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ORDINANCE NO. 1979-207

AN ORDINANCE DESIGNATING THE PROPERTY OF ST. PAUL A.M.E. CHURCH LOCATED AT 402 WEST EDENTON STREET IN THE CITY OF RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, A HISTORIC PROPERTY

WHEREAS, the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina authorized the creation of a Historic Properties Commission for the City of Raleigh and otherwise provided for the preservation of certain historic sites and buildings by the passage of Part 3B, Article 19, Chapter 160A North Carolina General Statutes; and

WHEREAS, the Raleigh Historic Properties Commission has made an investigation and recommended the following property be designated a Historic Property; and

WHEREAS, the North Carolina State Department for Cultural Resources has made an analysis and recommendation that the following property be designated a historic property; and

WHEREAS, on the 4th day of September, 1979, a joint public hearing was held in the Council Chambers of the Municipal Building, Raleigh, North Carolina, by the Historic Properties Commission and the City Council of the City of Raleigh to determine whether the hereinafter described property should be designated a historic property; and

WHEREAS, said hearing was advertised and the property owners of the property hereinafter described were notified by mail of the date and purpose of said public hearing at least ten (10) days prior to the date set for the hearing; and

WHEREAS, all requirements of Part 3B, Article 19, Chapter 160A of the North Carolina General Statutes, preceding the adoption of this ordinance, have been complied with.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF RALEIGH THAT:

Section 1. The property of St. Paul A.M.E. Church located at 402 West Edenton Street, in the planning jurisdiction in the City of Raleigh, North Carolina, be and is hereby declared a historic property. Said property being more particularly described as follows:

St. Paul A.M.E. Church, containing approximately 11,336.8 square feet, located on Block A-90, Lot 13, Wake County Tax Map, as evidenced by deed recorded in Book 157, Page 224, Wake County Courthouse.

Section 2. Those elements of the property that are integral to its historical, architectural, archaeological, or any combination thereof are as follows:

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ST. PAUL A.M.E. CHURCH, 1910
402 West Edenton Street

The present St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church, constructed in 1910, rests on the site of two earlier churches. The original was the home of the first independent Negro congregation in Raleigh, established in 1849 and located on this site in 1853 when the old frame Christ Church building was moved here from Capitol Square. The second church was built in 1884 and burned down in 1909. The present brick church is an exuberant example of High Victorian Gothic present architecture whose picturesque effect is achieved by its Revival architecture whose picturesque effect is achieved by its irregular and complex massing and by the wealth of ornamentation irregular and complex massing and by the wealth of ornamentation displayed in the decorative brickwork and varying window treatments.

- Section 3. No building or structure that is designated in this ordinance located on the hereinbefore described site may be altered, restored, moved, remodeled, or reconstructed so that a change in design, material or outer appearance occurs unless and until a certificate of appropriateness is obtained from the Raleigh Historic Properties Commission or its successors.
- Section 4. No building or structure which is designated in this ordinance on the hereinbefore described site may be demolished unless and until either approval of demolition is obtained from the Raleigh Historic Properties Commission or, after the Commission has received a completed request for demolition, one-hundred and eighty (180) days have elapsed.
- Section 5. That all owners and occupants of the property hereinabove described, whose identity and addresses can be ascertained by the exercise of due diligence be sent by certified mail a copy of this ordinance.
 - Section 6. This ordinance shall be indexed under the property owner's name in the grantor and grantee indexes in the Office of the Register of Deeds of Wake County.
 - Section 7. City administration and the Historic Properties Commission are hereby authorized and directed to have erected an appropriate sign on the site hereinabove described setting forth the fact that said site has been designated a historic property by action of the Historic Properties Commission and the City Council action of Raleigh provided, should the owners of the hereinabove of the City of Raleigh provided, should the owners of the hereinabove described property not consent to the erection of said sign on the described premises, City administration and the Historic Properties described premises, City administration and the Historic Properties on the public right-of-way adjacent to said property.

Section 8. In the event any building or structure is demolished in accordance with the ordinances of the City of Raleigh, this ordinance shall automatically be null and void.

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Section 9 as by law prov	. Any violation of this ordinance shall be unlawful ided.
Adopted:	9/4/79
Effective:	9/4/79 .
CCLK/34tp	•
Distribution:	City Attorney Planning Department (2) Inspections Division (3) Historic Properties Commission Wake County Tax Supervisor Wake County Tax Collector Property Owner and/or Occupant Register of Deeds
STATE OF NORT	TH CAROLINA)
COUNTY OF WAR	Œ j

	CERTIFICATION
North Caroli exact copy of at their mee	G. Smith, City Clerk and Treasurer of the City of Raleigh, na, do hereby certify that the attached is a true and of Ordinance No. (1979) 207 adopted by the City Council eting held on September 4, 1979 NESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and have caused of Ordinance No. (1979) 207 adopted by the City Council eting held on September 4, 1979 NESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and have caused of Ordinance No. (1979) 207 adopted by the City Council eting held on September 4, 1979 NESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and have caused of Ordinance No. (1979) 207 adopted by the City Council eting held on September 4, 1979 NESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and have caused of Ordinance No. (1979) 207 adopted by the City Council eting held on September 4, 1979 ORDINANCE WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and have caused
the Seal of	the City of Raleigh to be alliked that
Minem	Gail G. Smith City Clerk and Treasurer
	gistration at 3.15 Fre o'clock 3 day of Division 1924,
	County,
and registered in	n the office of the Register of Deeds for
in Book 21.1.	W. O. Morres, and
	Here B. Therea, Linete,

United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

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National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines* for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

(Form 10-300a). Type all entities.						
1. Name of Property						
historic name St. Paul	A.M.E. Church					
other names/site number						
2. Location						
street & number 402 W. Edent	on St.			N/A not	for publication	
city, town Raleigh				vici	nity	
state North Carolina code N	C county	Wake	code	183	zip code	27603
3. Classification		·				
	Category of Property		Number of Re	esources w	vithin Property	
X private	X building(s)		Contributing		contributing	
public-local	district		_1		0 buildings	
public-State	site				sites	
public-Federal	structure				structures	
	object				objects	
_			1		0 Total	
Name of related multiple property listing:		1.2	Number of co	ntributina	resources prev	viously
N/A				_	egister	-
4. State/Federal Agency Certification	on					
National Register of Historic Places and In my opinion, the property \(\text{X}\) meets \(\text{Signature of certifying official} \) State Historic Preser State or Federal agency and bureau In my opinion, the property \(\text{ meets} \)	does not meet the	National Regis	ster criteria. S	See continua 2 Da	ation sheet. 29 Sep 87 ate	rt 60.
Signature of commenting or other official				Da	ate	
State or Federal agency and bureau				 		
orate of Foderal agone, and baroau						
5. National Park Service Certification	on .					
I, hereby, certify that this property is:						
entered in the National Register. See continuation sheet. determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet. determined not eligible for the	Emy Se	hlage (11/5/87	
National Register.	<u> </u>	<u>:</u>	<u> </u>			
removed from the National Register. other, (explain:)	' '					
		Signature of the	e Keeper		Date of A	ction

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions) Religion: religious structure		
Materials (en	ter categories from instructions)	
foundation walls	brick brick wood	
roof other	asbestos granite	
	Materials (en walls	

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

St. Paul A.M.E. Church is a bold example of red brick and wood American Gothic Revival. The result of a long building campaign which began in 1884, the building was nearly complete in July, 1909, when a fire gutted the structure. Rebuilt within the walls, it was rededicated in 1910. Influenced by pattern books and certainly built by parishioners, the excellent execution is a reflection of traditional black involvement in the masonry trades in North Carolina.

Located on a corner lot in downtown Raleigh, the church sits almost flush with the street on its south, east and north sides. The land slopes slightly to the west where the change in elevation is accommodated by the story-and-a-half with raised basement Sunday School wing which is attached to the two story gable roofed building.

Because of the participatory, teaching-oriented services of this denomination the plan of the church is almost square, but from the steep gabled roof downward this equilibrium is effaced. The south facing facade consists of a deep entry porch and one-story narthex between towers. The towers are pulled out beyond the roof line, from the corners of the church. The southwest tower is roofed at the second stage; the southeast tower rises four stages to louvered, steep dormers and finials. Doors located in the south face of each tower give access to the auditorium and contain stairs to the gallery. In the center bay an elaborate wooden gabled and decorated porch shelters a wide, paneled and diagonally sheeted matchboard door. Above the entry, contained in a single opening, is a large stained glass window of three pointed lights beneath a sexpartite tympanum.

The Sunday School on the west side is more simply articulated but follows the general plan of the bays and buttresses on the east. The north wall of the church is undecorated. 3

The vertical rhythm of towers, buttresses and windows contrasts with the relatively smooth orange-red brick and mortar of the walls and the flat white wooden tracery and jambs of the stained glass windows. These also form a foil to the elaborate brick work. About 1984 the brick mortar joints were repointed in a manner that the mortar is more obtrusive than it was originally. The only other alteration to the very well-preserved building is the rebuilding of the southeast steeple cap, also in 1984. The present cap is a smaller, aluminum-sided version of the 1910 cap.

The brick wall decoration takes many forms: for example, above the entry and flanking the deep base of the central window are panels of ten rows of brick laid sawtooth. Above the windows on either side of a louvered bent a diamond pattern is inlaid, and more sawtooth courses fill the top of the pediment. Substituting for the stonework tracery of traditional Gothic, the second stage of the tower has sawtooth panels around the rose windows, and the fourth stage has flat corbelled arches in two rows above See continuation sheet and below open work grills.

8. Statement of Significance		
Certifying official has considered the significance of this proper nationally	ty in relation to other properties: statewide XX locally	
Applicable National Register Criteria A B CC	D	
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions)	D E F G	
Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions) Architecture Ethnic Heritage: Black Politics/Government	Period of Significance 1884-1910	Significant Dates 1884 1909 1910
	Cultural Affiliation N/A	
Significant Person Leak, Rev. R. W. H.	Architect/Builder Unknown	

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

A.M.E. Church is a striking, picturesque American Gothic structure which exhibits in its elaborate brickwork the excellence of the black mason's craft in Raleigh during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and is therefore eligible for the National Register under Criterion C. St. Paul embodies not only important characteristics of the national style but also significant vernacular interpretations of the style evolved by the black masons who built the church and who also contributed significantly to the development of the urban fabric in North Carolina. The building is of major significance to the religious history of Raleigh because it was built by the first independent black congregation formed in Raleigh to house their expanded membership, and is therefore eligible for the National Register under Criterion A. Begun in 1884 and formally opened in 1901, the church was a bold effort on the part of the congregation to worship in a structure equal in appearance to the churches of the white community of Raleigh. Ministers associated with St. Paul Church were leaders of the black political community during the Reconstruction Era. One of the best known of St. Paul's ministers was the Rev. R. W. H. Leak, pastor during the 1880s and 1890s during the time that he became a prominent leader for black Republicans and edited the Outlook, the second Negro newspaper in Raleigh. St. Paul is therefore eligible under Criterion B for its association with Rev. Leak.

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D 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	☑X See continuation sheet
Previous documentation on file (NPS):	
preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67)	Primary location of additional data:
has been requested	XX State historic preservation office
previously listed in the National Register	Other State agency
previously determined eligible by the National Register	Federal agency
designated a National Historic Landmark	Local government
recorded by Historic American Buildings	University
Survey #	Other
recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #	Specify repository:
necord #	
10. Geographical Data	
Acreage of property <u>less than 1 acre</u>	
Noticing of property	
UTM References	
A 1 7 7 1 2 8 1 0 3 9 6 2 0 8 0	B
Zone Easting Northing	Zone Easting Northing
C	
	See continuation sheet
Verbal Boundary Description	
•	
The nominated property occupies the city lot a	
and North Harrington streets, being Parcel Nur	nber A-90-13 as shown outlined in red
on the accompanying Raleigh Tax Map Sheet 551.	,
	See continuation sheet
Development of the control of the co	
Boundary Justification	÷
The nominated property includes only the city	lot which belongs to the congregation
and is occupied by the church building and re-	lated parking spaces.
	See continuation sheet
44 Fam Branes D	
11. Form Prepared By	
name/une Charlotte V. Brown, Architectural His	storian and William Bushong, Historian (revised
organization by Ruth Little) State Historic Prese	09 E. telephone (919) 733 6545
street & number N.C. Div. of Archives & History, 10	27611
city or town <u>Jones St., Raleigh</u>	state NC zip code 27611

9. Major Bibliographical References

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Entering the	church, a shallow, dark narthex holds four steps up to the doors of the	•
auditorium.	The auditorium is almost square and is ramped downward slightly toward the	

north end. In front of the north wall is a semicircular altar rail, raised altar, choir, and pipes of the organ. Steps rising to either side of the choir give access to a robing room and pastor's study.

A wide, sloping gallery is attached to the east, west and south walls of the auditorium between the windows. It rests on thin iron columns with flattened capitals and helps enhance the feeling of an open, dynamic preaching space in which no one is very far from the speaker.

The major feature of the interior, however, is the magnificant wooden ceiling. Triangular trusses spring from brackets placed between the second tier of windows to support elliptical wooden arches that rise to the ridge beam. The bottom chord of each truss is a deep tripartite molded beam. Five pointed arches in gradually decreasing size fill the web and below the truss upright is a turned pendant. The ceiling is sheathed in dark stained matchboards. These features enhance the sharply pointed, deeply splayed surrounds of the second register of windows.

The nave walls are cream colored rough plaster. Dark stained carved oak pews, wainscot and paneling on the gallery face combine with warm light from the stained glass windows to create a sense of intimacy.

The Sunday School is attached directly to the auditorium and is separated from it by three vertical wooden slatted screens which roll up into a deep fascia. This device is also used in the school to create separate classrooms allowing them to be thrown open to create one large space. Beneath the school hall is a half basement with dining room and kitchen facilities.

St. Paul's is a highly individualistic but very American adaptation of the Gothic Revival to this setting. The plan, which substitutes an almost square auditorium for the traditional unidirectional nave, is consistent with similar adaptations of the Gothic Revival by Protestant denominations. The execution of the exterior has elements of vernacular interpretation in the elaborate brickwork which relates it to other known work by black builders in North Carolina. As a whole, the realization of the church is impressive. It is a potent symbol for the enduring faith of the black community which it represents. It also represents the high degree of skill and assimilation of style which could be found among the black craftsmen of this city and region.

FOOTNOTES:

Some sources have disputed the idea that St. Paul's was rebuilt within its walls, suggesting rather, that this building is essentially a 1910 fabric but stylistically and physically, this seems unlikely. Moreover, the Sanborn maps for 1903 show a plan identical to that existing today and the Sanborn map for 1909 shows the same plan and notes that the church was "partially destroyed by fire, to be rebuilt." This is more consistent with the fabric and the internal evidence of dedicatory plaques which note that the church was rededicated in 1910.

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FOOTNOTES cont'd:

- 2. A drawing of St. Paul's reproduced in the <u>News and Observer</u>, Raleigh, North Carolina, July 7, 1909 shows a radically taller steeple than the one currently in place and an undated photo used on the bulletin of the church shows a taller steeple than the current cross gable roof. It is uncertain when the present steeple was altered.
- 3. According to accounts of the fire, this wall toppled inward and its present condition, ie., mixed brick in age and color supports the hypothesis that the walls essentially remained after the fire. It also shows a blocked-in round window which on the inside is covered by a round painting.

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HISTORY

The congregation which formed St. Paul's Church in 1865 was the slave membership of the Edenton Street Methodist Church. The black members attended services there until 1846, but due to the rapid growth of the congregation, it became necessary for the blacks to attend their own services in the church basement. This arrangement continued until 1853 when the white Methodists bought old Christ Church, a wooden frame building located on the corner of New Bern Avenue and Wilmington Street. The black membership moved the old church to the corner of Edenton and Harrington Streets and they began to hold their services in the relocated structure beginning in 1854.

The black congregation remained under the guidance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South until the Emancipation. In 1865, the membership severed its ties with the Edenton Street M.E. Church and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Conference, a black denomination organized by Richard Allen in 1816.² At the South Carolina Conference of the A.M.E. Church, Bishop Daniel A. Payne appointed the Reverend George A. Broadie from the Canada Conference as the pastor of St. Paul's Church in Raleigh, thereby giving the church its first black pastor and establishing the denomination in the city.³

The ministers of St. Paul's Church took a leading role in the organization of black political activity during the Reconstruction Era. Blacks in North Carolina held their first lawful assembly at St. Paul's Church at Raleigh in 1865. Delegates from a two hundred mile radius gathered at the church and drafted a series of proposals calling for the repeal of unjust racial laws and for the betterment of the social condition of the black race in North Carolina. Throughout the post-bellum period, the pastors and the membership of St. Paul's Church continued the spirit of that first lawful meeting of blacks and provided the state with some of its finest black spokesmen in the Reverend Henry Eppes, Stewart Ellison, and the Reverend R.W.H. Leak.

Henry Eppes was a self-educated man from Halifax County and a bricklayer and plasterer by trade as well as a Methodist minister. In 1868, the people of Halifax County chose Reverend Eppes as their representative to the state constitutional convention of that year. Eppes went on to serve as state senator from Halifax County for five terms and while in Raleigh, he also became the pastor of St. Paul's Church. Yet another prominent black political figure to emerge from the St. Paul's congregation was Stewart Ellison, a trustee of the church. Ellison's political career encompassed representing Wake County in the legislature, holding the office of alderman in Raleigh, and directing the state penitentiary.

Black participation in politics faded after Reconstruction when the so-called white "Redemption" movement re-established the Democratic party in the state. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, St. Paul's Church renewed its involvement in public affairs when political changes enabled blacks throughout North Carolina to re-enter the political arena. At that time of the Repulbican-Populist coalition known as the fusion era, the Reverend R.W.H.("Parson") Leak played a prominent role in the Republican party as a leading voice for the black man. Leak chaired a convention of dissenting black Republicans held at Raleigh in 1896 to express their dissatisfaction with the party's choice of Daniel A. Russell for Governor, who they considered to be a racist, and endorsed the Populist candidate, William A. Guthrie. Upon the request of

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HISTORY cont'd

the Democrats in the Legislature, Leak continued his moderate political course and spoke out for state aid for higher education at a time when a bill to provide a substantial appropriation to the University of North Carolina was being bitterly contested by members of his party in the Fusionist legislature of 1898. 10

It was during the pastorship of Reverend Leak that the blacks began the construction of a new brick building to house their congregation. It is not known whether Leak formulated the plan for the building himself or solicited professional advice, but the structure built under the supervision of Stewart Ellison and inspired by Leak received praise from the local papers as "one of the handsomest colored churches in the south." In 1884, the congregation laid the cornerstone for a building which took over twenty-five years to erect. Money for the materials trickled in slowly from a poor congregation. Washerwomen, maids, nurses, and cooks gave every penny they could above their meager subsistence "taking the garments from their backs and food from their mouths" to contribute to the building fund. Those church members fortunate enough to own a home mortgaged, and in many cases lost, their homes to collect money for the church. The building of the church became the consuming passion of the congregation. Periodically, solemn meetings were held at which members pledged to live on bread and molasses to add funds to the collection in order that the building committee might buy needed construction materials. 13

By April 1898, the skilled artisans of the church's membership had brought the building to a stage of completion that drew an observation from the News and Observer (Raleigh): "Parson Leak's church, after many years of struggle, is almost completed. This is a very creditable brick edifice of the Gothic design, and when completed will have cost \$10,000." The congregation did not officially celebrate the completion of their church until the second Sunday in May, 1901. A two week rally was held and ministers from various denominations gave sermons nightly at the church, but the highlight of the event was a speech delivered to the congregation on May 16 by Governor Charles B. Aycock to mark the historic occasion of the completion of the building. 15

At the time of the celebration, the congregation had not added the spire to the church as was called for in the plans, and it took seven years for them to make the final arrangements. The materials for the construction of the spire and the slate for the replacement of the wooden shingle roof were on the site in July, 1909, and the membership looked expectantly toward the final completion of the church sometime in August of that year. Tragically, the congregation never saw the building they began in 1884 completed. A freak accidental fire ignited by a Fourth of July toy ballon carrying fireworks, which had lodged itself in the rain gutter, caused irreparable damage to the roof and the interior of the church.

Blackened walls were all that remained of the building the following morning. Newspaper reports tried to assess the damages, quoting figures from \$45,000 to \$75,000.18 A great outpouring of sympathy followed the tragedy with prominent citizens of the black and the white community contributing to the rebuilding of the burnt brick shell. A combination of donations, insurance money, and bank loans enabled the congregation to quickly rebuild their church within its original brick walls. The completion of the work of the building was celebrated eleven months after the fire in June, 1910.19 Today, this edifice still houses the St. Paul's A.M.E. congregation which has worshipped on this lot as both slave

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and free men for over one hundred and twenty-six years, and it remains an inspirational representation of the struggles and sacrifices of its membership.

FOOTNOTES:

- Alice Carrington Jones, "The History of St. Paul A.M.E. Church", <u>Souvenir Program of the Board of Religious Education</u>. Raleigh: St. Paul A.M.E., 1956. See also The Writer's Program of the Works Projects Administration, <u>Raleigh</u>, <u>Capital of North Carolina</u>. New Bern: Owen G. Dunn, 1942. For the sale of the lot for the relocation of Christ Church, see Deed between James G. Mitchell and wife and G.W. Peck and others, trustees, December 21, 1853, Deed Book 20, p. 167; and for the eventual sale of the church and lot to the black congregation in 1867, see Deed between Lewis Peck and others, trustees, and Henry Hunter and others, trustees, July 15, 1867, Deed Book 25, p. 329. Wake County Courthouse, Raleigh, North Carolina.
- For the large part, Black Methodist membership in North Carolina is organized into four denominations; the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Black United Methodists. After the Civil War the black denominations engaged in fierce competition in the South to enroll the freedmen, who had for the most part been members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. St. Paul's A.M.E. Church in Raleigh was one such congregation that left the white Methodist Episcopal Church, South to join the A.M.E. denomination organized in Philadelphia in 1816 by Richard Allen, and it should not be confused with the A.M.E. Church formed in New York in the 1790's by James Varick, which later adopted Zion to its title to become the A.M.E. Zion Church. For a discussion of Black Methodism in North Carolina and the distinctions between the four denominations, see Joseph B. Bethea, "Black Methodists in North Carolina" Methodism Alive in North Carolina, ed. O.Kelly Ingram. Durham: Duke University Divinity School, 1976. pp. 85-97.
- ³ Official Council, Bethea A.M.E. Church, Compiler. Minutes of the South Carolina Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, First Three Sessions 1865, 1866, 1867. Greensboro: Bethel A.M.E. Church, 1967. pp.2-3.
- ⁴ "Negro History Manuscript" Willis G. Briggs Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina, p. 10. See also Charles N. Hunter to Fred A. Olds, April 27, 1926, Fred A. Olds Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh
- ⁵ Ibid. For the dates of Eppes' senate service, 1869-74, 1887, see John L. Cheney, Jr., North Carolina Government, 1585-1974. Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing Company, 1975. pp. 449,451,458,466, and 845. Here inafter cited as Cheney, North Carolina Government. See also Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964. p. 27. Hereinafter cited as Logan, The Negro in North Carolina.
- Like Eppes, Ellison had a similar educational background and was employed in the building trades. See Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, p. 29.
- ⁷ For the dates of Ellison's political service in the legislature, 1870-74, 1879, see Cheney, North Carolina Government, pp. 453, 455, and 459. For information regarding city

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service and direction of state penitentiary, see Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, p. 29.

- ⁸ See Dorothy A. Gay, "Crisis of Identity: The Negro Community in Raleigh, 1890-1900." North Carolina Historical Review, Volume L, No.2 April, 1973. pp. 121-140. Hereinafter cited as Gay, "Crisis of Identity". See also Josephus Daniels, Editor in Politics, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Hereinafter cited as Daniels, Editor in Politics.
- 9 Gay, "Crisis of Identity" p. 124.
- Daniels, Editor in Politics. pp. 106-7.
- The Gazette (Raleigh), December 5, 1896. I am indebted to Karl Larson for this citation which identifies Stewart Ellison as the contractor for the St. Paul's A.M.E. Church. Quotation taken from the News and Observer (Raleigh) July 7, 1909.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- News and Observer (Raleigh) April 10, 1896.
- News and Observer (Raleigh) May 14, 1901.
- 16 Evening Times (Raleigh) July 6, 1909.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 See News and Observer (Raleigh) July 7, 1909 and the Evening Times (Raleigh) July 6, 1909.
- 19 News and Observer (Raleigh) June 2, 1910.

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