

*Rev. E. Ethelred Brown's Ministry in Jamaica:  
1908 – 1920*

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Much of the existing literature on Rev. Egbert Ethelred Brown focuses on his ministry in Harlem, New York, with few scholars discussing his conversion to Unitarianism, his call to seminary and challenges beginning studies, his ordination and return to Jamaica, and his eventual arrival in Harlem. Even fewer discussed the eight years between 1912, after his seminary ordination, and 1920 when he immigrated. This paper attempts to explore Brown's Jamaican ministry during that time. It explores newspaper archives, Brown's sermons, and other archival materials.

One Easter Sunday at the age of sixteen, in the Montego Bay Episcopal Church, the congregation recited the Athanasian Creed alternately with the priest, contrary to the usual singing. For whatever reason, "the strangeness of the Trinitarian arithmetic struck"<sup>1</sup> Brown forcibly, and, at that moment, he committed to severing his relationship with any church that proclaimed a Trinitarian doctrine. Brown's internal conviction was reinforced by his serendipitous discovery of the 1819 landmark sermon *Unitarian Christianity* by William E Channing in his Unitarian uncle's home. He gained access to an English physician's study through his uncle, which included numerous Unitarian books and a hymnal.<sup>2</sup> He dove deeply into the literature he found and identified as a Unitarian, albeit without a church. Despite this Unitarian discovery, Brown served in two Wesleyan Churches in Jamaica between 1895 and 1907.

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1. Brown, Ethelred. "A Brief History of the Harlem Unitarian Church," (11 August 1949), Sankofa Additional Source, Chicago, IL. <https://files.meadville.edu/files/resources/brief-history-of-harlem-unitarian-church.pdf> (hereafter cited as Typescript, Sankofa Additional Source).

2. Morrison-Reed, Mark D, *Black Pioneers in a White Denomination*, (Boston, MA: Skinner House Books, 1994), 36.

Dismissed from his job in the Jamaica Civil Service in 1907, he saw the dismissal as a redirection to the ministry. However, Brown struggled to determine in which denomination he would fulfill his call. He applied to enter the ministry of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.); however, no sooner had he done this than his "outraged conscience violently protested."<sup>3</sup> In an act of blind faith, Brown posted a letter addressed "To any Unitarian Minister in New York City",<sup>4</sup> in an attempt to get information on entering the Unitarian Ministry.

Brown received a response to his letter from Franklin Southworth, President of the Meadville Theological School in Pennsylvania. Southworth welcomed Brown to train at the school. However, he warned that Brown's options for entering the Unitarian ministry in America were limited because there was "no Unitarian Church in America for colored people, and that... white Unitarians require a white minister".<sup>5</sup> Undeterred, Brown accepted. As he prepared to leave Jamaica in 1908, the Montego Bay Wesleyan Methodist congregation offered him a parting gift. True to his character, he refused to accept the gift until he shared the truth of his beliefs – that he was a Unitarian who denied the doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus.<sup>6</sup> This admission was not warmly received. Consequently, Brown was banned from serving as an organist or preaching despite having done both for more than eight years.

In August 1908, Brown set sail on the first of three attempts to begin studies at Meadville. Brown had intended to work before beginning his studies; however, he did not have the proper permit and was deported. He returned to Montego Bay as an apostate. During his one-

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3. Typescript, Sankofa Additional Source.

4. Typescript, Sankofa Additional Source.

5. Typescript, Sankofa Additional Source.

6. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 39.

year inadmissibility, Brown did not lay idle. Despite not having the ministerial training, Brown began the work he was called to do.

In a September 16, 1908 notice in *Daily Gleaner*, Brown sought to take a census on the people with Unitarian leanings on the island,

I shall be obliged if all persons in Jamaica - whether members of churches or not - who believe in the absolute unity of God and who consequently deny the doctrine of the Divinity of Jesus Christ and the associate doctrine of the Trinity: in a word - if all who are Unitarian or are in sympathy with Unitarian teaching will do me the favour of sending me this week their names, addresses and occupations. Although it is not intended to make immediate use of this information yet as information it will be of importance for future use; and personally I shall be pleased to be thus introduced to all who believe or are inclined to believe as the patriarchs of old that the Lord our God is one God.

I have no intention whatever of entering into newspaper controversy on the matter, but having been commissioned to obtain the information, I crave your kind permission to use your valued columns as the easiest way to discharge the duty placed on me.

Thanking you for your courtesy.<sup>7</sup>

Two months later, he submitted another notice. This notice shared that the Montego Bay Unitarian Lay Center would hold its inaugural service at the Montego Bay Town Hall on December 6 at 4 p.m.<sup>8</sup> Despite newspaper controversy and pulpit criticism, Brown preached the gospel of Unitarianism at open-air meetings and persisted in the work of the Unitarian Lay Center.<sup>9</sup>

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7. "A Unitarian Census." *Daily Gleaner*. (16 September 1908)  
<https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-gleaner-sep-16-1908-p-9/>, 9.

8. "Unitarian Centre." *Daily Gleaner*. (28 November 1908).  
<https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-nov-28-1908-p-3/>, 3.

9. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 40.

At the expiration of his inadmissibility period in 1909, Brown attempted to travel to the U.S. to begin theological education, and again he was thwarted. This time it was due to his father withholding an earlier promised financial support. Brown was not dissuaded and in 1910, having accumulated savings from his increased salary, he set sail for the third time. He reached his final destination and began his studies.

Following his graduation from Meadville, Brown was ordained. The 1912 Meadville Quarterly Bulletin detailed the occasion,

On Tuesday evening, a service of unusual interest occurred at the Unitarian Church. Mr. Egbert Ethelred Brown of Montego Bay, Jamaica, has just completed a special course of study at the school, and is to settle at once as pastor of the only Unitarian congregation in Jamaica, founded at Montego Bay by himself. Since there are no other Unitarian congregations or ministers on the island, Mr. Brown's congregation requested, by vote of the society, the Meadville Faculty to act as its proxy and ordain Mr. Brown; at Meadville. At this service, acting for the Montego Bay Church, the entire Faculty was represented, and the occasion was most impressive. The prayer of ordination was made by Professor Frank C. Doan, the charge to the ministry given by President F. C. Southworth, the right hand of fellowship extended by Professor Henry Preserved Smith, followed [b]y all the ministers present. The sermon, a very discriminating and persuasive address on "The Essence of the Unitarian Position," was delivered by the Rev. Richard W. Boynton of Buffalo, a trustee of the school.<sup>10</sup> (Meadville Theological School 1912, 18)

The *Daily Gleaner* noted that "there was a fair sprinkling of coloured folk, members of the A.M.E Church, from the pulpit of which Mr. Brown has often preached, and with the congregation of which he has been a regular evening worshipper."<sup>11</sup> President Southworth, in his charge, reminded Brown,

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10. "Quarterly Bulletin of the Meadville Theological School," vol. IV (Meadville, PA: Meadville Theological School, 1912), 18.

11. "New Minister." *Daily Gleaner*. (17 June 1912).  
<https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-jun-17-1912-p-3/>, 3.

The world is not waiting...for new theological systems but for new interpretations of life. Go back to your countrymen with larger thoughts of God and Humanity and help them to reinterpret in terms of life the religion they already have. Aim to be the friend and helper of those who live in the spirit. Because I know it is in this spirit that you are returning and it is in this spirit that you have decided to work. I congratulate you on the completion of your course and your entrance into the ministry. You have done credit to yourself and to our school. Go now and realize your dream of years; and may God bless you and give you a measure of success in the great work you are about to undertake."<sup>12</sup>

Brown returned to Jamaica in 1912 and on June 23, held his first service as an ordained Unitarian minister in Montego Bay. Brown's Montego Bay ministry met in his home with up to twenty-five people attending. The ministry also consisted of a Sunday school and evening lectures at the Town Hall.

In 1913, Rev. Hilary Bygrave visited Jamaica on behalf of the American Unitarian Association (AUA) to observe and produce a report on the ministry of Rev. Brown. During his visit, Bygrave spoke to audiences of up to 300 people, primarily men who were seeking and curious, "many of them were eminently sensible and searching, indicating a remarkable degree of intelligence and up-to-dateness in recent lines of thought in science, philosophy, and religion."<sup>13</sup>

Bygrave, in his report, proposed that a combined grant from the AUA and the British & Foreign Unitarian Associations (B&FUA), be given to the Montego Bay community for three years, decreasing yearly until the end of the support in the third year.

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12. "New Minister", *Daily Gleaner*, 3.

13. Bygrave, Hilary. "Report of Trip to Montego Bay, Jamaica, B.W.I.", (April 1913), Sankofa Additional Sources, Chicago, IL, <https://files.meadville.edu/files/resources/montego-bay.pdf>, (hereafter cited as Report, Sankofa Additional Source).

Scholars have proposed that Bygrave's report could be considered part of the demise of Brown's missionary work in Jamaica. Morrisson-Reed notes, "[Bygrave] did not find the prospects in Jamaica promising and thought it unfortunate that Brown was allowed to take up this mission at all. He advised that it be viewed as a "genuine humanitarian work" for "the social uplift" of the Negro race".<sup>14</sup> Still, it would be unfair to pin the AUA's lack of support solely on Bygrave's report. Bygrave believed that Brown would have been more impactful and far-reaching if he had been in Kingston as opposed to Montego Bay, and he implored the AUA to relocate Brown and his family.

Additionally, Bygrave "suggested to the AUA that the organization should help finance the construction of a "modest place of worship," estimated to cost between \$1,800 and \$2,000. The investigator made the conditional statement that the AUA provide modest and decreasing assistance for another three years only to safeguard against Unitarianism becoming "a scoff and byword" on the island."<sup>15</sup> The AUA, however, did not consider Bygrave's full report in their decisions regarding Brown's ministry in the following years.

Throughout his time in Jamaica, Brown used the newspaper and tracts to expand his reach.

In a June 28<sup>th</sup> appeal in the newspaper, Brown shared his mission of establishing a Unitarian Church in Jamaica and invited comments on how this should be done and the interests

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14. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 47.

15. Floyd-Thomas, Juan M. *Origins of Black Humanism in America: Reverend Ethelred Brown and the Unitarian Church* (version ebook). Edited by Linda E Thomas and Dwight N Hopkins. (ProQuest. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/meadville/detail.action?docID=455269>, 38.

of Jamaicans in financially supporting this endeavor. Brown was not committed to any specific location for this church, informing his readers that "wherever the first Church is built, Montego Bay or Kingston, it will be a centre of influence and a distributing agency".<sup>16</sup>

In a July 13<sup>th</sup> submission, he referenced receiving letters from across the island and helping one reader realize he was a Unitarian. However, having not received any letters from Kingston, he again invited Unitarians, Agnostics, or Freethinkers to make themselves known to him.<sup>17</sup>

The First Unitarian Church of Montego Bay was formally organized in March 1913. Mr. J. A. Brown was selected as its President, and Mr. H. J Langshaw as its clerk. Rev. Brown was formally called as the church's minister. The church's Bond of Fellowship stated, "In the love of truth and the spirit of Jesus we unite for the worship of God and the service of man."<sup>18</sup> The object of the church, as stated in Article II of the church's constitution, was to "maintain regular services of Christian worship in this community, and to upbuild in the hearts of its people the high ideals of a rational, progressive, and exalting religion in the love of God and the service of man."<sup>19</sup> In true Unitarian fashion, there was no creedal test for membership; instead, "all persons in agreement with the principles, aims and methods of the church, and who commend themselves

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16. Brown, E. Ethelred. "The Unitarian Mission." *Daily Gleaner*. (28 June 1912). <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-jun-28-1912-p-13/>, 13.

17. Brown, E. Ethelred. "Free Unitarian Lectures." *Daily Gleaner*. July 13, 1912. <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-gleaner-jul-13-1912-p-13/>, 13.

18. "A Unitarian Church." *Daily Gleaner*. April 3, 1913. <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-apr-03-1913-p-14/>, 14.

19. "A Unitarian Church", *Daily Gleaner*, 14.



to the Board of Trustees for their seriousness of purpose and probity of character are eligible for membership."<sup>20</sup>

Brown's newspaper ministry was not all roses. In the early days, there was much argument about Unitarian theology, its right to be called Christian, and the heresy of Rev. Brown.

One such detractor was I. N. Somerville who wrote, "Unitarianism is a condemned ante-Christian heresy. It is not therefore, what the Unitarian likes to sing, is worthy of consideration, but what he believes and his position outside the fold of the Good Shepherd; that is worthy of the gravest notice and consideration by the faithful."<sup>21</sup>

And in an ongoing spat with Rev. J.W. Graham, Brown wrote in part,

Mr. Graham has refused to withdraw his false statement. So may he; but let him abide the consequence of his refusal. If Unitarians had admitted that Jesus made the absurd claim which Trinitarians make for him, and yet denied his right to have made such a claim, then may they be charged with making Jesus an impostor; and yet, not necessarily an impostor but a religious fanatic. But we absolutely deny that he ever made such a claim, and we positively set him up as our Pattern and Leader.<sup>22</sup>

Graham's response to Brown was an invitation (or challenge) for Brown to present more information,

My little tilt with Mr. Brown fast developing into a battle.....a thing which I have [n]either the time nor the inclination [f]or; but having once entered the lists, it is not possible for me to lower my lance until I have been fairly unhorsed.... Mr. Brown, however, says that the

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20. "A Unitarian Church", *Daily Gleaner*, 14.

21. I.N. Somerville, "Unitarianism in Its Relation to Christianity," *Daily Gleaner*, May 1, 1913, 13, <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-gleaner-may-01-1913-p-13/>.

22. E. Ethelred Brown, "Unitarian Christianity," *Daily Gleaner*, May 8, 1913, 13, <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-gleaner-may-08-1913-p-13/>.

texts concerning the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, lend themselves to a more reasonable interpretation. Will he, therefore, for the enlightenment of us Trinitarians, give us that "reasonable" interpretation? It is what [I] have been waiting for all this time.<sup>23</sup>

A year after Bygrave's report in 1913, AUA leadership eventually determined that Brown's ministry would stand a better chance in a larger city and instructed him to transfer to Kingston in 1914. Brown's move to Kingston meant building a Unitarian ministry in Jamaica anew. However, despite this, Brown persisted earnestly.

Through much perseverance, Brown overcame, at least in the public discourse, the charges of heresy and anti-Christianity of Unitarianism. So much so that the June 27<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Daily Gleaner* noted that the start of Brown's ministry in Kingston was well received,

Every seat was occupied by a representative congregation... Mr. Brown's subject was "The Broader Basis of Christian Fellowship." No better subject, or better method of handling, could be chosen as an introduction of Unitarianism...At the close of the service there were spontaneous expressions of agreement with the principles enunciated as well as personal applications for further information and literature. Favourable comment was also made on the entire absence of hostile criticism of other denominations.<sup>24</sup>

On September 6, 1914, he received permission from the Mayor of Kingston to conduct an open-air religious service in Victoria Park.

Despite uprooting Brown and his family, in 1914, the AUA ignored Bygrave's suggestion and sent only \$300 to Brown. Additionally, the B&FUA withdrew their financial support for Brown's ministry.

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23. J W Graham, "Mr. Graham's Reply," *Daily Gleaner*, May 13, 1913, 4, <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-gleaner-may-13-1913-p-4/>.

24. "The Unitarian Church," *Daily Gleaner*, June 27, 1914, 18, <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-jun-27-1914-p-18/>.

While foreign support for the Jamaican Unitarian ministry was dwindling, local support was growing. With land donated from "Mr. E. Nuttall, the son of the Episcopalian Archbishop of the West Indies, as well as the small monetary gift from the AUA two years earlier, Rev. Brown's dream of a Unitarian church slowly started to materialize..."<sup>25</sup> Brown's ministry also received support from visiting Unitarian ministers. Such as Rev. George B Stallworthy, an English Unitarian minister who participated in meetings during his visit to the island.

On January 4, 1915, "it was decided to lay the corner-stone of the church at Whitfield - which will be the first Unitarian Church in the West Indies and the second Unitarian Church for coloured people in the world..."<sup>26</sup>

The January 28<sup>th</sup> newspaper carried a complete account of the occasion. The service began at 5:30 p.m. on Wednesday and was attended by many Unitarians. The Mayor of Kingston, Hubert A. Laselve Simpson, OBE, presided. In attendance also were Rev. George B. Stallworthy, minister of the congregation in Turnbridge Wells, England, who gave the sermon, and Mrs. Stallworthy, who laid the cornerstone. Rev. Brown gave a formal statement, and he and Mrs. Ella Matilda Brown nee Wallace deposited the bottle of records.

The article describes the building, "the church is a concrete structure of commodious proportions. All the walls have been completed and the frame work of the door has been put up. The building gives promise of being an imposing adornment to the district when the work is

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25. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 38.

26. "Unitarianism." *Daily Gleaner*. (7 January 1915).  
<https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-jan-07-1915-p-14/>, 14.

consummated. The environs of the edifice strike one as being most fitted for the worship of Almighty God.”<sup>27</sup> The article also contained the statement Brown gave,

On the morning of Monday, 14th September, 1914, in company with the agent of Ernest Nuttall, Esq. solicitor of the Supreme Court of Jamaica, and owner of this property, I visited this district and inspected these lots of land in order to be able to decide whether it would be advisable or not to accept the gift of land which I was informed the proprietor was willing to make to the minister of any regularly organised religious denomination who was able and willing to comply with the condition of the gift, namely, that a small but suitable church should be erected as soon as possible... But the question arose, would a gentleman who is prominently connected with a religious denomination, the doctrines of which are not in agreement with the fundamental teachings of the denomination to which I have the honor and privilege to belong, be really willing to make the gift? An interview later in the day settled this question. I found that Mr. Nutall without any partiality to Unitarianism or any disloyalty to the church of England was quite willing for the sake of the people of this district to donate two lots of land (measuring 84 feet by 100 feet in total), and in fact, as a result of the interview he consented to the starting of building operations as soon as I was ready.

On the 18th September 1914 the sod was broken and the work was started under the supervision of Mr. Coleridge Seely...The building now in course of erection [is expected to be completed] in time to permit the building to be dedicated to the worship of God on or before Easter Sunday 4th April...”<sup>28</sup>

By laying the foundation stone for the first Unitarian church building in Jamaica on January 27<sup>th</sup>, Brown effectively had four ministries: the newspaper ministry, his open-air ministry in Victoria Park, the Unitarian Hall at 27 Sutton St, and the Whitfield Church in Whitfield.

Brown's financial relationship with the AUA and B&FUA is well documented. Initially, Brown received financial support from the AUA and B&FUA totaling \$500 annually from both

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27. “Whitfield Unitarian Church.” *Daily Gleaner*. (28 January 1915). <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-jan-28-1915-p-13/>, 13.

28. “Whitfield Unitarian Church.” *Daily Gleaner*, 13.

organizations.<sup>29</sup> However, by January 1914, the B&FUA terminated its support, and the AUA ended its support in November 1915.<sup>30</sup> Brown petitioned the AUA in earnest, and in 1916 financial support was reinstated. Unfortunately, the Unitarian group in Jamaica had lost faith in the AUA, and the Jamaican public at large became a “sneering cynical city”<sup>31</sup> towards Unitarianism. Construction on the Whitfield church stopped, and the deed returned to Nuttall. What would have been the first Unitarian church in Jamaica and the West Indies became a Church of England (Episcopalian) congregation.

The AUA again withdrew its support in December 1917, this time for the final time. Though financial support from the denominational head offices dried up, Brown received a small amount from Central Postal Mission, a ministry of the English Unitarian women. However, this support was not enough, and in 1920, he decided to end his work in Jamaica and set his sights on Harlem, New York.

This author's opinion, and that of other scholars, is that Brown's challenges with the AUA and the B&FUA were rooted mainly in racism. This racism is illustrated in the B&FUA response to Brown's request for support of the building fund, stating, "the colored population of Jamaica was not intellectually fit to receive Unitarianism",<sup>32</sup> in Bygrave's report that the work in Jamaica be viewed as “genuine humanitarian work” for “the social uplift” of the Negro race” rather than

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29. Report, Sankofa Additional Source.

30. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 50.

31. Morrison-Reed, 57.

32. Floyd-Thomas, *Origins of Black Humanism*, 39.

a religious endeavor,<sup>33</sup> and even in Brown's daughter's letter to the AUA pointing out to them that they “seem to think we are some sort of savages”.<sup>34</sup>

Bygrave cautioned that “to drop, or curtail the work [in Jamaica] at the present time, would cause shame and confusion to Mr. Brown, and would make the Unitarian name a scoff and by-word in [J]amaica.”<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, by 1917, the AUA had dropped the work twice, and Brown and the Unitarian community in Jamaica had been financially disappointed three times by the Americans and British. The financial withdrawal in 1915 and the loss of the Whitfield church resulted in the very thing Bygrave had warned about two years earlier. Unitarianism in Jamaica never recovered.

Broken, ashamed, ridiculed, and in constant financial struggles, though holding firm to his faith in Unitarianism even if not the denominational structures, Brown, in January 1920, decided to leave Jamaica. In March 1920, he and his wife arrived in Harlem after leaving their children in their grandparents' care.

Documenting Brown's ministry in Jamaica would be incomplete without mentioning his social activism in labor and Black improvement.

Brown was a vocal and strident proponent of Black upliftment and improvement of quality of life. In addition to speaking at a Garveyite<sup>36</sup> forum in 1915, in 1916, he suggested the

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33. Morrison-Reed, *Black Pioneers*, 47.

34. Morrison-Reed, 52.

35. Report, Sankofa Additional Source.

36. A Garveyite was someone who supported and followed the teachings and philosophy of Marcus Garvey.

establishment of the Progressive Negro Association (PNA) and hosted its first meeting at the Kingston Unitarian Hall. The PNA aimed to "foster race pride; to improve the economic, social, intellectual, and moral conditions of Blacks in Jamaica; and to secure rights for all Blacks".<sup>37</sup>

In 1919, Brown took the colonial Government to task for its treatment of native Jamaican workers and charged that the system merely exchanged one form of exploitation for another, "After seventy-eight years of freedom the laboring population was economically no better off in 1916 than their forefathers who lived in the early days of emancipation."<sup>38</sup> Brown's advocacy for laborers was not limited to journal publishing. Similarly to the ministry and arguments he engaged in the local newspaper, he also used the newspaper to express his opinions on the labor conditions of his fellow Black Jamaicans. In a 1913 letter to the editor, Brown argues that 1/6 per diem was not,

a fair or living wage for any labourer to receive, and that the minimum amount he ought reasonably to expect to enable him to meet the ordinary demands of existence is 2/ per diem...it is the duty of the Government to see that its labourers receive not that which in ignorance they willingly receive, nor that which by force of circumstances they are compelled to accept, but that which in justice they deserve.<sup>39</sup>

While beyond the scope of this paper, there must also be a quick mention of Brown's involvement with the Jamaica Progressive League (JPL). The JPL was formed in 1938 by

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37. Floyd-Thomas, *Origins of Black Humanism*, 138.

38. Brown, E. Ethelred. "Labor Conditions in Jamaica Prior to 1917." *The Journal of Negro History* 4, no. 4 (October 1919): 349–60. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/2713445>, 358.

39. E. Ethelred Brown, "The Government and a Minimum Wage to Labourers," *Daily Gleaner*, March 12, 1913, 13, <https://newspaperarchive.com/kingston-daily-gleaner-mar-14-1913-p-13/>.

Jamaicans living in New York; Brown was one of the founding members and served as its secretary for 20 years. The purpose of the league was to work towards "the attainment of self-government for Jamaica, so that the country may take its right-ful place as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations... universal suffrage and the repeal of the requirements for property qualifications for candidates for public office... guaranteeing labor unions the legal right to function freely and openly."<sup>40</sup>

Rev. Egbert Ethelred Brown was a stubborn, dreamer, and faithful Unitarian. He carried the flag of Unitarianism to Jamaica and, against all odds, educated Jamaican society about the faith and cultivated converts. Brown was also an advocate for the Black and colored Jamaica laborer and was an ardent supporter of an independent Jamaica. Brown singlehandedly cultivated interfaith relationships, and pushed through the charges of heresy in the early years to eventually receive the support of the Mayor of Kingston, the son of the Episcopalian Archbishop of the West Indies and maintained four Unitarian ministries. While much of Brown's legacy in the Unitarian Universalist world is intertwined with the failures of the AUA and the missed opportunities of supporting yet another Black man, Rev. Brown was more than what the AUA failed to see.

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40. Zeidenfelt, Alex. "Political and Constitutional Developments in Jamaica." *The Journal of Politics* 14, no. 3 (August 1952): 512–40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2126216>, 513.



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