adopted this plan, the record of appointments would be complete and a complete history could be written.

A brief glance shows among the topics: "The United States Senate," by Hon. G. C. Gorham; "The Impending Crisis," by Mr. L. M. Hershaw (his first paper); "Reminiscences of Anti-Slavery Men and their Day," by Dr. C. B. Purvis; "Rain Clouds and Aerial Condensation," by Prof. Cleveland Abbey, of the Weather Bureau; "A Glimpse of the Old World," by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell; "The Dialect Story and its Evil Influences," by Mr. Charles A. Johnson, who was destined to be one of the most active, earnest and ready officers, and whose untimely death, last summer, has created a vacancy that can not be filled; "An Analysis of Color Prejudice," by Mr. A. F. Hilver, brought us into notice in the daily press, which had slumbered so long on our existence; "The Water We Drink," by Dr. Francis; "One Phase of American Literature," by Mrs. A. J. Cooper; "The Hand," by Bishop Lee; "Protection and its Relation to the Negro," by Dr. G. H. Richardson, and a symposium of ten minute speeches on the business aspect of the race problem under the auspices of the Industrial B. and S. Company; "An Autumn Symphony," a poem by Mr. E. W. Lipscomb, closed the year's program.

Mr. Lewis H. Douglass, who was elected at the close of the eleventh season, having declined to serve as president for the year '92-93, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell was
chosen. This was the first instance in our history where a woman had been named as presiding officer. Many knowing ones regarded it as a mistake, yet it was developed that she could preside with ease and grace, plan with foresight, and execute with vigor. Prior to her incumbency, the papers given were: ‘An Appeal from Philip Drum to Philip Siser,” by Dr. J. W. E. Bowen; an Elocutionary Entertainment, by Prof. E. B. Worman, of Chicago.

Following her inaugural, were a “Whittier Evening,” November 22, when J. E. Rankin read the paper, and Minister Durham and Col. Arnold, among others, spoke; “Tennyson,” by Prof. Henry Bailey; “Should the World’s Fair be open on Sunday?” a discussion led by Messrs. W. H. H. Hart, C. Bailey, Rev. Tunnell, and E. A. Clarke, his first appearance; Mrs. Fannie Barrier-Williams, ”The Opportunities of Western Women.” Mr. William H. Thomas of Boston, who has proven himself without a peer among us, for his literary style, showed that American Negroes are not qualified to engage in African Colonization and Evangelization; Mr. Edward Farquhar discussed “Bismark and Cavour, the Comparisons and Contrasts of their nations;” Librarian Spofford fascinated us as he only can on “The Art of Reading;” E. J. Waring, made a plea for “A Race Name—Why not Afro-American?” Kelly Miller discussed “A Higher Education;” C. R. Messer talked about “Art from a Layman’s Point of View;” Miss Ella Smith showed that the higher education had fully equipped her to discuss the present “Silver Question,” with the intelligence of one well versed in political economy and finance; “The Negro Democrat,” was a topic treated by Mr. T. J. Calloway; Mr. I. Garland Penn, who has since won a reputation in connection with the Atlanta Exposition, contrasted “Race flattery and race importunity;” Mrs. John R. Lynch gave a very suggestive paper on “The Spiritual Element in Reform;” Ex-Governor Pinchback gave the public the benefit of his views on “Reconstruction,” while Mr. Charles R. Douglass told us of “Elements of Progress Wanting in Our Young Men.” The meeting, however, which attracted the largest crowd and touched the most popular chord, was that in which the G. A. R. co-operated with us, in honoring Lincoln, the Emancipator; Grant, the Pacifica-
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Blücher, who showed how to cut the gordian knot of slavery and Wilson, who came two thousand miles to serve his country and become the annalist of his comrades.

This sketch would be deficient if that tragic calamity, which followed so closely upon the adjournment of the Literary that year, found no mention here. The Ford’s Theatre Catastrophe, deprived us at once of Ex-president, active worker and zealous friend; one who from the first year had been ever ready to render service to the Association that was so near his heart. The heart sickens at the memory of that man-trap which drew so many useful lives into eternity. Of all the victims, none was more widely or more worthily known than George M. Arnold.

When Decoration Day came around Bethel Literary assembled and wreathed its immortelles to rest on the grave of Bishop John M. Brown, who, more than any of the other general officers of the A. M. E. Church, had attended our meetings and given us his kindly benedictions.


Mr. J. K. Rector succeeded Mrs. Terrell, with Miss M. L. Jordan and R. S. Smith as Vice-presidents, and Mrs. Lillie Wilkinson, as Secretary; Mr. G. W. Jackson, Corresponding Secretary, and William Jenkins, Treasurer.

A concert for the benefit of the Literary filled the next week’s program. November 7 the following officers were installed: President, J. K. Rector; 1st Vice-President, R. S. Smith; 2nd Vice-President, Miss M. L. Jordan; Secretary, Mrs. Lilian Wilkinson; Corresponding Secretary-Mr. Geo. W. Jackson; Treasurer, Mr. Jenkins.

Mrs. Terrell having delivered her valedictory her successor addressed the Society outlining his policy.


Besides these were four special programs. First, Memorial exercises in honor of Col. G. M. Arnold and Rev. J. C. Price, at which the speakers were J. W. Cromwell, Mrs. Terrell and Mrs. Layton for Col. Arnold, the President and Rev. W. H. Brooks for Rev. Price; next a discussion on "Should the policy of the present administration in Hawaii be sustained?" in which the opposing sides were led by Hon. C. H. J. Taylor and R. S. Smith; and one on "The Constitutionality of the Income Tax," by Messrs. E. A. Clarke, C. A. Johnson, W. A. Joiner and L. M. Hershaw.

The closing exercise was "What has Bethel Literary done for the race?" and "What may it do?" by Miss M. R. Bowen and Dr. J. T. Jenifer, respectively.

Mr. Reuben S. Smith, who had been connected with the organization from its earliest days and as the Washington correspondent for the N. Y. Globe, the Cleveland Gazette and other race journals, had given prominent space to the proceedings of the Literary, was now honored with the presidency. Owing to the departure of Mr. Rector, his predecessor, from the city, Mr. Smith presided over the meetings the entire session.

This gave him the distinguished honor of presenting the Hon. Frederick Douglass at the opening session, when his pathetic words, that another must open for us the next year, proved to be a prophecy, and the last duty was his to formally present Justice Harlan, as presiding officer at the closing meeting, when the Hon. E. D. Bassett delivered the eulogy on Mr. Douglass' life and services, which has been pronounced the ablest, most comprehensive and impartial tribute yet pronounced.

Other papers deserving of passing notice are "The Raper and His Lynchers," by Dr. Purvis; "The Spiritual History of Abraham Lincoln," by E. A. Clarke; "Cosmopolis and Imperative Duty," by C. A. Johnson; "The
New Education,” by Dr. J. H. N. Waring; “The Relative Capacity of the White and the Colored Child,” by Dr. W. S. Montgomery; “Race Love,” by Dr. S. B. Wallace; “The Attitude of the Church Toward Strikes,” by Dr. J. T. Jenifer; “Bishop Payne,” by Dr. Grimke; “Southern Outrages,” by Miss Ida B. Wells (now Mrs. Barnett); “A Symposium on the Negro Exhibit,” by Mrs. Bruce, Miss M. L. Jordan, Dr. W. S. Montgomery and J. Lawson, Esq. These show no decline either in the scope of the topics or the ability of their authors.

Another result which stands apart is successful effort to unite the different Literaries which are the outgrowth of this organization.

His successor, Mr. Edward A. Clarke, whose voice was first heard during the administration of Mrs. Terrell, has and still is demonstrating that, great as has been the Literary in the past, under his guidance it is destined to attain greater heights in the future.

As far as the particularizing of the many papers and discussions to which we have listened these fifteen years, my task is done. How one lingers in the store-house of the memory, as one by one unforgettable treasures discover themselves, and many other scenes and incidents which the mind would gladly recall mystery envelops with an impenetrable mantle, defying alike the memory and the will!

Whether the personnel of the authors, be they of local, national or international fame, be considered; whether the scope of the subjects presented or the discussions evoked by the treatment given, this Bethel Literary challenges comparison with any other popular literary organization of our times. Greater comprehension of thought; more varied, broader or deeper scholarship than that which characterized the papers before this Society, has never been found elsewhere in the annals of similar organizations.

Nowhere else have such papers been compelled to run the gauntlet of more unsparing criticism, provoking keener debate, quickening deeper thoughts, giving more practical suggestions on the absorbing questions of individual growth or race development.

This organization was not started to be a debating society where the young could quicken their wits in the art
of extempore debate, nor yet to be a school in which parliamentary usages were to be learned. Its founder, Bishop Payne, on the contrary, intended this to be a forum in which maturity of thought, breadth of comprehension, sound scholarship, lofty patriotism and exalted philanthropy could find a cordial welcome, and where the widest reasonable latitude could be given to the expression of thought. It was to be a field for investigation, and its history has shown that Bishop Payne built more wisely than he knew.

When first organized, there was no popular literary society here among the colored people, nor had there been, as far as is known, in any section of the city, any such organization that had lived at the furthest more than a few months, since the Ante-Bellum Lyceums, which with the close of the war and the advent of the elective franchise went to pieces; mainly because of "fresh fields and pastures new" for the main participants and their ruling spirits.

There was, indeed, a literary organization here in 1881, admission to which was based more on certain social tests rather than always on sound literary qualifications or ambitions. For eight or ten years, first under one name and then under another, in drawing-rooms, kindred spirits met, discussed Shakespeare and Tennyson and held conversations on art and music; but only those who had the open sesame can tell the extent of their influence on their members or the public.

Public lectures were of rare occurrence in those days and more rarely well attended. There was no large class who had acquired the habit of listening quietly from week to week to papers of unusual literary and scholarly merit and then of witnessing merciless assaults upon them to be parried with skill or repulsed with thrilling eloquence.

It was at this period, only fifteen years ago, that Bishop Payne, notwithstanding a failure only five or six years previously, determined to make another attempt to establish here a literary like that which had met with such pronounced success for several years in the neighboring city of Philadelphia.

In pointing to the record of fifteen years' uninterrupted continuance, let these facts be recounted:

First, the Literary's healthy condition, and its firm
hold on the community, in spite of changes in Church and Society administration.

Second, the establishment of other literary organizations, in different sections of our city, in connection with churches, all conducted on the same general plan as that of this foster mother.

Third, the growth and development of a public spirit among the people that has made possible the success of enterprises the mere contemplation of which would have been regarded as a sure evidence of a possession of an unsound mind half a generation ago.

No one will for a moment contest the truthfulness of the first and second propositions. They are self-evident to any one who was acquainted with Washington in 1881, and who is familiar with it to-day. No one who has watched the rise and progress of this institution and noted the vast changes which have transpired since the former date can gainsay the unconscious, the silent but potent influence wielded by this society during all these years.
PROGRAMME
OF THE
YEAR 1895-6.

Oct. 15. Dr. Edward W. Blyden, Minister from the Republic of Liberia to the Court of St. James: “The Prophecy of Noah.”
Music by the Amphion Glee Club.

Oct. 22. Discussion: Led by Mr. L. M. Hershaw: “Booker T. Washington’s Address at Atlanta.”

Music by the Metropolitan Choir.

Nov. 5. Prof. Kelly Miller, Howard University: “What Walt Whitman Means to the Negro.”
Piano Solo by Mr. William Braxton.

Nov. 12. Mr. Thomas L. Furby, Washington Public Schools: “Vocal Music in the Public Schools.”
Music by Pupils of the Public Schools.


Dramatic Reading by Miss Ednora Nahar, Boston, Mass.
Dec. 3. Mr. Will M. Cook, Dvorak School of Music: "The Possibilities of the Negro in Music," illustrated with Vocal Selections, by Mr. Harry T. Burleigh, St. George’s Choir, N. Y. City.

Dec. 10. Mr. Walter B. Hayson, Washington High School: "Phyllis Wheatley, her Life and Times."
Dramatic Reading by Henri I. Broome.

Reading of Selections by Miss Grace Shimm.
Original Poem, by Mrs. Ruth G. D. Havens.

Vocal Solo by Mr. Thomas A. Johnson.


Feb. 4. Mr. Lewis H. Douglass: "Have We a Cause?"
Violin Selections, Mr. Joseph H. Douglass.

Feb. 11. Lincoln’s Birthday.
"As a Lawyer," Prof. W. H. Richards, Howard University.
"As a Humorist," Mr. L. M. Hershaw.
"As an Orator," Mr. Robert H. Terrell.

Musical Director, Mr. J. Henry Lewis.
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Musical Director, Mr. J. Henry Lewis.
Feb. 18. Douglass' Birthday.
Mrs. M. Church Terrell, Rev. William V. Tunnell, King's Hall;
Mrs. Ruth G. D. Havens, Rev. Wallace Radcliffe, N. Y. Avenue
Presbyterian Church, Miss Mattie R. Bowen.

Musical Director, Mr. John T. Layton.

Feb. 25. Founder's Day.
"History of the Association:" Mr. J. W. Cromwell, Washing-
ton Public Schools.
Tributes to Bishop Payne.
Reunion of Old Members of the Association.

Musical Director, Mr. Thomas A. Johnson.

March 3. Miss Bessie Gardner, Wayland Seminary: "Life on the
Congo."

A Contribution for Missions.

March 10. An Anonymous Letter to the Race: "What the Negro
has done for the White Man."

March 17. Mr. Booker T. Washington, Principal of Tuskegee
School: "Industrial Training for the Race."

Music by the Junior Choir of the Metropolitan
A. M. E. Church.

Founding of the "Bethel Literary Scholarship" at Tuskegee.

March 24. General Discussion:
"The Industrial Training of the Race."

March 31. Mr. James Storum, of the Washington High School:
"On Banking."
April 7. MEMORIAL EXERCISES.

IN MEMORIAM

REV. S. B. WALLACE,
(Late Pastor Israel C. M. E. Church),

MR. CHARLES A. JOHNSON,
(Late of Ironton, Ohio.)

Orations by—

Rev. James C. Martin, Miles' Tabernacle C. M. E. Church.
Mr. Thomas A. Johnson.

Original Poem: Mr. J. E. Bruce, Albany, N. Y.
Piano Solo: Mrs. E. A. Clarke.
Vocal Solo: Mr. J. Henry Lewis.


Bishop B. W. Arnett, A. M. E. Church: "Reflections Proper to the Day."

Mr. Edw. H. Hunter: "History of Emancipation in the D. C."

Prof. Kelly Miller, Howard University: "The Generation Since the War."

Rev. W. A. Creditt, Berean Baptist Church: "The Outlook for the Race."


Election of Officers.

April 28. Address by the President: "The New Bethel."

Summary of the Year '95-6: J. W. Cromwell.
Reading of Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer.
Installation of Officers.
Piano Solo: Mrs E. A. Clarke.
Adjournment without a day.