The Graduate School of Theology
Oberlin College

THE THEOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY
OF THE
NEGROES' RELIGION PRIOR TO 1860
AS SHOWN
PARTICULARLY IN THE SPIRITUALS

A THESIS

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By

Norman Gregg Long
A.B., Atlanta University 1931
A.M., Oberlin College 1934
B.D., Oberlin College 1935
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Norman G. Long

Oberlin College
INTRODUCTION

In this thesis the writer has endeavored to treat the distinctive development of the American Negroes so as to make evident, as far as he is able, the circumstances of its origin, its early development, the changes which have conditioned it, the theology in which it has been formulated, and the psychological motives which have been expressed in it. This study is made with the following specific objectives in view:

1. To study the Negro Spirituals as a body of musical literature in which the Negroes' religion prior to 1861 is embodied.

2. To point out the most outstanding features of the religion of the West Africans, in order to see to what extent they revealed themselves in the religion of the Spirituals.

3. To make a detailed study of the religious instruction received by the Negroes from 1619 to 1861 in order to see what characteristics they borrowed from American Christianity.

4. To describe the theology of the Negroes' religion as revealed in the Spirituals.

5. To point out the underlying psychological effects of the revivalistic worship upon the Negroes' religion.

My thesis is that the Negroes' religion is not African, but American, a religion that was created by their contact with Christianity in America. In so doing, I place great emphasis upon the fact that the Negroes were secured in Africa and dispersed in America in such a way to break
the continuity of their cultural heritage. If anything of the African remained, it was their emotional tone and culture rather than their religious conceptions.
To understand the religion or spirit of a race and to discover the causes from which it arises, it is necessary to understand fully their mind. The understanding of those facts which are most characteristic of a people forms the basis upon which we can understand their social, moral and religious aims and needs. In addition to the acceptance of the oral traditions and written sources of a people, it is essential to understand the ways in which they expressed their feelings and mental imageries. With this knowledge in hand, it then becomes possible for us to understand a people.

Too often, peoples have lived side by side with other peoples and have allowed their folk-history to remain hidden or distorted. As a result of this indifferent attitude, the world has often misunderstood the history and characteristics of races. In order to be fair to a people, it is necessary to have a basic knowledge of their folk-lore.

The folk-lore of a people enables one to understand and appreciate their religious, psychological, anthropological and social conditions. "Folk-lore is the study of human fantasy as it appears in popular sources".

1 Beckwith, M. W., Folk-lore in America, Page 1.
The term folk-lore was invented by William John Thoms of England in 1846 to replace the expression "popular antiquities" which was applied to such traditional lore as interested scholars in popular beliefs and customs. The new term, folk-lore, has met the sanction of nearly all European countries and is now used in many different languages. "The Scandinavian term folke-minne in Norwegian, folke-minde in Danish, folk-minne in Swedish, means folk-memory, a name which also emphasizes the force of tradition in giving emotional coloring to popular conceptions."2

In France, the term tradition populaire is used. The German term Volkskunde, folk-art, can not be regarded as an equivalent of the English term folk-lore because it includes the contribution of the emotions as seen in the art and craft of the peasant. Folk-lore is limited to the study of the unrecorded traditions of the people as they appear in popular fiction, custom, belief, magic and ritual.

Folk-lore is not to be thought of as the only source of folk-knowledge, but rather that part of it which has poetic thought or fantasy. Every folk fantasy has its roots in an individual source, but through repetition and variation it acquires the characteristics of the group. Thus a word, a literary form, a rhythm,

2 Ibid., Page 2.
a popular melody had its original source in an individual but as it was repeated from place to place it acquired common characteristics as a generalized and collective creation. The original source may be literary or popular. The repeater may be a single individual or a succession of reciters each changing the form to suit his own desire; but as long as it has a special place in the emotional life of the people, and is colored by their imagination, it composes folk-lore. It is neither the source of the idea nor its composition which makes it folk-lore, but rather the part it has in the imaginative life of those who repeat it and cause it to take the form of folk tradition.

A folk group is one which has been isolated long enough to allow emotion to color its forms of social and religious expressions. However, this isolated group does not always have to lose its emotional reaction to its own particular set of ideas. Isolation may be due to geographical conditions, language, religion, national or racial heritage, or occupation.

Every folk group has its peculiar and particular folk-songs. The term Volkslied is used by the Germans to describe their body of songs, which includes all vocal compositions which they have grown to cherish. The English term "popular song" might be used as a synonym for the German term. A folk-song is a lyric poem with
melody which generally has its origin among untutored people in times past. It differs from the popular song, a song of purely literary origin, which has gained impetus among untutored people. However, it is rather difficult at times to distinguish between the two. Many songs which are now looked upon as folk-songs were originally popular songs, but no literary tradition exists to explain by whom and on what occasion they were composed. In such a situation, the simple proof that it has held its popularity serves to class it as a folk-song.

As a workable definition of the term "folk-song" we make use of the one coined by Krehbiel:

"Folk-song is not popular song in the sense in which the word is most frequently used, but the song of the folk; not only the song admired of the people, but in a strict sense, the song created by the people. It is a body of poetry and music which has come into existence without the influence of conscious art, as a spontaneous utterance, filled with characteristic expression of the feelings of a people. Such songs are marked by certain peculiarities of rhythm, form and melody which are traceable, more or less clearly, to racial (or national) temperament, modes of life, climatic and political conditions, geographical environment and language. Some of these elements, the spiritual, are elusive, but others can be determined and classified."

The folk-song is wholly subjective and personal. Its chief purpose is to permit its singer to give vent to his feelings. The music is the most important element of the folk-song. The words as such may have

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little meaning, but the meaning of the song is often embodied within its music. The folk-song serves as a great consolation, asking nothing but patience for this life and nothing but triumph in the next. It suffices for the folk at work or play, in love and war. Since the folk-song expresses fundamental human emotions found in all peoples, it may be considered as a universal type.

One of the most beautiful types of the folk-song — the type in which we are interested — is the one that expresses religious feeling: it expresses absolute trust in God's power; praises to God and Christ; forbearance and prayer, despair, hope and patience, anchorage, and a soothing belief in an after-life. Generally elaboration is lacking; and short, forceful, highly concentrated expressions signify the emotional content which leaves an ineffaceable feeling. The consequence of the emotion is depicted rather than the emotion itself, and as a result the song gains in effectiveness.

Among the best examples of the religious folk-song is the Negro Spiritual. The origin and growth of the Negro Spirituals form an interesting study. The old Negro Spirituals were not artistic productions; but rather the heart-beats of an isolated people.
I. THE AFRICAN SOURCES OF THE NEGRO SPIRITUALS

Many of the characteristics of the spirituals; rhythm, melody and harmony, can be traced back to the musical expressions of Africa. We will take up, successively: rhythm, melody and harmony.

**RHYTHM:**

Wallaschek writes that, "the general character of African music then, is the preference for rhythm over melody (when this is not the sole consideration); the union of song and dance; the simplicity, not to say humbleness, of the subjects chosen; the great imitative talent in connection with the music and the physical excitement from which it arises and to which it appears appropriate."\(^1\)

The most outstanding feature of the music of Africa is its rhythm. Auditory rhythm originated from the rhythmical bodily movement of the dance, which might be thought of as having had its origin in rhythmical organic functions such as breathing, heart-action, and walking. Parry has described the matter effectively:

Savages of the lowest class almost always express clearly in their dance gestures, the states of mind or the circumstance in their lives which rouse them to excitement. The exact gestures of fighting and love-making are reproduced, not only so as to make clear to the spectator what is meant by the rhythmic pantomine, but even in certain cases so as to produce a frenzy in the mind of both spectator and performers, which drives

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them to deeds of wildness and ferocity fully on par with what they would do in real circumstances of which the dancing is merely an expressive reminiscence... As the ruder kinds of rhythmic dancing advance and take more the forms of an art, the significance of the gestures ceases to be so obvious, and the excitement accompanying the performance tones down. An acute observer still can trace the gestures and actions to their sources when the conventions which have grown up have obscured their expressive meaning, and when the performers have often lost sight of them; and the tendency of more defined dancing is obviously to disguise the original meaning of the performance more and more, and merely to indulge in the pleasures of various forms of rhythmic motion and graceful gesture. But even in modern times occasional reversion to animalism in depraved states of society revive the grosser forms of dancing, and forcibly recall the primitive source of art.

In African music, the dance served to stimulate religious feeling, military fervor, and sexual passion. But in America, with the slaves, the military element was suppressed. However, according to Davenport, the dance was used in the South to create religious fervor.3 The rhythm in African music is also largely dominated by the words, like the recitative, the rhythmic imitation of declamatory speech, but it has the symmetry that feeling obtains. The best way to learn African songs is to watch the swaying and imitate it.

3 Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, Page 141.
In many places the patting of the feet was substituted for the Holy-dance. Mr. Barton writes that, "it is a peculiarity of the Negro music that it can nearly all be swayed to and timed with the patting of the foot. No matter how irregular it appears to be, one who sways backward and forward and pats his foot, finds the rhythm perfect."  

Krehbiel gives an extraordinary description of the drummers in Africa: 

A more striking demonstration of the musical capacity of the Dahomans was made in the war-dances which they performed several times every forenoon and afternoon. These dances were accompanied by choral song and the rhythmical and harmonious beating of drums and bells, the song being in unison. The harmony was a tonic major triad broken up rhythmically in a most intricate and amazingly ingenious manner. The instruments were tuned with excellent justness. The fundamental tone came from a drum made of a hollowed log about three feet long with a single head, played by one who seemed to be the leader of the band, though there was no giving of signals. This drum was beaten with the palms of the hands. A variety of smaller drums, some with one, some with two heads, were beaten variously with sticks and fingers. The bells, four in number, were of iron and were held mouth upward and struck with sticks. The players showed the most remarkable rhythmical sense and skill that ever came under my notice. Berlioz in his supremest effort with his army of drummers produced nothing to compare in artistic interest with the harmonious drumming of these savages. The fundamental effect was a combination of double and triple time, the former kept by the singers; the latter by the drummers, but it is impossible to convey the idea of the wealth of detail achieved by the drummers.

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by means of exchange of the rhythms, syncopation5 of both simultaneously, and dynamic devices. Only by making a score of the music could this have been done. I attempted to make such a score by enlisting the help of the late John C. Fillmore, experienced in Indian music, but we were thwarted by the players who, evidently divining our purpose when we took out our notebooks, mischievously changed their manner of playing as soon as we touched pencil to paper. I was forced to the conclusion that in their command of the element, which in the musical art of the ancient Greeks stood higher than either melody or harmony, the best composers of today were the veriest tyros compared with these black savages. 6

Krehbiel is not alone in expressing the view of the way in which the African instinct for rhythm has developed syncopation. Many others agree with him on this point. Curtis for example, holds that:

The African instinct for rhythm has developed syncopation to a very high degree and has given rise to a pronounced individualization of the drum, which in the hand of a native seems a live and speaking thing. Different qualities of tone as well as the most gradations of

5 The Century Dictionary gives the following definition of syncopation: "act, process or result of inverting rhythmic accent by beginning a tone or tones on an unaccented beat or pulse and sustaining them into an accented one so that the proper emphasis on the latter is more or less transferred back or anticipated. Syncopation may occur wholly within a measure or may extend from measure to measure."

rhythmic accentuation are made by striking the drum in different ways with the palms, with the fingers or with rubber-tipped sticks. Through this highly varied manipulation, the African drum possesses a veritable language by means of which signals are given. A natural response to rhythm and a mastery of rhythmic form, these are inherent in the very nature of black folk. 7

Krehbiel has noted the short rhythmic feature in African music. These features appear eminently in a much later period of African music.

We have given considerable notice to the development of rhythm among the Africans. The American Negro has great skill in constraining his poetry to accept the rhythms of the music. There are some noted musicians among the Negro people with voices of marvelous power and charming sweetness, to which fact the popular notion that Negroes are a musically endowed race may be attributed.

The people of Africa and their descendants love to sing in groups. Usually each group has its leader (or leaders) who give the beginning line of the song. He is then followed by a chorus:

"Near Calhoun, Ala., there are Africans who came to this country after the Civil War. The leader in their 'shout' will hold his right hand to his face, his head bent to the right, and call out, 'Higha!' The circle rejoining:

7 Curtis, N., Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent.
Leader: Higha
Circle: Malogalujasay!
Leader: Higha
Circle: La'jasaychumbo
Um! Um! Um!
Leader: Higha
Circle: Haykeekeedayo, ho!

The women move slowly around the circle, the left foot somewhat in advance of the right, the right drawn up to the left as it moved on a few inches at a time and in rhythm. The body slightly bent with the buttocks protruding. The men stand erect.

**MELODY:**

The melody of African songs is simple enough, consisting chiefly of ascending and descending thirds, while the singers have a sufficient appreciation of harmony to sing in two parts. They have the pentatonic scale, that is, a major scale without the fourth and the seventh notes, thereby, avoiding the use of semitones. The African also employs a minor scale with an augmented interval - a tone and a half - between the sixth and seventh notes, that is, with a minor sixth and a major seventh. This peculiarly effective interval imparts an intense melancholy. The weird effects of the African music is largely due to the absence of tonality, which produces an instinctive expression of despair. Sometimes the emotion it produces is rather disappointing and transient. The seventh note in African music is slightly flattened, enough to make a distinct note with a character of its own. This probably accounts for the peculiar plaintiveness, the elusiveness, the vague mysteriousness which constitutes the beauty of all true African music.

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In melodic music the process has been exactly analogous (to rhythmic music). The expressive cries soon began to lose their direct significance when they were formalized into distinct musical intervals...... The establishment of a definite interval of any sort puts the performer under restrictions, and every step that is made in advance hides the original meaning of the utterances more and more away under the necessities of artistic convention. And when little fragments of melody become stereotyped, as they do in every savage community sufficiently advanced to perceive and remember, attempts are made to alternate and contrast them in some way; and the excitement of sympathy with an expressive cry is merged in a crudely artistic pleasure derived from the contemplation of something of the nature of a pattern. 8

HARMONY:

Those who participate in ceremonies sit in a circle and beat a rhythmic accompaniment to the leader upon the ground accompanied by a slow, moaning harmony. African songs can not always be harmonized, and when is added it is not usually effective.

Harmony in African music is produced by human voice and instruments of percussion; drums or stringed instruments. According to Ellis:

The instruments commonly in use on the Gold Coast are drums, horns made from elephants tusks, the duduben, a long wooden instrument played like a clarinet, and the sehku, a species of guitar. Calabashes filled with shells are used as rattlers to mark the time. Drums are made of the hollowed sections of trunks of trees, with a goat's or sheep's skin stretched over one end. They are from

one to four feet high, and vary in diameter from about six to fourteen inches. Two or three drums are usually used together, each drum producing a different note, and they are played either with the fingers or with two sticks. The lookers-on generally beat time by clapping their hands.9

Ratzel writes that, among the Cameroons the drum is at once the primary and principal instrument, and serves the chiefs for signaling. Besides wooden trumpets, there are others covered with hide. Stringed instruments are found here, both of the harp and lyre kind. Among wind instruments we have pipes carved from wood, others made from round fruit, buffalo horns, which carry their sound a long way, and above all the well known hollow elephant tooth with a mouthpiece at the side near the tips.10

Thus we can see that crude musical instruments played an important part in the musical development of the African. The various combinations of the instruments plus the blending of the voices have caused the African music to stand out peculiarly among the various types of music of the civilized world.

Laubenstein holds that there is close similarity between speech and song in the African language:

An examination of many African songs showed that approximate scale of a pentatonic nature formed the basis of most of the melodies, and that such polyphony as existed in purely vocal ensembles was the result of parallel singing within the limits of these pentatonic scales or scales derived from them, the interval of parallelism being usually the fourth or the fifth. This parallel singing, analogous to

9 Ellis, A.B., Tshi-Speaking People, Page 326.
10 Ratzel, F., History of Mankind, Pages 111-118. Vol.3.
the "organum" of medieval Europe, was, I suggested, due to the influence of speech-tone, which is so important in the Bantu language that alteration of the tones of the various syllables of a word will frequently alter its meaning, even though it is otherwise correctly pronounced. I argued that the presence of such definite speech-tone in the Bantu language must necessarily result in parallel singing whenever a number of singers attempted to intone a common sentiment simultaneously, in order that the sense of the words might be preserved.\textsuperscript{11}

The African has, because of his peculiarities in both rhythm and melody, evolved polyphony of a rather interesting type. It is this same polyphonic instinct which has developed into what is commonly called "the extemporized harmony".

We have shown that music played an important part in the life of the African, and that he had, to a great extent, developed musical instruments to assist him in his religious, military, and social affairs. We see that African songs are folk-songs calling for musical intellect as well as emotion. With the aid of his musical instruments, he acquired "that independence of human voice that presupposes a conception of music as an art, demanding an understanding of tone-qualities and again a sense for the structural building of rhythmic and melodic balances of sound."\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Laubenstein, A Study of Negro Harmony - Musical Quarterly
\textsuperscript{12} Curtis, N., Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent, Page xxiii.
II. THE AMERICAN SOURCES OF THE NEGRO SPIRITUALS

Although the influence of African rhythm, melody and harmony is pervasively present in the Spirituals, their more immediate sources are to be found in America.

Many authorities maintain that the sources of the Negro songs may be classified under four headings:
First: imitations of Irish and Scotch ballads, reels and jigs, which the Negroes heard while loading boats on the Mississippi River, or in the dancing halls of New Orleans, St. Louis and nearby places.

Sister M. Hilarian writes that:

Fascinating as is the history of the Spirituals, the study of their origin is no less alluring. The music with its unique and powerful rhythms is essentially African. The prevalence of the pentatonic scale and the minor mode is possibly characteristic of African melodic and harmonic also, but it is to be noted that both these elements are found in the songs of the Irish and the Scotch...... The Negro must have come in contact with many of these people. Refugees from Scotland numerous in Southland, especially after the Jacobite wars. It seems probable that Gaelic music did influence the Spiritual. ¹

An excellent illustration of this type of song from a religious point of view is "Anybody Here." Anyone who cares to sing it will recognize in the melody of the second half a strain so decidedly like the Scotch that he

might well wed it to one of Burn's poems.

Barton holds that: "The resemblance is apparent, not only in the slurring, hopping effect which almost matches that in "Within a Mile of Edinboro Town", but also in the threefold repetition of the final tonic note." Likewise, Barton maintains that the time of the spiritual, "I'm Goin' to Walk with Jesus by Myself", is much the same as the Scotch hymn, "Who Will Drive the Chariot When She Comes." 2

Second: imitations of Methodist and Baptist hymns, i.e., "Go In The Wilderness." The second part of this Spiritual is the familiar Methodist hymn, "Ain't I Glad I Got Out of the Wilderness.", and may be the original."2a Allen holds that "Give Me Jesus", "Climbing Jacob's Ladder", and "I'll Take the Wings of the Morning", are to be found in the Methodist hymn-books and in choral

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2 Barton, W.E., Old Plantation Hymns, Pages 21a, 30a.
hymns. The words of the hymn, "Praise Member", are found with little alteration. Beside finding entire hymns or verses of hymns taken over into the Negro songs; we find such expressions as "Cross Jordan", "O Lord, Remember Me", "I'm Going Home", "There's Room Enough In Heaven For You", which were also present in the Methodist hymn-books. But the tunes are not easily traceable.

Third: the recitative style or air which, because of its simplicity in structure, adheres more closely to the African type. This class includes a stanza containing alternately a verse and refrain, with sometimes an added chorus.

According to the editors of "Slave Songs" in their "Directions for Singing":

The words of most of the songs arrange themselves into stanzas of four lines each. Of these some are refrain, and some are verse proper. The most common arrangement gives the second and third to the verse; and in this case the third line may have different words. Often, however, the refrain consists of only one line, the verse occupying the other three; while the refrain is three lines in length. The refrain is repeated with each stanza: the words of the verse are changed at the pleasure of the leader, or fugleman, who sings either well-known words, or if he is gifted that way, invents verses as the song goes on. In addition to the stanza some of the songs have a chorus which usually consists of a fixed set of words, though in some of the songs the chorus is a good deal varied. The refrain of the main stanza often appears in the chorus. 3

3 Allen, W.F., Slave Songs (In "Directions for Singing").
Example of line and refrain:

"O My King Emmanuel" 4

Verse: O My King Emmanuel, My Emmanuel above.
Refrain: Sing Glory to My King Emmanuel.
Verse: If you walk the Golden Street
And you join the Golden Band,
Refrain: Sing Glory be to My King Emmanuel.

Other verses:
3. If you touch one string, den de whole heaven ring.
4. O the Great Cherubim, O de Cherubim above.
5. O Believer, ain't you glad dat your soul is converted?

Examples of four lines:
1. No refrain; chorus:

"There's A Meeting Here Tonight" 5

Verse: I take my text in Matthew
And by de Revelation,
I know you by your garment
Dere's a meeting here tonight.

Chorus: Dere's a meeting here tonight,

I hope to meet again.

2. Fourth line refrain:

"The Lonesome Valley" 6

Introduction: My brudder wants to get religion
Go down in de lonesome valley
My brudder wants to get religion
Go down in de lonesome valley.

Verse: Go down in de lonesome valley

Refrain: To meet my Jesus dere.
3. Fourth line refrain; chorus:

"Lord, Remember Me" 7

Solo: O Deat' he is a little man,
And he goes from do' to do',
He kill some souls and he wounded some.

Refrain: And he lef' some souls to pray.

Chorus: Oh, Lord, remember me,
Do Lord, remember me,
Remember me as de year roll round
Lord, remember me.

4. First and second line verse, third and fourth refrain; chorus:

"Roll Jordan Roll" 8

Solo: My brudder sittin' on de tree of life,
An' he yeard when Jordan roll.

Refrain: Roll Jordan, Roll Jordan
Roll Jordan, Roll.

Chorus: O march de angel, march,
O my soul arise in Heaven, Lord,
For to yeard when Jordan roll.

5. First and third line verse, second and fourth refrain; double:

"The Graveyard" 9

Solo: Who gwine to lay dis body, member,

Refrain: O, shout Glory!

Solo: And-a who gwine to lay dis body,

Refrain: Oh ring Jerusalem.

7 Ibid, Page 12.
8 Ibid, Page 1.
9 Ibid, Page 15.
6. First and third line verse, second and fourth refrain; chorus:

"Bound To Go"

Solo: I build my house upon de rock

Refrain: O yes, Lord!

Solo: No wind, no storm can blow 'em down,

Refrain: O yes, Lord!

Chorus: March on, member, bound to go;
       Been to de ferry, bound to go,
       Left St. Helena, bound to go;
       Brudder, fare you well.

7. First line verse; chorus:

"Praise Member"

Solo: O Jordan's bank is a good old bank

Chorus: And I hain't but one more river to cross;
        I want some valiant soldier
        To help me to bear the cross.

We have spent considerable time on the spiritual
of the recitative style because we hope to use them
later on to show how the Negro music changed from time
to time and took over some of the European character-
istics.

The fourth and last source of the Negro song may
be classed as the group of songs which were influenced
by the French tunes of New Orleans and its surrounding
cities.

Ibid, Page 22.
The Negro spirituals, according to age or growth, may be classified into four groups: first, those in which the refrain is used for the purpose of producing a hypnotic influence over the listener similar to the effect of a spell or incantation. Particularly is this true with spirituals that have many stanzas. An example of this "force of monotony", with a refrain to produce the required results can be seen in the spiritual "O My King Emanuel". This type of song is similar to the African song "Higha", in which the medicine man or leader sings the verse and is followed by the chorus. Other songs of the same type are: "There's A Meeting Here Tonight" and "Poor Little Jesus".

The second type would be the group in which we find tones taken over from the European music and the addition of a much longer chorus or refrain and a diminishing of the tom-tom effect. An example of this is: "Go In The Wilderness".

In the third group of spirituals we find that the Negro has taken over many expressions, "Cross Jordan", "O Lord, Remember Me", "I'm Going Home", from the Methodist hymn-books. In this type belong such harmonious spirituals as "Steal Away to Jesus", "Talk About A Child That Do Love Jesus", "I don't Want You to Go On and Leave Me", and "Pilgrim Song".

1 Cf. Supra, Page 26.
2 Cf. Supra, Page 9.
3 Kennedy, R.M., Mellows, Page 76.
According to Lomax:

"The backwoods congregations of the South, both white and Negro, before they were rich or stable enough to buy hymn-books and when few, if any, of the members could read, used to be led in singing by their ministers. These would "line out" several phrases from the Bible or perhaps, from Watt's hymnal, and the congregations would take them up and repeat them in a sing-song fashion. Long after the white churches had abandoned this mode of singing, the Negro congregation kept it up." 16

Finally, we find a group of spirituals much richer in melody and harmony than we find in the above groups of songs. Also these songs, perhaps, have more symbolism in them than others. Such songs are difficult for solo arrangements and are best sung in unison. Of this type we would list "Swing Low Sweet Chariot", "There is a Balm in Gilead", "Go Tell It on the Mountain", and "Listen to the Lambs".

The Negro makes few references in his songs to his servitude. One of the most outstanding spirituals that shows this condition is, "Mother, Is Massa Gwine to Sell Us Tomorrow"? But this song does not appear in the earliest collections and might have been written after the Civil War. Booker T. Washington says: "The plantation song in America, although an outgrowth of oppression, contains surprisingly few references to slavery." 17

16 Lomax., American Ballade and Songs, Page 579.
17 Coleridge T., Twenty-Four Negro Melodies - Introduction.
The song of the Negro was not only used for religious purposes, but also as a stimulant to work. According to Lafcadio Hearn: "Formerly the work of cane-cutting resembled the march of an army - first advanced the cut-lassers in line, naked to the waist; then the amareuses, the women who tied and carried, and behind these the ka, the drum, with a paid crieur or crieuse, to lead the songs, and lastly the black commandeur for general."18

Booker T. Washington writes, "Whenever companies of Negroes are working together in a cotton field and tobacco factories, on the levee and steamboats, on sugar plantations, and chiefly in the fervor of religious gatherings, these melodies spring into life."19 Often times in slavery, as today in certain parts of the South, some man or woman with an exceptional voice, was paid to lead the singing, the idea being to increase the amount of labor by singing.

Therefore, we can say that the Negro spirituals, although provoked by suffering, provided the Negro with spiritual consolation, comfort, hope, joy, expectation, and physical and mental relaxation. Also the spirituals increased the rapidity and effectiveness of the slaves' work.

18 Hearn, L., Two Years in the French West Indies. Coleridge, T., Twenty-Four Negro Melodies - Introduction.
It was not until after the Civil War that special attention was paid to the Negro Spiritual. In November 1862, Miss Lucy McKim wrote an article for Dwight's "Journal of Music" about them. H. B. Spaulding, August 1863, published some songs and comments in the "Continental Monthly". Colonel Thomas W. Higginson, in 1867, published an article in "The Atlantic Monthly" concerning the psychology and structure of the Spirituals. In 1867 William Francis Allen, Charles Packard Ware, and Mrs. Lucy McKim Garrison, edited the first collection of Slave Songs. Their book is entitled: "Slave Songs of the United States".

The Negro Spirituals were first popularized by the Jubilee Singers of Fisk University. Other schools of higher learning for the Negroes soon entered the field.

Among these who have made the best authoritative investigations concerning the Negro Folk-songs are: H. E. Krehbiel; Henry T. Burleigh; Natalie Curtis (Berlin); Ballanta Taylor; James Weldon Johnson; J. Rosamond Johnson; R. N. Dett; Clarence Cameron White; Eva Jessye; Shirley Graham McCann, and others.

The Spirituals have had great influence on symphonic compositions. Dvorak came to America and was greatly moved by the original songs of the American Negro, and became one of their chief admirers and champions. He was inspired by them in the most beautiful of all his symphonies: "Aus der Neuen Welt".
In the above discussion we have considered the principal sources of the Negroes' spiritual musical characteristics and the chief sources of their thoughts. We conclude that the words and thoughts are largely taken from selections of American music, but at the same time they are greatly enhanced by the Negroes' African musical heritage. We are certain that the Negroes were never entirely satisfied to use the American tunes without making various radical alterations. These alterations brought about largely by the Negroes' African musical heritage, affected their approach to the songs. These changes are seen in the way the tunes were simplified and their complex rhythmic trend.

If the primitive West Coast Africans who were transported to America brought with them into slavery any of their native music, they soon lost it. Such melodies as they produced in slavery were largely imitated from the American revivalist hymns. But they never seem to have lost their sense of rhythm with its very definite accentuation of the strong beat.

In his volume, "Religious Songs of the Negro", Mr. Dett classifies the Spirituals under the following subjects: ADMONITION, ASPIRATION, BIBLICAL THEMES, CHRISTIAN LIFE, CHRISTMAS, CHURCH, CONSOLATION, DEATH, DEATH OF JESUS, DELIVERANCE, ENCOURAGEMENT, FAITH AND FELLOWSHIP, FUTURE LIFE,
INVITATION, JESUS CHRIST, JUDGMENT, MEDITATION, OCCA-
SIONS, PENITENCE PILGRIMAGE, PRAISE, RELIGION, RELIGIOUS
EXPERIENCE, RESURRECTION, SECOND COMING, AND TRIBULATION.

This classification signifies how rich the Spirituals are in theological content, and what rich material they furnish for the psychology of religious experience.

It remains our task to see from what sources the Negroes derived their theological and psychological ideas and characteristics. Therefore, it is of great importance that we study them in their African and American religious backgrounds.
CHAPTER II.

WEST AFRICAN RELIGIONS

The Africans who were brought to America were Negroes and Bantus. The Negroes who dwelt along the West Coast of Africa, represented a number of tribes that lived on the coastline from Cape Verde to Calabar, and reaching in some places to the borders of the Sahara. The Bantus lived South of Calabar and inland to the Eastward, in the Cameroons, Gabu County and Loango.

It is very difficult to group the religions of the aboriginal Negroes of West Africa under one form; because there is little communication between the various tribes. Thus there is practically no inter-changing or inter-mingling of religious ideas; and there is no supreme authority in charge of the religions to whom all of the tribes can look. Furthermore, these Negroes do not have a written language, and their only form of communication is by word of mouth. Therefore, there are no sacred books or authoritative religious literature that we can rely upon for our primary source materials. The principal materials that we have to rely upon come out of the
last two centuries. Before this time very little knowledge was available concerning the Continent for more than a few miles from the coastline.

Since the slaves who were brought to America came from all parts of Africa and all underwent the same hardships, we may assume that they assimilated each other's religious beliefs to such an extent that it would be impossible to show that the religion of the American Negroes belongs to any particular tribe. Also the American Negroes' religion has been greatly altered, due to their peculiar relationship with Christianity as it existed in America and as it was passed on to them.

According to Mary H. Kingsley:

"The religions of West Africa can be divided into four main schools, which extend, geographically, along the coast from Sierra Leone to the Niger mouths, (2) thence eastward to the Cameroons, (3) the Mpongwe country, about the Gabun River, (4) the Loango country (North of the Congo), inhabited by the Fjort (Fjat, Ficote, or Bavili)."1

Miss Kingsley calls the first of these schools, the Tahi and Ewe School; the second, the Calabar School; the third, the Mpongwe School; the fourth, the Nkissiam or the Fjort School. The Tahi and Ewe School is chiefly interested in the preservation of life; the Calabar School with an attempt to enable the soul to pass successfully

1 West African Studies, Page 116.
through death; the Mpongwe School with the securing of material prosperity; while the Nkissism or the Fjort School is chiefly interested in the worship of the mysterious power of the universe - Nkissi-Nsi.

It does not follow that all these schools are not interested in the same things, because there are various ideas predominant in all of these schools. The peoples of West Africa are not much concerned with such things as the creation of the world, but almost every tribe has some story connected with the origin of man. There exists among many tribes a belief that for a long time before the creation of man, there was a God epoch, followed by a Giant epoch; and with the coming of men, both Giants and the Gods became invisible and they are to dwell on earth to harass men. We may assume that these are only fáfí-tales and have little or no religious value for our present discussion.
I. FETISHISM AND ANIMISM

The religion of the natives of the Coast of West Africa is called "Fetishism, or Fetish". "Fetish comes from the Portuguese word feitico, which means a "charm", or "magic". Synonymous with "fetish" (implying charm) are the words grigri, used by the natives about Sierra Leone and Liberia; ju-ju, used by the Europeans in the neighborhood of the Oil Rivers and the Niger districts; Nkisi-kisi of the Fjort, and so on. This word "fetishism" is unknown to the natives themselves, and its use in its original sense conveys a totally erroneous impression of the nature of the West African religion, implying as it does, a system of idolatry or worship of tangible images, combined with a small amount of magic.

Tylor applies the use of the word to one department of animism only; that is, to the department of the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influences through certain material objects.

Miss Kingsley rejects Tylor's conception of Fetishism because it places too much emphasis upon embodied spirits and neglects disembodied spirits. In order to describe the religion of the West Africans, she maintains that the term should be used in connection with his grand theory of animism.

2 Tylor, E. B., Primitive Culture, Page 144.
Though there are many embodied spirits in that religion, there are also many unembodied spirits - spirits which are not embodied in matter and spirits which often embody themselves in matter. In order to support her thesis, Miss Kingsley gives the following example:

Among the gods of the Ewe and Tshi peoples, there is Tando, the high god of Ashantee. As a priest, he appears as a giant, tawny skinned, lank haired, and wearing the Ashantee robe. But when he is visiting the laity, on whom he is exceedingly hard, he comes in pestilence and tempest, or, for more individual visitations, as a small miserable, desolate boy crying for aid and kindness, which when given to him, Tando repays by killing off his benefactors and their fellow-villagers with a certain disease. Mbuiri of the Mpongwe people, usually comes in the form of a man; or Nkala comes as a crab; or the great Nzambi, Mpongwe of the Fjort, does not appear as human beings on earth unless in tempest and pestilence. 3

Fetish can not be gotten into the worship of a material object, because material objects are so low down in the scale of things that nothing of the human grade would dream of worshipping them. Neither can the word Fetish be used in its restricted sense to include the visions seen by witch-doctors, or incantations made of words which carry power in themselves, and yet these things are essential parts of Fetish.

Miss Kingsley states her conception of Fetish in the following paragraph:

All that it means to me is a perfectly natural view of nature, and on that, if you take it up with no higher form of mind in you than a shrewd, logical one alone, will, if you carry it out, lead you necessarily to paint a white chalk rim around one eye, eat your captive, use Woka incantations for diseases, and dance and howl all night repeatedly, to the awe of your fellow-believers, and the scandal of Mohammedan gentlemen who have a revealed religion.

By a "natural" view of nature, Miss Kingsley evidently means the animistic view of nature. For a workable conception of Fetishism, the religion of the Negroes of West Africa, we use her conception, i.e., Fetishism and Animism as interchangeable terms.

To understand the religious thought of West Africa, we must have certain knowledge concerning matters upon which these people base their beliefs. These peoples' religions do not have any connection at all with morality. No Negro assumes that he is living in a state of sin. If he commits a crime or misdemeanor, he assumes that he has not sinned, but by some omission or some act of stupidity, he has unwittingly brought down on himself the wrath of some god or evil spirit. All of these peoples have a firm belief in the existence of an indwelling spirit in almost everything animate and inanimate. By having such beliefs, the Negro maintains that everything that occurs is caused by the working of an indwelling spirit, by some human spirit which has temporarily lost

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its abiding place, or by some other spirit of the spirit-world. At first it was thought that the indwelling spirits of all things in nature were hostile to man; thus it was their chief purpose to hinder man in every possible way.

With an understanding of those beliefs, it becomes possible to describe the evolution of the Negroes' religion. Every material object in nature was thought to have an invisible spirit which might be seeking to bring destruction to man. In order to protect himself against this destruction, man offered these spirit gifts which he thought would be acceptable to them and at the same time be a deprivation to himself. By constant offering of gifts to a particular god or spirit, the worshipper became not only immune from danger, but he also came under the protection of the god or spirit. Thus it became every man's object to devote his attention to one particular god, and he usually chose for his special worship the god whose wrath he most feared. With this understanding, it becomes easy to understand the origin and importance of family-gods and tribal gods. In order to guard the abiding places of the gods or spirits, and to look after the sacrifices offered to them, certain individuals were selected by the tribe. This was the foundation of the priesthood. It was conceived that these priests, by their close proximity with the surroundings
of the god or spirit whom they guarded, became its confidential agents and therefore mediators between man and the god or spirit.

II. GODS AND IDOLS

The English definitions or conceptions of the word God do not fully describe the West African conception; because it is very difficult to define adequately and clearly the native's conceptions. However, it is not possible to use Negro or Bantu words to describe his ideas, because different tribes use different languages. Thus, it becomes important to explain what is meant when certain words are used in describing the god or spirit in this Chapter.

The word 'spirit' is used to denote
(1) the indwelling spirit of a god;
(2) the indwelling spirit conceived to have residence in all things animate and inanimate; and
(3) that spirit, good or evil, which belongs to the great world of invisible spirits, and which will ever remain in it. 'Soul' is the indwelling spirit of human being, as long as he is alive, or where re-incarnation is believed in until re-birth takes place. 'Ghost' as distinct from 'spirit' is the filmy individuality supposed by some people to leave the man's body at death, and occasionally to make itself visible in a shadowy form.9

The Negro believes that the gods are material beings possessing indwelling spirits. These gods are only visible in material forms to their priests to whom they pass their spirit on occasions. These gods or their spirits are invisible to the laity. They have their dwelling places, either permanently or temporarily in nature, in images, in the elements, in the waves of the sea, the storm, the lightning, plague and fire.

As one travels among the tribes on the Gold Coast and Slave Coast, one will discern that the further east he goes, the fewer are the gods of the people. The people of the Tshi-Speaking and Ga-Speaking tribes of the Gold Coast, have several gods, while the Yorubas have less. The gods of the people of the Gold Coast may be classified as: (1) national gods universally worshipped; (2) local gods universally worshipped under the same names; (3) local gods; (4) town, village and family gods; and (5) private gods. The gods of the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast can be classified under three headings: the gods of the Yoruba under two classes. Many gods are worshipped east of the Yoruba country, and inland, and as far reaching as the banks of the Niger. Along the Oil Rivers are gods to whom little attention is paid by their worshippers. No active gods are recognized by the Mpongwe and other tribes of the Gabun region. The Fjort, who live to the north of the Congo, acknowledge the great goddess, Nzambi.
Let us turn our attention to the study of the more important gods which are recognized and worshiped by the most important tribes.

1. Gold Coast Tribes.
   (a). National gods.

   Bobowissi, was originally the chief god of the people who lived along the coast between Appollonia and Barracu, as well as of the Wassaw, Arba, and Assin people inward, dwelt at Einnebah Hill. His duty was to appoint all local gods and have charge over the elements - thunder, lightning, storms, etc. Kohbar is the name of the annual feast which is held at the end of August in his behalf. His wife - Abu-Meshu - is worshiped as a goddess.

   Tando, who is the chief god of the Ashanti and other northern tribes of the Tshi people, is like Bobowissi in appearance. Driver ants are sacred to him. His wife - Katariviri - is worshiped as a goddess. In time of war, Bobowissi was thought to be an enemy to Tando.

   Nyankupon, or Nana-Nyankupon, the Lord of the Sky, is thought by some to have displaced Bobowissi as the principal god. He has no priesthood. The people feared his wrath, but were unable to offer him gifts except through his Vice-gerent Bobowissi. Nyankupon is best portrayed as a man. 6

6 Ellis, A. B., The Tshi-Speaking People, Chapter IV.
(b) Local Deities with Names Universally Recognized.

"Sasabousum" is a monster in human form, who lives either below or above the ground wherever the earth is red. He cannot be appeased. When he dwells in the bombas tree, he kills his victim by causing it to fall; when underground, he causes earthquakes. He does away with all upon whom his wrath falls.

The hideous female monster, Srahmantin, lives only in certain bombas (silk-cotton) trees. She troubles those who pass her, conquers them and holds them for many months in order to train them to become priests or priestesses in her service.

(c) Local Gods not Generally Recognized.

There are many local gods that live in the sea, rivers, lakes, wells, trees, rocks, hills, or hollows, and each has his or her district name, and is served by priests and priestesses. There are also local gods of war.

(d) Town, Village, and Family Gods.

The function of these gods is to look after the interest of the town, village, market, club and family. These gods live in any article such as wood, stones, spots, etc.

(e) Private Gods.

The private god is the individual's own property. His function is to guard, aid and support his owner against his enemies. No priest is necessary to mediate between the man and his private god. The worshiper who desires to have
a private god goes to the spot which he knows the "Sasabousum" dwells and takes from it a portion of the rock or tree which the god is supposed to inhabit. Then by incantation, he attempts to persuade Sarabonsum to pass a spirit into the article. After this has been done, the individual carries this article to his home, places it in a corner, and then proceeds to make offering to the spirit. After this ceremony has been performed, the individual becomes very friendly toward his private god. Often the individual makes small charms and dedicates them to it. Offerings are made to these charms by the natives.

2. Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast.

(a). National Gods. -

Mauri, god of the sky, firmament, etc., is their chief god, but has no jurisdiction at all over the other gods. Like Nyankupon of the Gold Coast Tribes and the sky-god of other Africans, he is too far off to concern himself with the interests of men. Thus he is, more or less, neglected in the matter of worship. Only the spirits of fowls and other birds sacrificed to the minor gods reach him.

Khebioso, god of lightning, is shaped in the form of a bird, and lives in a thundercloud. He is much feared and for that reason has many priests and priestesses. His wor-
shipers wear an iron ring on the arm and keep Saturday holy. **Legba** is a phallic god, and is much worshiped. He is a nude-form human of frightful dimensions. Sacrifices of he-goats, cocks and dogs are offered up to him. To **Legba**, the turkey-buzzard is sacred. **Dao**, the god of fire, lives in the flames, and manifests his displeasure by burning property. His worshipers wear necklaces or amulets. **Anyi-Ewase** is the rainbow god; **Hunten** is the bomba tree god. He destroys those who offend him. **Ho-Ho** is the god who protects twins. **Sapatan** is the god of smallpox and is much dreaded.7

(b) Tribal Gods. -

**Danh-gbi** is the god of knowledge and all happiness, and white ants are sacred to him. **Wu** is the god of the sea. **Nati** and **Avrikite** are sea gods. **Nisu** protects the royal family of Dahomey. **Bo** is the god of war. Every tribe and community has a god who protects and guards it.

(c) Local Gods. -

There are many local gods that live in the sea, river, lake, well, tree, rock, hill, hollow, tree, etc., and each has his or her district priests and priestesses.

The Ewe-Speaking Peoples do not have town, village, family or private gods. They do not worship charms. However, they wear amulets which show that they are worshipers of certain gods who look after their welfare.

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7 **Ellis, A. B.,** *The Yoruba-Speaking People.* Chapter 2.
3. **The Yoruba-Speaking People of the Slave Coast.**

(a). National Gods.

**Olorum** is the chief god of the firmament and is thought to be too far off to take cognizance of the affairs of the earth, thus he has no priests and is not worshiped. His chief function is to look after the affairs of the far off solid vault enclosing the world, and he does not interfere with the duties of other gods.

**Obatala** is the chief god now among the Yoruba-speaking peoples. When **Olorum** retired, this god took up his duties. All articles connected with his worship are white, and his priests and followers wear white. His wife, **Odudua**, the goddess of love, is the chief goddess. Their son, **Aganju** married his sister **Yemaja**. **Yemaja** is the goddess of running water. Of her offspring two are yet worshiped as principal gods - **Shango** and **Ogum**.

**Iifa** and **Elegba** are also principal gods. **Iifa** is the god of palm-nuts. **Elegba** is the same phallic god as is worshiped by the Ewe-Speaking Peoples.

(b). There are many minor gods among these people. Several came from the body of **Yemaja**. Each of these gods is in charge of certain affairs.

Very little information is available concerning the gods of the peoples who dwell along the banks of the Niger, and in the localities of the Oil Rivers. Gnu, the chief god in the neighborhood of the confluence of the Niger and Cenue, is thought to be a deified ancestor of the Igara, and is of a beneficent disposition. He is provider of children and crops and controller of the elements. He dwells in certain graves and has an actual festival (Jan.-Feb), during which, offerings are generally made to him by childless women and farmers.

The Iba people of the Lower Niger have many gods. The religion of these people is in much the same stage of development as that of the peoples of the Gold Coast.

5. Natives of the Cross River.

These people have many gods. Abasi is the chief god of the Efik people, Osowo of the Indem people. Njani, a lesser god, is worshiped by most of these people. There are many local gods and goddesses.

6. Fjort Bantu.

Mpungu or Nzambi-Mpungu, Father or Father of the Fearful First-born, is the chief god of the Fjort peoples. There exists a legend which says that he created the world, as well as Princess Nzambi, whom he then married,
with a view of populating the world. After this act, he placed everything in her power and returned to his far-off palace. He has neither priests nor worshipers.

Nzambi's cult is the basis of the higher form of Fjort religion. Her name means Mother Earth (lit. "Terrible Earth First Created"). She is considered to have been the mother of man and of the lower animals. She is served by priests, who are held to be able to obtain from her such benefits as the people wish, because she is kind to mankind and all animals. She lives in the sky, but her spirit is everywhere in the earth, in mountains, rocks, etc.,. Because of her supreme importance, the position of the Fjort women is raised to a much higher level than elsewhere in West Africa.

Certain animate and inanimate objects are thought to be filled with the sacred spirit of earth. The Nkici-ci - personal protective charm - is thought to be inherent in them by nature. These objects are holy, and possess mysterious powers which were received originally from Nzambi. The worship of the goddess is left entirely in the hands of the priest, who lives in a hut located on sacred ground. The people go to these places when they are in need of the benefits which this goddess bestows. There are certain objects which the priest can make sacred. These become bound up with the higher form of Fjort religion.
The above religion which we have described belongs to the higher form of Fjort religion. **Black Art**, the lower form, is the religion of the common people. It does not have any connection with the "Nickici-ci", and is generally carried on by a distinct class of fetishmen, who are thought to have the power of passing into images and other articles every description of evil spirit. We will have more to say about this when we discuss priests, fetishmen and witchcraft.

From our discussion of the gods of the Tshi, Ewe, and Yoruba peoples, we may say that we are able to discern the fact that they represent three stages of development. The Tshi-speaking people represent the lowest stage, and the Yoruba-speaking people the highest. Among the Tshi-speaking people we have a large number of gods of towns, villages and families, while among the Yorubas we found the notion of the gods covering a large area. The worship of the Tshi-speaking people was more connected with the indwelling spirits of tangible objects or objects which were thought to be tangible, as the sky. The Yoruba-speaking people worshiped more personified figures and objects.

We may explain the great number of gods of the people on the Gold Coast from a point of view of their accessibility. These people lived in small isolated groups because
they were separated by the forests. Therefore there was no room for the development of a national or general consciousness which would lead to a highly developed thought concerning national and general deities. Thus everything was looked upon with a narrow perspective. These same conditions are also true among the Ewe-speaking peoples who live in the Western and the more densely forested part of the Slave Coast.

The Ewe-speaking people of the open east have large communities and communication is much more advanced. We can also notice a further evolution in the religion of the Yoruba-speaking peoples. Most of their land, with the exception of the Isebus, is fairly open, and has many towns and good communication. These people give very little attention to the indwelling spirits of natural objects or phenomena. The people attempt to explain the activities of non-functioning gods in their myths. When the gods became the gods of a greater number of people, a more highly and developed form of priesthood came into existence.

III. HUMAN SOULS AND FUTURITY

Very closely associated with the Negro's belief concerning the indwelling spirit is his belief about his "soul" or "souls", that is, the "spirit" which he
believes lives in him. Many natives believe that a person has four souls - the surviving or immortal soul; the bush-soul; the shadow-soul; and the dream-soul. The most important of the four is the immortal-soul. The others are dependent on or subservient to it. Many natives including the Tshi-speaking peoples, maintain that this soul has a definite period allotted to it to dwell on earth, and should the body of a human pass away before that period has passed, the soul remains in the world to complete its earthly life as a wanderer without a home. Since this wandering soul is without a resting place, it seeks to find one in the body of some human being - a new-born child, if possible. The bush-soul lives in the body of a wild animal or in some part of the bush; the man himself possibly does not know the animal or the part of the country. The animal and the owner of the bush-soul die at the same time. The shadow-soul exists in man's shadow, therefore the native is careful to keep in the shade at noontide in order that he may not be dispossessed of his shadow-soul. This soul can be destroyed by an enemy piercing a weapon through it, and its death means the death of its owner.

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The **dream-soul** is practically inactive when the native is awake. As soon as he goes to sleep, it endeavors to flee from its human prison and enjoy itself with other dream-souls; therefore a dream results from the flight of the dream-soul, which, wandering forth, comes upon the dream-souls of other men and the souls or indwelling spirits of inanimate objects. When the native awakes, the dream-soul returns by the way it escaped, through the mouth. If the sleeper should be quickly awakened, there is the peril of the dream-soul being shut out. An unfortunate action of this nature causes immediate illness, and the other three souls are affected at the same time. The case will prove fatal unless the dream-soul can be conjured back into the body. This can be done only by a fetishman, or witch-doctor, who has the power to catch it and return it to its proper place, by the way of the victim's mouth.

All of the peoples of West Africa believe in the plural souls. According to the Tshi-speaking people, there lives a "kra" or protective spirit in every human being. Upon one's death this spirit leaves man and becomes a "sisa", which can, within a given time, return to the position of a "kra" by being re-born in a new body. If this rebirth fails to occur, the "sisa" must depart from the earth to dwell in "sisa-land" (a place thought to be beyond the river Volta). After this, it can re-
turn to the world as an evil spirit and enter a body from which the "kra" is for the time absent. Therefore the "kra" of the Tshi-speaking people is much similar to the "immortal-soul" of some of the other peoples. It does the duties of the dream-soul. These people do not recognize either the shadow-soul or the bush-soul.

The people of Gas divide the kra into two separate and distinct souls, or protective spirits. One is male and the other female. The male one is well disposed and the latter evilly disposed. The individual's activities are governed by their advice and they represent his conscience.

The Ewe-speaking people's views are much similar to those of the Tshi-speaking people, but they do not have a land for the wandering soul - the sisa-land. They believe that this soul keeps on as such, or is reborn either in a human body or in the body of some animal. If the soul is reborn in an animal, it shows its disposition toward mankind. If virulent, it enters the body of a beast of depredation; if well-disposed, the body of an innoxious animal.  

The Yoruba-speaking people hold that there are three souls. One is in the stomach, another in the head, and the other in the great toe. The stomach-soul is the most influential one of the three because it

shares all the food that the man eats; the head-soul directs man into all of his activities, and special offerings, usually the blood of fowls are made to it. The toe-soul is important only when man is about to go on a distant journey.10

The peoples of West Africa, both Negro and Bantu, have certain conceptions in common concerning the state of the human soul. They believe that there are human souls that always remain human souls. These are not deified, nor do they sink in rank. As long as a person lives, the body possesses spirits, the chief spirit being the immortal-soul which has higher functions than the others and a future existence. All of these peoples believe that some soul exists in some form or another after the death of the body with which it was connected.

The Tshi-speaking people do not doubt the fact that the earthly body rests in the grave. They maintain that at death the individual's indwelling spirit and man's individuality in a shadowy form, leave the body. Man's shadowy form or ghost (srahman) goes to the land of ghosts, which is beneath the earth, which is similar to the world, and a ghost possesses the same position as the man possessed when he was alive, but not necessarily at once. If the dead man died a natural death, the ghost passes to the other world immediately; but if the

10 Ellis, A. E., The Yoruba-Speaking People, Page 125f.
man is killed or died before his time, the ghost dwells on earth to disturb people until taken charge of by the priests and forced to leave.

Much attention is given to funeral customs because of the belief the people hold concerning the status of the ghost. The ghost of a tribal chief must have its retainers or ghost-slaves, or their equivalent in ghost-wealth and the ghost of the man's clothes, property, food, etc., must go along with the ghost-chief; or his fellow ghosts will not receive him with due respect.

The Ewe-speaking people also have a belief in a ghost-land and in the flight of the ind-elling spirit at death, but the activities of the luivo (the protective spirit) are not fully similar to those of the kra of the Tshi-speaking people. It becomes a noli (corresponding to sisa), but there is no noli-land for its disposal; it may be reborn in a new-born infant or transmigrated into the body of an animal; failing to do either of these, it becomes a wandering noli with the power of doing good or evil.

The Yoruba-speaking people's conception of what takes place at death is more highly developed than the Tshi-speaking peoples or the Ewe-speaking peoples. They have the land where the ghosts dwell, but they further maintain that unless the funeral rites are properly directed, the ghost cannot be received into ghost-land, and therefore...
it must wander as a ghost on the earth until captured
by evil spirits and sent swiftly to an uncomfortable
place set aside for wandering and lost ghosts, from
which there is no return. They also believe that it is
possible for a ghost to return from ghost-land and be-
gin life again in a new-born infant. Here the ghost
is looked upon as the soul of man.

However, the tribes west of the Niger do not be-
lieve that transmigration of souls from body to body al-
ways happens. When there is a great likeness between a
deceased relative and a new born infant, they imagine
that the spirit must have been reborn in it. This
school may have this different belief concerning the
soul, because it is primarily interested in preserving
human life, as we have stated above. This purpose leads
them to make all of their sacrifices to the gods and
spirits. This is done to ward off death because they
do not know what becomes of the soul after death.

The people who live between the Niger and the Cam-
eroons with the exception of those merged into the
Bantu (as Cross River) believe in re-incarnation. The
peoples who live around Cross River have different
opinions as to what happens to the soul after death.
Most of them have no definite beliefs concerning the
subject. There are some who assert that the spirit
ascends to live with the "big-god" in the sky. Others
assert that it goes into a sacred tree which every village has, and which the people call their "life"; others assert that it is reborn in an infant or a wild animal; while others believe that it wanders about as a species of evil ghost, to haunt the world. However, these Cross River people believe that they can, to some extent, govern the destiny of the soul and aid it in procuring a resting place.

The people of the Oil Rivers maintain that reincarnation is the natural and only predeterminant of the human soul. Thus it becomes their purpose to guide and govern the actions of the soul from the time it departs from the body until it has been reborn in an infant, so that it may be reborn into the same status as it had. Therefore the soul of a dead chief must be reborn in an infant who will some day become a chief. The direction and the control of the soul is left in charge of the fetishmen. As soon as the soul departs from the body, the fetishmen take the soul in hand. The elaborate funeral rites connected with the burial of a chief are for the purpose of announcing the rank of the dead man when the soul reaches soul-land. Human sacrifices are much more important here than among the Tshi-speaking people and other western peoples. Wealth can be exchanged for
slaves as long as the ghost-chief arrives in ghost-land with ample wealth to establish his position. This soul must be accompanied by a retainer befitting its rank in order to keep up its distinction until the time is reached for re-incarnation. Between the time of the death of the chief and the re-incarnation, the fetishmen maintain that they are able to communicate with the soul and to direct it in the way that it should go.

Although the peoples of Oil River are interested in the fate of the soul after death, they are also interested in life. They desire a long life for themselves and their friends, because premature death will not allow the individual's soul adequate knowledge necessary for its re-incarnation. These peoples believe that witches, by means of evil spirits, cause early death, therefore they are hated and exterminated. It is the duty of the fetishmen to look for them and thwart their evil deeds.

The Mpongwe peoples believe that the immortal-soul at death leaves the body and passes into the spirit-land which is thought to encompass them. Thus the spirit or soul prolongs its existence as a spirit in a spirit-land which is much like this world. The spirits of his wives and other property accompany him and his hunger is satisfied with the spiritual essence of earthly food.
Most of these spirits wander about; many take up temporary residence in natural objects, while others enter bodies of wild animals. Every effort is made to keep these spirits from vexing the living.

Thus, the souls for the Mpongwe peoples can do either good or evil toward mankind. By the help of the fetishmen evil can be averted, and good actuated at the hands of the spirits. The control that any man has over the spirit is only temporary because the spirit never ceases to exist, and can never be exterminated.

The Fjort people's conceptions of the human soul is much like those of the Mpongwe-speaking peoples. They believe that at death the nkulu or soul of a good man may remain about the house of the departed for twenty days, after which it passes into the spiritland which is everywhere though most of the spirits live in the woods. The spirit of a bad man, or chimbindi - an evil spirit of the witch doctor, is an enemy to all mankind. The souls of the Fjort peoples do not always enter the spiritland quietly and immediately. The spirit of a dead man may refuse to become a chimbindi. Then it becomes necessary for a priest or fetishman to pass it into the head of some member of the dead man's family. The spirit is then able to communicate within the dead man's family.
We may assume that since the bodies of witches are hurled from the top of the highest hills to be broken to pieces on the rocks below, or dashed into the rivers, the people believe that by so doing they are destroying their souls. Yet they maintain that the soul of a dead witch may be passed into the head of a living witch, thereby continue to exist. Some hold that the chimbinde of a witch remains forever to harass the place where the witch died.

IV. PRIESTS, FETISHMEN AND WITCHCRAFT

We have already alluded to the origin of the priesthood. Its origin in West Africa can be attributed to the people's inability or unwillingness to look after their own religious affairs. The first priests might have been men with superior intelligence who gained a local reputation as soothsayers, and on whose decisions the community placed great confidence. When they had once secured control over the people, it became easy for them to usurp additional power by the invention of mysterious rites and ceremonies. Being aware of the fact that they were also subject to old age and death, they taught a younger generation their art. Therefore a special class grew up. These finally conceived that their practices were real and that they had facilities not given to ordinary people, and that they were able by incantations and similar methods to turn away or bring down the wrath of the god.
With this attitude, the people sought their aid at excessive prices. If the individual wishes the death of an enemy, he goes to his priest who, after consulting the god, prepares a medicine to bring about the desired purpose, or informs the individual how the enemy can be destroyed through some secret method. If the individual desired to have the priest ward off disaster, he would purchase a charm or amulet. Not only is it the priest's duty to appease the god, but he also conducts the proceedings when trial by an ordeal is resorted to, in order to discover the perpetrator of a crime. His power is not limited in any respect, though the people hold that it is the god that strikes and assists, and that the priest is merely the agent or mouthpiece of the god.11

The priesthood among the Gold Coast Peoples has a fraternity but no real organization. Each god worshiped has its priest and priestesses and all are equal. They work together for the common good and owe no allegiance to any one. The priesthood among the Ewe peoples is well developed into an organization. The priests of each god form a separate brotherhood with rules and rituals. The king of the country is usually their head. The Yoruba-speaking peoples are still more organized. In most cases the king is the head of the society. Thus we can see that

a true priest is interested in the worship of one particular god to whom he devotes his attention. Besides the ceremonial worship he performs for his god, he has other duties; he is a diviner, a maker and seller of medicine and charms, and is also judge and executioner. He is not only a priest but a fetishman.

True priests are few among the peoples of the Oil Rivers and the Mpongwe country, because the worship of gods is hardly recognized; however, there are many fetishmen. The chief difference between a true priest and a fetishman is that a true priest devotes his time entirely to one particular god, whereas a fetishman deals with all gods and all spirits of every degree, dispensing charms and medicines, conducting trials, etc. The true priest is a fetishman but the fetishman is not a true priest.

The aim of religion in the Oil Rivers is to deal with the human soul after death. This is primarily the duty of the fetishmen who form a large organization. They probably came into being much the same way as the priests. The difference here between the priest and the fetishman is that the head of each house considers himself the fetishman of the house. At times a fetishman of one house may call in another fetishman who is more skilled than he. Besides directing the disembodied human soul, the fetishmen have many other functions to perform.
The fetishmen of the Mpongwe speaking peoples have more power than those of the Oil Rivers. Though the Mpongwe peoples give little attention to their gods, they are inundated with the vast throng of the spirits of the spirit-world, who are always seeking to hinder them. These peoples desire prosperity in this world but it is obtainable only by gaining a mastery over the evil spirits who thwart them. In order to battle the fetishmen who have the power to govern all spirits by means of one great and strong spirit with whom they are on friendly terms.

The Fjort peoples who live south of the priestless and godless peoples of the Oil Rivers have both priests and fetishmen. These peoples make a clear distinction between the higher and lower form of religion. In the higher form, there is the Nzambi's cult and the mysteries connected with the nkici-ci, concerned with which are the king, chief or head of the family, and the true priest (Nganga-nzambi or Nganga-nkici-ci). This priesthood does not have a fraternity like those of the Slave Coast and the Gold Coast. Here each priest is independent and chooses his own line of work but always through that power which he considers fills the earth and everything which is a product of the earth, and which comes from Nzambi (Mother Earth). The lower form of religion is that of the fetishmen who work by black art, such as nzanga-nkauci and nganga-nkici-mbouru (Keeper of nail fet-
We shall give full descriptions of the methods used by those fetishmen when we study spirits and charms. Among these peoples we find a third class of nganga, the Nganga-bilongo, who are almost similar to fetishmen, but who are in reality medical practitioners. They have a knowledge of the uses of herbs. This knowledge they keep within their families but their methods of using it are quite conformable.

By Westerners, priests and fetishmen are identified with witch-doctors or medicine men. It is partly true that the fetishmen profess to be able to hold communion with all kinds of evil spirits, and to be able to dispense medicine in order to bring about desired results, but on the other hand no small part of the functions of the priests or fetishmen is the discovery of witches, the frustration of their evil designs on human beings and their condemnation to death. The fetishman is not a friend of witches.

There is very little difference between the methods used by the witches and those used by the fetishmen. However, the native has an abhorrence of a witch because it is believed that she has powers that the priests and fetishmen do not have, that she strikes secretly by poison and she has a host of evil spirits whom she can call any time. The fetishmen have no knowledge of these. The priests and fetishmen are jealous of the witch-power because the witch usurps their powers. Thus they uphold the native in his
hatred of witches and do all in their power to destroy them.

When a witch is caught, she is immediately tried by ordeal and put to death. There are times when she may be put to death without trial. No person claims that she works witchcraft. The fetishmen are the ones who maintain that witches exist. This is done for the purpose of explaining away their own failures. It is the belief of these natives that witches cause sickness and death and can kill swiftly or slowly by causing evil spirits to enter the human body. They are always trying to work against the good done by the priests and fetishmen. It is held that they capture the wandering dream-souls and prevent them from returning to the bodies to which they belong until they have been purchased by a fetishman. Although the priests and fetishmen hate the witches, they do not attempt to influence the people to hate them. The belief in witches is often substantiated when a woman who has been accused of witchcraft asserts that she is a witch. Wizards, though rare in West Africa, are also known.

The chief difference between the fetishmen and witches is that the witches possess the power to cause sickness or death and deny that they do so, while the priests or fetishmen practice openly and are looked upon by the peoples as being legal practitioners. The natives assert that all of their actions are for the good of the people.
The fetishmen can be used for either negative or positive purposes. They have the power to assist a native in doing away with an enemy, by employing methods similar to those used by witches, as medicines and the calling-in of evil spirits.

V. SPIRITS AND CHARMS

The native of West Africa believes that his total environment is inhabited by many evil spirits. His ideas of his gods and their worship cause him much concern. He has a priest to mediate between him and them, he satisfies them with the necessary gifts and he believes that he has done his duty. It is not his love for his gods that causes him to worship them, but rather it is his fear that they will harm him. Since he knows that he can not appease the gods, he places great faith in the priest.

His attitudes toward the minor spirit are greatly different from those he has toward his god. He believes that he can prevent them from doing evil to him and cause them to do good. Thus it is not a matter of propitiation but one of hard fighting - the placing of one spirit against another, and leaving them to fight it out. The native has to go to great trouble to arrange this combat.

We have already discussed the superhuman god-spirit, now let us give our attention to the great number of
spirits which are thought to encompass the native on all sides and control all of his actions.

The people in the Bantu (Gabun and Loango) believe in two classes of spirits - those spirits of the gods which are worshiped are superior to all the others; and those that embody human souls are superior to the spirits of things non-human. These two main classes are subdivided into several classes, and the lower spirits are also subdivided into several classes. According to Miss Kingsley, there are fourteen classes of spirits existing in Fetishism: "Firstly, the class of spirits that are human souls always remain human souls. They do not become deified nor do they sink in grade". She further holds that there are two classes higher than human souls, several classes equal to human souls and at least eleven classes lower than human souls."13

Dr. Nassu holds that the spirits which effect human affairs can be classified fairly into six classes:14

(1) **Inina** is the human embodied soul which, on becoming disembodied, and passes into the world of spirits. This animating soul is practically the same that talks, hears, and feels, that sometimes goes out of the body in a dream, and that exists as a spirit after the death of the body. After it departs from the body, it continues to take an interest in human affairs - especially in the affairs of the family of which it was a member. After death, it is thought to be the spirit of dead ancestors

(2) **Ibambo-ghosts** that have no fixed dwelling and can appear anywhere and at any time and are thought to be the spirits of dead ancestors

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14 Nassu, R. H., *Fetishism in West Africa*, Chapter V.
as distinguished from the spirits of strangers. These are the spirits with which men are possessed, and there is no end to the ceremonies used to deliver them from their power. They are much dreaded and are worshipped; whether they are malevolent is not certain, but when a man is "possessed of the devil", he is generally an ibambo that has entered into him and has to be cast out.

(3) Omburiri, nkinda, and olaga are the disembodied souls of men which live temporarily in natural objects as trees, rocks, etc. They are worshipped and offerings are made to them by passersby, who fear to incur their displeasure. The omburiri is the soul of a chief, the nkinda that of an ordinary native, and the olaga that of a stranger. They resemble the local gods and the private gods of the Gold Coast peoples but they have no priesthood and communicate with man directly. They also have the power to cause sickness by entering into human beings.

(4) The Mondi are evil spirits greatly feared. They cause sickness or can aid or hinder human plans. These spirits are much the same as the nkinda of the third class, except that in power they seem to be more independent than other spirits. They are expelled by exorcizing some stronger spirits to fight them.

(5) Yoka is a family fetish supposed to contain the spirits of ancestors; and for its edification, portions of the bones, eyes, skulls, etc., of generations of deceased members of the family are carefully preserved. The greatest reverence if paid to the Yoka, offerings of food and drink are made to it and is consulted on all occasions; for the people believe that the spirit of their ancestor continues to take the deepest interest in the affairs of the family.

Finally there is the spirit that enters into a wild animal for the purpose of doing some evil act. This may be any ordinary spirit of a living human being temporarily absent from the body. But such possession of a wild beast is not permanent, i.e., it is not the same thing as transmigration of souls.
Summarizing the West African's idea of spirits, we may say that he believes that they encompass him and that they never cease to exist and that the spirit-world becomes inhabited every day by more spirits and that most of them of the more active form, are disembodied souls of human beings, and that they are for the most part evil toward mankind. With this knowledge, one is able to understand the ideas of medicines used by these peoples. The spirits of certain things when properly dealt with by trained fetishmen can be made subservient to the will of the fetishmen, thus these powers can be used for certain purposes. The fetishmen use certain drugs to increase their respect among the natives. The administration of the drug is always accompanied by mysterious ceremonies and incantations.

From these customs the charm or fetish is derived among the Bantus and the Negroes of West Africa. The value of the charm or fetish is to protect its wearer from evil spirits, and to guide and assist him in all of his activities. Charms or fetish are made by priests and fetishmen.15

VI. TABU, TOTEMISM, ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, CANNIBALISM, AND SACRIFICE

Practically all of the people of West Africa have laws prohibiting the eating of certain food. In most of the cases the form the prohibition takes is a family affair; and its origin is generally connected with the family name. A member of a Buffalo family does not eat the flesh of the buffalo, a member of the Cornstalk does not eat corn and so on. This may be called ancestral prohibition. In addition to this, there are tabus placed on an individual by the priests or fetishmen for some particular reason as for the protection of the individual.

The word used by the Fjort-speaking peoples to designate a thing that is forbidden is kazila, or xina. Dennett\(^\text{16}\) asserts that there are nine classes of things that are prohibited or xina. Eagles, owls, crows, bats, snakes, etc., are usually prohibited as food, probably because they are thought from their nature and habit to be unclean or possessed of some evil spirit and no persons except witches would think of eating them. Each family has its own particular Xina and each individual of a family his own special Xina. Should a person willingly eat a xina it will result in trouble, sickness and even death.

To many tribes (about the Congo, Loango, etc.,) the leopard is *Xina*; and each tribe has its separate forbidden animal. Moreover a member of a family has to respect what he knows to have been the *xina* of his father; as well as those of his mother, his grandfathers, and his grandmothers. Thus all natives are forbidden to eat the flesh of several different animals.

In addition to these general types of tabus, there are special tabus. For instance, certain priests may not eat food prepared and cooked by unmarried women; members of a royal household may not even touch a pig; doctors may prohibit a patient from eating certain foods. Finally the parts of animals (skins, horns, claws, shell) found to be stored up by fetishmen in sacred graves are *Xina*.

The tabu -(orunda)-of the Mpongwe-speaking people is not as widely applied as the *kazila* (*Xina*) of the Fjort, although the idea is the same. *Orunda*, as a rule, is placed on a child when quite young by the parents and fetishmen. Long ceremonies are performed and the child is forbidden for the rest of his life from eating some particular animal or some particular part of an animal. The tabu or orunda may take other forms: an individual may be forbidden to eat in the presence of a woman; to drink except at certain times of the day. It is not known how
the orunda is selected in each case. But the purpose of the ceremony is a dedication of the article chosen to the protective spirit of the child in order to gain the good favor and assistance of the spirit throughout life. Therefore, if a man should break his Xina, Orunda, "ibet" (of the Efiks, Old Calabar), he had insulted the spirit and it will turn against him and cause evil to trouble him.

The idea which underlies Xina, Orunda and Ibet, is the same; but their characteristics vary. No native attempts to force the consequences of breaking his tabu; because he is afraid of the unseen spirits which govern the universe.¹⁷

We may assume that the people of West Africa at one time worshiped animals. Certain of the Ewe-speaking people worshiped the crocodile and the Dahomans worshiped the leopard. The worship of animals resulted from the native's belief that the homeless kra of some human being takes possession of the animal for evil purposes. Animal worship in West Africa is not highly developed. The animal is not really worshiped, but the spirit which has found its abode in him. It may be that in some cases the animal is emblematic of an ancestor and for that reason is looked upon as sacred. This leads us to consider ancestor-worship if true ancestor-worship may be said to exist in West Africa.

¹⁷ Newland, H. O., West Africa, Part II, Chapter 4.
The peoples of West Africa have great respect for their ancestors and this is a part of their religion. But the peoples of West Africa do not regard any of their ancestors as gods, nor as a rule do they offer sacrifices to an ancestor; what is offered to the spirit of an ancestor is merely a gift the spiritual essence of which is thought to be acceptable. Their idea of the spirit-world causes them to believe that its inhabitants require spiritual food and drink. Therefore before he eats and drinks he lays aside a portion for the spirit of his dead ancestors. This gift is not made because he fears the spirits of the ancestors, because they are looked upon as guardians of the living members of the family. The gift is most probably made out of pure kindness of the heart in return for the protection which the ancestral spirits are thought to afford their living offspring.

In many instances human sacrifices are made to the spirits of the dead chiefs out of gratitude for past protection. In many of the tribes of the interior the corpses are eaten. This form of cannibalism is not common among the peoples of West Africa, and there is no proof of any kind to show that it exists to a great extent among Negroes and Bantus of the West Coast. They believe that in time of war their gods are ever present, aiding them in the fight and they are led by their priests to believe
that a portion of the captives of war shall be slaughtered and eaten by the conquerors so that the fighting qualities of the victims may pass into the systems of the victors, and therefore strengthen them for future wars. However, it is necessary for the priests or the people to eat the bodies of the victims in order to satisfy the gods and ward off sickness or misfortune.

Sacrifices are offered to a god because it is believed that he requires attendants to do his commands, and the spirits of the slaughtered slaves are thought to pass immediately into his service. Thus, in times of peril it becomes necessary to make human sacrifices. When one tribe has been victorious over another tribe, it is necessary to have a wholesale slaughter of the prisoners. This is done because warfare is considered to be as much the concern of the gods as that of men. It is thought that the gods are on the side of their devotees, and as a result the gods of the victors are pleased at receiving into their service the spirits of the worshipers of the disappearing gods.

All sacrifices are made to appease or please a god or to furnish the supposed requirements of the dead. Blood-offerings are also of great importance. Minor offerings, as food and drink are the most common ones, but as a rule almost anything can be offered up to the god or spirit. It is believed that the simple act of offering will aid the worshiper to have the goodwill and aid of the god or spirit.
VII. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

In the greater part of West Africa, elaborate religious ceremonies are held in connection with births. Along the Gold Coast, Slave Coast and elsewhere, gods are worshiped as soon as a woman realizes that she is to become a mother. She takes special precautions, makes sacrifices to the family duty and is bound with charms or beads by a priestess so that all may go well with her.

The Mpongwe Bantu show as much interest in the husband as he does in the expectant mother. He has to abide by certain rules and food tabus. As soon as the infant is born, charms are placed around him as a protection from evil spirits.

Among the Ewe-speaking peoples and the Yoruba-speaking peoples, the infant is immediately taken charge of by a priestess. About a week later birth ceremonies begin.

The Tshi-speaking peoples do not have a priest or priestess to assist in these ceremonies. The father carries out the ceremonies alone. The child's first name is that of the day of the week on which it was born. Eight days after its birth, the father attended by his male friends, goes to the house where the birth occurred and, seated on the outside, receives the child into his arms. He then offers up thanks to his particular god, after which he gives the child its second name, which is that
of an ancestor or friend, and he finishes the ceremonies by spitting some rum into the child's face. This is followed by a thanksgiving service. Rum is poured freely on the earth for the benefit of the ancestral spirits, sacrifices are offered to the family-god and feasting and dancing are carried on into the night.

The customs among the Ewe-speaking peoples are much similar except that the priest takes the place of the father. The name given the child at birth is either that of a god or of an ancestor. The eastern Ewe-speaking peoples believe in transmigration, and when a child is born, it is the duty of the priest to discover what ancestor it represents, and its first name becomes that of the ancestor. Later in life the man takes a "strong name" and drops his birth name.

The power of the priesthood is greater among the Yoruba-speaking peoples than the Ewe-speaking peoples, and therefore their religious ceremonies are much more elaborate. All of them believe in transmigration and the priest or diviner announces what ancestor has received rebirth in the new-born infant, who has to be trained to grow up like the ancestor. At the naming ceremony, a hen is sacrificed to Ifa, and a cock to the Olori (indwelling spirit of the head), after which there follows the purification by water. Lastly there is purification by fire.
Among the peoples who have strong beliefs in evil spirits, all energies are devoted to the preservation of the mother and the infant from their malicious designs, and guns are repeatedly fired to frighten them away.

Polygamy is practiced among practically all Negroes and Bantus. A man may have as many wives as he is able to pay for. Except among the Fjort marriage is a purely social institution and is not connected with religion, though the Yoruba priests, in their attempts, sometimes persuade the newly married couple to make joint sacrifices to a god.

The burial customs among all the tribes of West Africa are similar; the only real difference results from the conception of the particular tribe as to what happens to the soul after death. Wailing and lamentations are held in all cases of death. The women of the household are the wailers. The Gold Coast, Slave Coast, and neighboring peoples dress the corpse in the deceased's best clothes, and load it with jewelry and ornaments. The relatives and friends of the deceased then visit the corpse, offer it presents, fire guns, and call on the dead man to return to life. The wailers do not partake of food until after the deceased has been buried, though intoxicants are taken of freely. We have already noted that property of the deceased is buried with him and that this custom exists among those people who believe in the requirements
of the ghosts dwelling in the ghost-land or of the requirements of the spirit awaiting rebirth. Among the Bantus, who maintain that at death a man's spirit leaves the body, joins the world of spirits, and continues to have an influence over the living, the ceremonies for their principal object are the ingratiation of the spirit of the deceased. It is necessary to keep the spirit in good humor so that it may work for the welfare of the deceased's family. 18

Summary:

Thus far in this Chapter, we have discussed:
(1) Fetishism; (2) Gods and Idols; (3) Human Souls And Futurity; (4) Priests, Fetishmen And Witchcraft; (5) Spirits and Charms; (6) Tabu, Totemism, Ancestor-Worship, Cannibalism, and Sacrifices; (7) Birth, Marriage, and Death. We may say that all religions had their beginnings as a raw, unorganized animism. Man, because of his physical surroundings, is forever threatened with dangers and existing miseries. These he maintains are caused by powers which are hostile to him and are constantly attempting to thwart his development. Those things that occur at regular intervals he gives little concern because they are expected and anticipated. Therefore, he looks upon nature as being filled with spirits. The form these spirits take depends partly upon nature and the

development of the native's investigation and partly on the special occasions at which time they appear to be present. Religions of this nature have many fallacies. Every individual worships either what he dreads the most, or that from which he hopes to receive the greatest good in time of need. Faith is not universal in this type of religion, therefore, there is absolute toleration and each people recognizes the existence of the gods of other people, and the primitive native does not attempt to force his religion upon others.

Religion among the peoples of West Africa has no moral importance as among the more highly developed religions of the peoples of the West. The native is restrained by social codes that have little or nothing to do with religion. Sin is looked upon as an insult offered to the gods, or as a neglect of the gods. The native does not see any harm in murder, theft, or any other crime and the gods have nothing at all to do with these matters. Only in cases where they are bribed by valuable offerings do they take up the affair for the good of some worshiper. The native believes that his gods are extremely jealous and that they resent any neglect on his part at the time when he omits some rite or ceremony. The gods are not concerned with what goes on between individuals, but only with the acts of the individual which affect them specifically.
None of the heavenly bodies are worshiped by the native, because he expects and anticipates them. Then too, they are too far away from him to demand his adoration. All of his gods are of this earth and are feared, and therefore, worshiped. Thus we see that the religions of the natives of West Africa have no connection with morality, and that all of the Negroes, regardless of their religious development and organizations, strongly believe in indwelling spirits which dwell in animate and inanimate objects, except such things as are made by hand.

The religion that the Negroes brought with them from the West Coast of Africa to the United States had great effects upon the Christianization of the first generation. In America this religion is often called Voodoism. Its chief characteristic is the sacrifice of a girl referred to by the initiates as 'the goat without horns'. When a child is not available, a white kid takes its place.

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18a The New Standard Dictionary gives the following definition of Voodoo: The superstitions prevalent among West-Indians and Southern Creoles, Mulattoes, and Negroes, and dealing with charms, conjury, snake worship, and according to some in their most degraded forms with cannibalism and human sacrifice.

Devil as a snake. Many rites are performed to ward off the ills of the Devil, but they are entirely superstitious and are separate from religion. The general, local, town, family and individual deities of Africa were replaced in the main by the Christian Deity.

As this mass of vague superstition receded more and more in the background as the years went on, it finally became a kind of overtone in the new religion of Christianity which was now their professed creed. Except in the matter of denominational connections there are but few differences in the religious beliefs of the Negroes. But these denominational differences are not to be slighted. The Negroes labeled themselves as Baptists or Methodists. In order to understand the further religious development of the Negroes, we must give our attention to the religious instruction they received in the days of slavery.
The introduction of slavery in America in 1619 was no new thing either in America or Europe. Early in the 9th century A.D., trade routes from Central Africa to east and north existed. Slaves were transported through the eastern shores to the rest of the world. It is not too much to assume that they found their way to the markets of Western Europe. However, in 1444, slaves were carried from the African Coast by water rather than over-land. This date marks the actual beginning of the European slave trade. It was from this date that slaves from Africa were sold in European markets. Within a decade, the dealing in Negro human flesh had become so profitable that it became one of Europe's chief commodities.

In order to understand the origin of the American slave trade, we must turn our attention first to the exploration and exploitation of the West African Coast from which the supply came, and next to the introduction of the Negro who was transported into western markets. We will only
give a brief statement concerning the exploration of
the African Coast, since we are fully acquainted with
the narrative. Again we must turn to the ancients, but
we find that the story is not one of continuous growth
from the time of the Phoenicians through the Middle
Ages to the Modern Age. It was not until the 15th cen­
tury that slave trade became a profitable enterprise.
At first Prince Henry of Portugal was interested in his
settlements in the Canaries and Madeira Islands, but in
1441 he turned with fresh determination and vigor to
African explorations. By 1448 the Portuguese had reached
the Senegal and before 1460, Sierra Leone. Approximately
eight hundred slaves were carried to Portugal annually.

In 1461 King Alfonso sent out a captain to acquire
information concerning Sierra Leone and the Grain, Ivory
and Gold Coasts. Ten years later the equator was crossed.
Thus the sources of slave supply were opened to the West­
ern World.

The Portuguese were not only interested in exploring
the Coast and developing African commerce, but also in­
terested in making permanent settlements. In 1448 a fort
was erected at Arguin. In 1458, a mission was sent to
Africa under the Abbot of Soto de Cassa, to convert the
natives of the Gambia region. In 1491 the Portuguese
erected Fort St. George at Elmina.
It was not long before the Portuguese explorations attracted other European nations. The authority of the church was early invoked to support Portuguese claims against present and potential rivals. This request was probably granted Prince Henry because of his missionary zeal. Likewise the Portuguese maintained an exclusive trade among their own subjects. On September 15, 1448, by royal decree, Prince Henry was granted the right to control the slave trade. After his death, the King in 1469, allowed Fernando Gomez to take charge of this trade.

In 1481, other nations sought to enter the slave trade, but failed. By the 16th century Portugal's interest was turned to India and Brazil. But Elmina remained the center of the Gold Coast trade of Portugal. Her control of the coast and her contact with the natives was largely in the hands of the priests. Her greatest interest was in Angola and the Congo which supplied labor for her sugar plantations. The Negro labor supply for Brazil also came from the Angola regions.

Throughout the 16th century Portugal remained the most dominant nation in Africa. It was not until the latter part of the 16th century that Portugal began to lose her struggle for control of her African discoveries.
For a time England was her most dangerous rival. England may have been stopped by the Papal Bull but after the Reformation, her interest in navigation grew tremendously. By 1530 English merchants were trading in Brazil. By 1536 the English African Company was formed. By 1553 English vessels had visited the Guinea Coast, Barbary, Benin and the River Septos. Many of the leaders died because the conditions at Benin were injurious to their health. But this mortality did not restrain the English adventurers. In 1554 three vessels left England for Africa. It was not until 1561 that England built a fort there.

Portugal's slave domination showed its first weakness when England, France and Spain entered Africa, but it was left for Hawkins to prove that her power was diminishing.

In the 17th century Portugal, England and France were joined by Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Germany. All of these nations were struggling to share in the spoils. For some time the West coast of Africa was both a prize for which European nations contended and the battleground on which the struggle was carried on. To this difficulty was added an increase in native alliances; and native wars became a part of the story of European international relationship. The most important international struggle of this period was that between the English and the Dutch. This conflict helped to determine the nature of the slave trade for which the nations were competing.
It was during this century that Spain lost her exclusive control of the West Indies. The Caribbean territory now passed into the hands of the English, French, Dutch and Danes. It was in this territory that the development of the sugar industry increased the demand for slave labor and gave to each country an increased desire to maintain possession in Africa. Furthermore, the rapid development of industry in the American colonies called for an increased supply of cheap labor. During the last part of the 17th century many slaves were imported to the tobacco colonies.

The development of private plantations in the colonies was hindered by the lack of labor and capital and by the extremely low prices of tobacco which began at the end of the sixteen-twenties as a result of overproduction. Due to good management and the rotation of crops, the industry led the way to prosperity. The export of tobacco from Virginia in 1619 was more than twenty thousand pounds.

At first the work on the plantations was done by indentured labor which was imported from England. Many thousands of laborers were sold to the planters each year under the indenture plan. In England the Court took the occasion to lessen the work of the hang-man by sentencing convicts to deportation in servitude. Likewise the government sent over a number of political prisoners.
This type of labor had serious disadvantages. In the first place its cost was tremendous; its death rate was high; its term generally expired not long after its adjustment and training were completed. And often this type of labor upon its fulfilment of the contract, would become a competitor with its former employers and would decrease the price of the product. Thus, if the plantation system were to be permanent and perpetuated, an entirely different type of labor supply was essential.

"About the last of August, came in a Dutch of Warre that sold us twenty Negars". This is in a report written by John Rolfe in 1619.¹ This man-of-war was a privateer, who had taken the Negroes from a captured slaver and sold them to the government of the Colony which in turn sold them to planters. In 1625 there were 23 Negroes; 616 white servants and 593 white settlers in the Colony of Virginia. A second shipment of Negro slaves reached Virginia in 1630 and from 1635 onward there was a continuous importation of Negro slaves. Some of these came from England, some from New Netherland and most of the others were doubtless from the West Indies. By 1671 there were 2,000 Negroes in Virginia. Before this time there were also a few free Negroes. It was not until the end of the 17th century that Negroes began to constitute the larger part of plantation labor in Virginia. In 1763 there were 100,000 Negroes in Virginia.

¹ John Smith Works, Arber Education, Page 541.
For more than two generations the Negroes were few, and they worked side by side with the white servants and in many instances were members of their master's households. Thus they had an opportunity to learn the white man's ways and to adjust themselves to the new environment.

Massachusetts was settled in 1620 and in 1763 had 4,500 Negroes; Rhode Island was settled in 1636. In 1680 she had only a few Negroes, by 1730 she had 1,648, and in 1748, 4,373; Connecticut was settled in 1635. In 1680 she had 30 Negroes, and in 1774, 6,464. New Hampshire was settled from Massachusetts and became a separate Colony in 1741, and in 1775 she had 659 Negroes. New York was settled by the Dutch in 1613 and by 1756 she had 13,542 Negroes. New Jersey was settled in 1672. In 1738 she had 3,981 Negroes and slaves, and in 1745, 4,606. Maryland was granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632. In 1755 she had 42,764 Negroes and for several years 2,000 were imported annually. By 1757 there were more than 60,000 Negroes in Baltimore. North Carolina was permanently settled in 1650 and became distinct from Virginia in 1727. In 1701 it had 5,000 inhabitants, besides Negroes and Indians, and in 1702, 6,000. South Carolina was granted to Lord Clarendon in 1662. In 1723 she had 18,000 Negroes; in 1724, 439 were imported; in 1730, there were 28,000 Negroes in the Colony. In 1731, 1,500 were imported.
In 1765, she had 90,000, and in 1773, 6,000 were imported. This Colony lost 25,000 Negroes in the Revolutionary War. Georgia was settled in 1732-3. Slavery was legalized in 1747, and in 1772 she had 14,000 Negroes.

By 1776 there were nearly 500,000 Negroes in the Colonies, and by the first of January, 1808, when the U.S., passed a law prohibiting the importation of Negroes from Africa, there were approximately 1,100,000 Negro slaves spread throughout the country. The number of free Negroes in the colonies was beginning to increase. This was due to the fact that many were emancipated by owners, and some were emancipated by acts of Abolition.

The growth of the slave population from 1619 to 1808 may be attributed to the rise of industrialism, agriculture, capitalism, and the quest of gold. The rapid transportation of Negroes to the South was not due to the difference of mental and moral attitudes in the two sections, but to the difference of climatic and economic conditions.

We have discussed at length the historical introduction of Negroes to America. Now let us consider the ways in which they received their Religious Instruction.

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The Negro who was brought to America was absolutely African in every respect. He was brought from his jungles and huts into a perfectly new environment. His existence was intricately bound up with his power of adaptability. Since his captors took care that all associations and connections were left behind, there was no direct opportunity for group association, except where there were two or more in the same plantation with tribal connections. With no individual to converse with until he picked up the language of his captors, there were no connections with most of his comrades in which sympathy for one another could be expressed. Coming from different parts of Africa, the Negro lacked common cultural patterns. The one thing they held in common was their color. Under severe punishment he readily learned to cast aside his tribal peculiarities and meet with others on the plan of the white man's culture and language.

The Negro was denied the right of establishing tribal life in this country. By this denial he was aided in assimilating the American customs with less difficulty. He was forced by the existing conditions to learn the prevailing language and customs of America. This adventure was indeed difficult for him and he found his most valuable means of escape from reality in the religion taught him by his master.
From the point of view of his master, religion for the Negro had a twofold purpose. First according to the existing religious view of that day: "Man was wicked by nature, because when Adam sinned, we all sinned, and by Christ's atonement we who are in him are saved". Thus it became necessary for the slave to receive religious instruction as an expression of Christian ideal. Secondly, religious instruction had a social purpose; it taught the Negro that he was pre-ordained by God to be the hewer of wood, etc., and for this reason he was to be satisfied with his social status.

A. THE COLONIAL PERIOD (1619-1776)

The religious instruction of the slave shows the type of religion that the master class had independent of the slave himself. The religious position of the upper class of society shows a firm belief in orthodoxy which looked upon all men as being inherently wicked. The chief concern of the church was to deliver man from this state of sinfulness, therefore, the people of the churches felt that it was their duty to spread the Gospel.

John Elliot and Cotton Mather held that the reason the slaves received so little religious instruction was that the masters were in "fear of thereby losing the benefits of their vassalage".
There were two causes for this fear: first, from medi­eval time the rule of the church had been that it was in keeping with Christianity to enslave heathen people, but not Christians. Therefore if a slave joined the church, he could no longer be looked upon as a bondsman. This meant a loss of money on the part of his owner.

In order to eliminate this fear, Virginia enacted a law in 1667, declaring that, "Baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom", in order that divers masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity. The Established Church of England also enacted laws which eliminated this fear. The beginning of the spread of the Gospel among Negroes may well be dated as 1673.

In 1673 Mr. Baxter published his "Christian Directory", in which he devotes a chapter to "Directions To Those Who Have Negroes And Other Slaves". The first direction informs the masters that they are to remember that the slaves have immortal souls and are equally capable of salvation as they are, and that they have no power to do anything which shall hinder their salvation. The masters are also to remember that God is the slaves' absolute owner and that they have none but a derived and limited propriety in them.

The second direction informs the masters to remember that they are Christ's trustees, or the guardians of their souls, and that the greater their power over them, the
greater their charge of them and their duty for them. Thus it was their duty to bring them to the knowledge and the faith of Christ, and to the just obedience of God's commands.

The third direction informs the masters to so serve their necessities by their slaves as to prefer God's interest and their spiritual and everlasting happiness. They were to teach them the way to heaven and do for their souls what they were directed to do for all their other servants.

The seventh and last direction informed the masters that they should make it their chief purpose in buying and using slaves to win them to Christ and save their souls.

In 1680, the ministers of Connecticut asserted that they were giving great care to the instruction of the people in the Christian religion, catechising and preaching twice every Sabbath and sometimes on lecture days; and that the masters of families were taking great care in instructing their children and servants, which the law commanded of them.

1. THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

In 1701, "The Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel In Foreign Parts" was incorporated under William III. Thomas Lord, Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan
of all England, was appointed its first President. The primary purpose of the society was to supply religious privileges to the inhabitants of the North American Colonies, who were members of the Established Church of England; and secondly, to extend the Gospel to the Indians and Negroes.

The efforts of the society for the religious instruction of the Negroes were as follows: In June 1702, the Rev. Samuel Thomas was sent to South Carolina. He reported to the society that he had taken much pain in instructing the Negroes and had taught twenty to read. He died in October, 1706. He was succeeded by Dr. Le Jean, who instructed and baptized many Negroes and Indians who were slaves. Dr. Le Jean died in 1717 and was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Ludlam, who continued to instruct the Negroes. He taught and baptized several of them. In one year he baptized seven besides some Mulattoes.

The society established also a catechising school in New York City in 1704. 1,500 Negro and Indian slaves lived in this city. Work among Negro and Indian slaves was also carried on by the society in North Carolina, Pennsylvania and in the New England Colonies. The society's work continued in the colonies until 1783, when the colonies declared themselves separated from England.
In summing up the results of this society and its agencies, it has been stated by one authority that the larger number of Negroes in the colonies "lived and died strangers to Christianity". With comparatively few exceptions, "this authority continues, "the conversion of Negro slaves was not seriously undertaken".3

According to another author:

"The religious conditions of the colonies up to the period of the revolution, taken on the whole, was not one remarkable for its prosperity, notwithstanding there had been some revivals of religion...... The whole country was in a forming state...... While repeated wars with the French, Dutch, and the Spaniards threw different portions into protracted, distressing, and injurious commotions. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts were but in their infancy; and the general conduct of the mother country in regard to the government of the colonies and the policy to be pursued toward them was wretched".4

This being the state of conditions, we can not conceive of any remarkable degree of attention given to the religious instruction of the Negroes, within the colonies, as an independent class of population. While the results of this missionary work were not very great, it is of great importance to note the fact that Negroes were baptized by the Episcopalian missionaries and were given full membership in the church. It is said that under the ministration of missionaries and friends Negroes began to

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3 American Historical Review, Vol. 21, Page 504.
4 Jones, C. G., Religious Instruction of Negroes, Page 44.
Woodson, History of Negro Church.
attend church in such large numbers that they could not be accommodated and that in some congregations half of the attendants were Negroes.

According to the theology of the Church of England:
"The revelation which came to Jesus Christ was a revelation of the nature of God and of His plan for man's salvation".

The Holy Trinity: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there are three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost".5

The second person of the Trinity is Jesus Christ, who was begotten from God and one substance with Him, was born in the world as a baby of the Virgin Mary. He was two whole and perfect natures - the Divine and Human. He suffered, died and was buried to reconcile the Father to us and was sacrificed, not only for original sin, but also for actual sins of men.

The third person of the Trinity is the Holy Spirit, who acts as God's agent in the world, inspiring and guiding the hearts of men. The Holy Spirit remains in the church in a very special and wonderful way. Jesus promised that he will continue with the church forever, and will guide it into all truth. The Holy Spirit remains also in the individual members of Christ's church. It is through the Holy Spirit that aspirants are made members of Christ

in Holy Baptism.

Jesus Christ was sent into the world by God in order to save men from their sins, and give them the gift of everlasting life. In order to do this, Jesus did three things. First, He taught the way of life; second, He offered Himself on the Cross as a "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice" for the sins of the whole world. Third, He established the church to be the spiritual Mother of all who believe in order that through the Church they might receive all necessary guidance and grace.

The two sacraments of the Church are Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper. One enters the Church by baptism having been regenerated, and receives the gift of divine life. This new life is guarded and nourished with divine grace. In the Lord's Supper, the believers are fed with the Body and Blood of Christ.

In order that the Church may guide and teach the believers they must listen to her voice, and to receive God's aid in the Sacraments they must receive them with repentance and faith, and in all things attempt to do what God would have them do.

In so far as Anglican missions have a lasting impress upon the mind of the American Negro, we may expect to find traces of this theology in the Spirituals. Actually, this impress is very slight as compared with other and later influences.
2. THE WORK OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AMONG NEGROES

The Moravian or United Brethren Church, in 1738, under the leadership of Zinzendorf, formally endeavored to establish the mission exclusively to the Negroes. A brief statement of their efforts down to the year 1790, is given in the report of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Heathen", at Salem, N. C., October 5, 1837, by Rev. J. Renatus Schmidt, and is as follows:

"A hundred years have now elapsed since the Renewed Church of the Brethren first attempted to communicate the Gospel to the many thousand Negroes of our land. In 1737 Count Zinzendorf paid a visit to London and formed an acquaintance with General Oglethorpe and the Trustees of Georgia, with whom he conferred on the subject of the Mission to the Indians, which the Brethren had already established in that Colony. Some of these gentlemen were associated under the will of Dr. Bray, who left funds to be devoted to the conversion of the Negro slaves in South Carolina; and to solicit the Count to procure them some missionaries for this purpose. On his objecting that the Church of England might hesitate to recognize the ordination of the Brethren's missionaries, they referred the question to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Potter, whose opinion is "that the Brethren being members of the Episcopal Church, whose doctrines contained nothing repugnant to the Thirty-nine Articles, ought not to be denied free access to the heathen. This declaration not only removed all hesitancy from the minds of the trustees as to the present application, but opened the way for the labors of the Brethren among the slave population of the West Indies, a great and blessed work, which has, by the gracious help of God, gone on increasing even to the present day."

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With all hindrances to the launching of their work removed, the Brethren employed two missionaries who were sent to Georgia. These hoped to be joined to the Colony of Moravians, who had settled there. "But in 1740, Peter Boehler emigrated to Pennsylvania, with the whole Colony of which he was minister, because they were required to bear arms in the war against the Spaniards, which had recently broke out". 7

Around 1748 some Brethren belonging to Bethlehem, journeyed through Maryland, Virginia, and the borders of North Carolina, preaching the Gospel to the Negroes. Opposition developed on the part of some of the slave-owners, because they were not willing to permit strangers to instruct their slaves, as they had their own hired ministers to do this work. Because of the various oppositions, the labor of the Brethren had little effect.

According to Zinzendorf, Christ was the very heart of religion. Christ was Creator, and our relation to God the Father is as to the Father of Christ. Since the Holy Spirit causes new birth, the designation "mother" to him seemed appropriate. He also made much of the suffering of Christ, and brought Christian experience into relation with His wounds in a way that was at once fanciful and sentimental. Peculiarly was this the case with his wounded side. He pictured the churches drawn from the side of Christ as Eve from that of Adam. Zinzendorf

believed that in order for one to enter the Kingdom of God he must become as a little child. This theology has influenced Negro religion mainly through its influence upon Wesley and the Evangelical movement.

While it is true that no other Church in this period made efforts to establish missions exclusively for Negro slaves, there is evidence that the ministry and laymen had considerable interest in their instruction.

In 1747 the Colony of Georgia was permitted to have slaves. Twenty-three delegates met in Savannah, and after appointing Major Horton President, entered into sundry resolutions, the substance of which was "that the owners of slaves should educate the young and use every possible means to make religious impressions upon the minds of the aged, and that all acts of inhumanity should be punished by the civil authority".

B. THE GREAT AWAKENING

The religious movement which made the most indelible impression upon the people of America was the Great Awakening which began in 1734. This revival which was under the guidance of the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist Churches is regarded as the beginning of a more aggressive type of Christianity for America. The Episcopal Church made little impression upon the minds of the American peoples at this period, because of its lack of emotional fervor. Then too, this denomination was directly responsible to the Church of England for its colonial and religious

Until 1837, the Congregational and Presbyterian churches operated under a "Plan of Union", with similar theological teachings and common participation in revivalist campaigns. Since the Congregationalists had little influence in the South, we shall concentrate our attention upon Presbyterian missions to the Negroes.
conceptions. The officials of this church were unable to see the growing evangelism of America with its emphasis on the sinfulness and depravity of man, a state which called for man's thorough regeneration.\(^8\) To produce such a feeling the revivalistic methods were introduced.

In the midst of the Revivalistic period in America, the Revolutionary War began. This war had great effects upon the religious interests of the colonies. The part that Toussaint L'Ouverture had in the development of the United States, is rarely noticed. "Representing the age of revolution in America, he arose to leadership through a bloody terror, which contrived a Negro 'problem' for the Western Hemisphere, intensified and defined the anti-slavery movement, became one of the causes, and probably the prime one, which led Napoleon to sell Louisiana for a song; and finally, through the interworking of all these effects, rendered more certain the final prohibition of the slave-trade by the U.S., in 1807\(^9\).

This great rebellion, as well as many minor ones in the U.S., especially the Nat Turner Uprising in Virginia, caused many of the Southern states to enact strict laws upon the activities of Negro ministers and prohibiting Negro gatherings of all kinds. In 1800, South Carolina declared:

\(^8\) Meade., Old Churches, Vol. 7, Page 357.  
\(^9\) Dubois, W. E. B., Suppression of the Slave Trade, Page 70.
"It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free Negroes, Mulattoes, or Mestizos, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, etc., are hereby vested with power, etc., for the dispersing of such assemblies".10 Similar laws were enacted in Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Maryland, and South Carolina after the Nat Turner Uprising.

For the second time, the various denominations took an interest in the moral and religious conditions of the slaves. Their first interest was manifested in the early part of the 18th century after laws were enacted which stated that baptism did not release the slaves from their bondage. The result of this work was slight. The second period of denominational activities began about the time of the Revolutionary War and had great results.

Let us now give our attention to the Works of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations in these periods - 1734-1800; 1800-1860.

1. THE WORK OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AMONG NEGROES

With the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, a new element, destined to be of great economic and political significance, the Scotch-Irish, came from the Scottish settlements in Ulster. They were devotedly Presbyterian. They found a missionary and an organizer in Francis Makemi, who worked from 1691 onward, from New York to South Carolina. To his initiative the organization of the first American presbytery, that of Philadelphia, in 1705, was due. From 1713 to the beginning of the Revolutionary War many Scotch-Irish came to America. For some time they were in a period of religious destitution, because of the lack of ministers and organized churches. The Presbyterians under the influence of Gilbert Tennent, about 1728, began to take on new life.

The work of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia was carried on by the Rev. Samuel Davies and the Rev. John Todd in 1742. There were at this time approximately 300,000 people in Virginia, one-half of whom were Negroes. The Rev. Samuel Davies estimated that more than 1000 Negroes attended the services which he conducted at different places.

In 1757 he wrote Dr. Bellamy:
"What little success I have lately had has been chiefly among the extremes of gentlemen and Negroes. Indeed God has been remarkably working among the latter. I have baptized 150 adults; and at the last sacramental solemnity, I had the pleasure of seeing the table graced with about sixty black faces".11

In addition to the work done by Dr. Samuel Davies among the Negroes, certain efforts were made by Rev. Robert Henry, a native of Scotland. Under him many Negroes were converted. After his death the work among the people of Virginia was carried on by two prominent ministers - Dr. Archibald Alexander, and Dr. John Rice. In 1816 Dr. Rice was employed for a time as a special missionary to the Negroes. Dr. Rice founded a theological seminary in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in order that a ministry might be trained for effective service in a field comprised of both masters and servants. The same purpose was had by those who established and endowed the theological seminary in Columbia, South Carolina.

In 1807 Hanover Presbytery of Virginia sent a circular to the churches under their care, solemnly exhorting them not to neglect their duty to their servants. (Virginia Magazine, Vol. 3, Page 159).

In 1816 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was asked: "Ought baptism

on the promise of the master to be administered to the children of slaves?" The answer was as follows:

(1) "It is the duty of masters who are members of the church to present the children of parents in servitude to the ordinance of baptism, provided they are in a situation to train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, thus securing to them the rich advantages which the gospel promises. (2) It is the duty of Christian ministers to inculcate this doctrine and to baptize all children of this description when presented to them by their masters".12

At a meeting of representatives from the synods of North Carolina and Virginia in March 1834, the subject of the religious instruction of the Negroes was discussed and as a result a committee was appointed "to bring before the presbyteries the subject of ministers giving more religious instruction to the colored people; and to collect and publish information on the best modes of giving oral instruction to this class". The report of this committee was heard at the fall sessions in 1834, and a copy of it was sent to the synod of South Carolina and Georgia and read before that body in December 1834.

The work of the Presbyterian Church among Negroes extended to Mississippi under the guidance of Rev. T. Archibald, James Smylie and William C. Blair. The synod of Mississippi in 1839 appointed the Rev. James Smylie and Rev. John L. Montgomery to write or compile a catechism for the instruction of Negroes. The committee presented it

12 Minutes of the Assembly, 1816.
to the synod in October 1840.

In 1848 an enterprise was begun for the more thorough going evangelization of the Negroes in Charleston, S.C., under the leadership of Dr. J. B. Adger and the session of the Second Presbyterian Church. In 1854 it is estimated that one-third of the Presbyterians of that State were Negroes.

Summary:

We have noted that the religious condition of the Colonies before the Revolutionary War was very low, notwithstanding the fact that there had been several revivals of religion. Such being the case, we cannot expect the religious instruction of the Negroes to have been highly developed. This holds true for the work of all of the denominations.

The work of the Presbyterian Church after the Revolutionary War was retarded a little by the various insurrections in the United States. However we can sum up its work in this period as follows:

In the Southern States it was the practice of many of the ministers to preach separately to Negroes, once on Sunday or during the week. The Negroes also attended the regular Sunday services with their masters. In some parts of these States, the abolition movement checked, and in others retarded the religious instruction of the Negroes.
The theology of the Presbyterian Church is Calvinistic. Calvinism stands for strict moral discipline. The Calvinist believes discipline to be essential for the spiritual upbuilding of the Community. The most important feature of Calvinism lies in its ethical strictness.

According to Calvin, God was an Almighty Ruler, who predestined the lives and fortune of men; a King who demanded that man should fear Him. It was Calvin's aim to bring his own life and the lives of others into subjection to the will of God. He held that it was essential for a person to submit entirely to the will of God. Thus man should not disobey what he believed to be the will of God. The center of Calvin's theology was the fear of God, just as it was with the Hebrew prophets. Yet there was "joy in the Lord" in Calvinism, and "fear" was not craven terror, but reverent awe. The love of God had little or no place in his theology. Such references of love and mercy found in his theology had reference to the elect and not the non-elect.

Principle of Authority. -

Calvin believed in both natural and revealed knowledge. He held that enough comes to man by nature to leave him without excuse, but adequately knowledge is given only in the Scriptures which the witness of the Spirit in the heart of

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Man. -

Obedience to God's will is man's chief duty. In the beginning man was originally good and capable of obeying God's will, but he lost his goodness and power in Adam's fall, and is now of himself, absolutely incapable of goodness. Therefore, man is in a hopeless and helpless condition, and of himself can do nothing; and all men are in a state of ruin meriting nothing but damnation.

Christ. -

From this condition some men are unmeritedly saved through the work of Christ. By his death he paid the penalty due for those in whose behalf he died. This offer and its reception was a free act on God's part. All that Christ has done is without value unless it becomes a man's personal possession.

The Holy Ghost. -

The possession achieved by the Holy Spirit, who works when, how and where he will, making repentance; and faith is an indispensable union between the believer and Christ. This new life of faith is salvation, but it is salvation unto righteousness. By the believer doing works which are pleasing to God is the proof that he has entered into a necessary union with Christ. "We are justified not without, and yet not by works."
The example set before the Christian is the Law of God as revealed in the Bible, not as a test of his salvation, but as an expression of God's will which as an already saved man, he will strive to fulfil. Man is saved to character rather than by character. An essential element of the Christian life is prayer.

All good flows from God, man is unable to cause or resist his conversion. This is the reason some are saved and others are damned. This is both election and reprobation. According to Calvin, election was always an essence of Christian comfort. God has an individual plan for each man's salvation. The saved man must realize his unworthiness, not strive manfully against opposing forces. By doing God's will he becomes a fellow-laborer with Him.

The Christian life is maintained through the church, the sacraments, and civil government. The Church consists of "all the elect of God." The term was also used to designate all men who professed to worship one god and Christ. Yet there is no true church where lying and falsehood exist. The "call" of the church officers, pastors, teachers, elders and deacons is twofold, the secret inclination from God and the approbation of the people.

According to Calvin, the civil government had the divinely appointed power to foster the church, protecting it from these doctrines and punishing offenders for
whose crimes excommunication was insufficient.

Calvin recognized two sacraments - baptism and the Lord's Supper. He denied the physical presence of Christ in the Supper, while he held that the spiritual presence was received by faith. This theology must have been preached to the Negroes by many of the most effective missionaries of the Presbyterian Church; yet it has left much less of a mark upon the Spirituals than the modified Calvinism (Armenianism) of the Methodists.

2. THE WORK OF THE METHODIST CHURCH AMONG NEGROES

Methodism was brought to America by Phillip Embury, who began work in New York in 1766, and Robert Strawbridge, who was in Maryland about the same time. One of the first missionaries that Wesley sent out was Fillmore. In a letter to Wesley written in 1770, he says, "The number of blacks that attend the preaching affects me much." From 1773 to 1776, there was a great religious revival in Virginia, which extended into North Carolina. It was conducted by the Methodists in connection with Jarratt of the Episcopal Church. One letter states: "The chapel was full of white and black." Another: "Hundreds of Negroes were among them with tears streaming down their faces." 

At the eighth conference in Baltimore in 1780, the following question was placed in the minutes: "Question 25 - Ought not the assistant to meet the colored people himself and appoint as helpers in his absence, proper white persons, and not suffer them to stay late and meet by themselves?

Mr. Garretson in Maryland, "Hundreds both white and black, expressed their love for Jesus." In 1793 it is estimated that there were 28,000 Negro Baptists in the colonies, while about the same time the number of Negro Methodists is given as 27,215.

Between 1800 and 1830 the work of all churches among the Negroes was very meagre. This was due to the various laws which were passed limiting the activities of Negro ministers and prohibiting Negro gatherings.

In 1797 the Methodists reported a colored membership of 12,215, nearly one-fourth of the whole number. These were chiefly in Southern States, and composed largely of Negroes. The Methodist ministry of America gave their attention at an early period to the spreading of the Gospel among the Negroes. They labored faithfully, yet un成功fully to cause the release of the Negroes from their civil bondage. They were amply rewarded for their evangelical work to raise them from their moral degradation, by seeing many of them become Christians.

The Methodist Church built houses of worship for them in some of the Northern cities, and placed them under the pastoral charge of a white minister, who was generally assisted by such Negro local preachers as may have been up among them. In the Southern States, where

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the legal regulations in regard to the Negroes were more severe, some portion of the white churches was set apart for them.

In 1800, the Negro constituents of the Methodist church numbered 13,452. In this same year, the Bishops were given the power to ordain Negro ministers, in places where there were houses of worship for their use, who might be chosen by a majority of the male members of the society to which they belonged and could secure a recommendation from the preacher in charge and the other ministers of the district, to the office of local deacons. Richard Allen of Philadelphia was the first Negro to receive these orders.

In 1816 the Methodists reported a Negro membership of 42,304, which was a decrease of 833 over against the number of 1815. This loss was due to the fact that in the city of Philadelphia more than 1,000 withdrew from the church and set up for themselves a church, with Richard Allen, a Negro local preacher, as their head.

In 1818 the Negro membership of the Methodist church decreased by 4,261. This was due to the Allenite secessions. In 1819 the Negro membership increased only 24. The smallness of the increase was due to the secession of Negroes in New York City, amounting to 14 local preachers and 929 private members. In 1821 the Methodist Episcopal church reported 42,059 Negro members in the U.S.
The number of Negro members in the M.E. Church in 1825 numbered 49,537; 1826 - 51,334; in 1827 - 53,565; in 1828 - 58,856; in 1830 - 62,814.

In 1832 Dr. W. Capers prepared a short catechism for the use of the Negro members on trial of the Methodist church in South Carolina. In 1836 the bishops of the Methodist church reported 82,661 Negro members. Up to the division of the church in 1844, there were approximately a membership of 100,000 Negroes in the church. In 1859 there were 215,000 Negro Methodists in the South. In 1860, sixteen years after the division, the Methodist Episcopal Church South had 207,776 Negro members, with 180,000 Negro children under regular catechetical instruction.

Summary:

The Methodists from their very start in America gave attention to the religious instruction of the Negroes. We have shown this in the above discussion. They ranked second to the Baptists in the number of Negro members. The Negroes were brought into the church under the same church rules and regulation as the whites. They had class leaders and class meetings and exhorters; and cases for discipline were carefully reported and acted upon as the discipline required. The number of Negro members was reported at their conferences, as well as efforts in their behalf, and where it was necessary traveling ministers
were directed to pay attention to them. The missionary societies of this church also showed tremendous interests in their religious edification. This continued even after the church divided over the slave issue.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The primary object of the Methodist church was to convert souls, that is, the bringing about of the change of heart in those who were in a natural condition. This change was a reformation from certain habits so that the converted person became a new man. Or the change of heart may be a change in man's relation to God, a change from a religion of the head or superstition to a religion of the heart; from an intellectual form of religion to an experimental religion. This change consisted in a change from the attitude of a servant to the attitude of a child of God. This religion was one of trust and love in God.

Wesley’s theology was based upon the foundation of evangelical doctrinal tradition and he regarded his society as part of the Church of England. Two conflicts led to much controversy. One was regarding perfection and the other predestination.

Let us give a resumé of the many elements in Methodism which have enhanced Theology; and the ways in which it has aided to make the church evangelical and evangelistic.

When John Wesley began his religious career, Christendom was controlled by two powerful religious forces: a powerful theology with its doctrine of salvation by election, and a powerful church system with its doctrines of salvation through the sacraments of the church. The distinctive theology of the Methodist Church may be summarized under six heads:

1. Principle of Authority.

According to Wesley the Bible was the chief principle of authority. It constituted the most solid and precious system of divine truth. Wesley was not a worshiper of the Bible as a book. It was no charm to him nor did he regard it with the awe of superstition; but as a source containing the supreme divine revelation which should be loved and studied with filial reverence, and with eagerness to understand and obey its commands.

2. God and His Attributes.

Calvinism placed the emphasis upon God's sovereignty and justice as shown in predestination and necessity, and in unconditional election and reprobation. Methodism placed the emphasis upon God's fatherhood and love which teaches divine foreknowledge and human free agency in the place of predestination and necessity. Salvation by grace is conditioned on repentance and faith. God is the Ultimate Reality who manifests omnipotence, goodness, power and intelligence.
Man and His Probation. -

Calvinism's doctrine concerning man made free agency impossible and moral depravity total, this was because the race had stood probation in Adam. Adam's sin was transmitted to all men, and from its awful results there was no escape, except for those who were in eternity divinely elected to salvation. Methodism taught that man is a moral free agent endowed with the ability of grace, although the human race was completely corrupted because of Adam's sin and the results of which were far-reaching and distinctive. Yet his guilt was not imputed to his descendants, but grace is as original as sin, and under grace every man stands his own probation.

Christ and His Atonement for Sin. -

Calvinism emphasized that Christ's sufferings and death were a punishment for sin which had for their purpose to satisfy the justice and wrath of God in behalf of the elect for whom alone He died, and for whom salvation was absolutely secured by his sacrificial death. Methodism emphasized the atonement as an expression of the love of God the Father and the Son for all mankind, which had as its purpose to make salvation available for every sinner and to secure the salvation of all who in existing as free agents would repent and believe.
Calvinism held that regeneration is the result of the unconditional and irresistible work of the Holy Spirit upon the Elect, or of the sacramental waters upon the passive receiver. Methodism taught that regeneration by the Holy Spirit, like justification, is conditioned on repentance and faith and is offered to all freely. Calvinism taught that in no case can a regenerate soul forfeit its salvation. Methodism taught that every regenerate soul could fall into sin and thereby forfeit its salvation.

Calvinism taught that all men - the Elect and the regenerated souls - must sin daily in word, thought, and deed, while Methodism taught that it is the privilege and duty of every regenerate believer to lead a sinless life of perfect love.

Calvinism taught that only a privileged few, "the Elect of the Elect" can enjoy the witness of the Spirit in the assurance of salvation while Methodism maintained that it is the privilege of all believers to enjoy the assurance of their salvation through the witness of the Spirit all through their Christian life.
The Church and Its Work. -

The theological doctrine of the Anglican Church made little or no effort to carry the gospel to the heathens and a large part of the church made salvation entirely dependent upon the sacraments. The Anglican church and the Presbyterian church were reluctant to recognize those who differed with them in doctrine and polity. Methodism taught that the church was evangelical, insisting on faith in Christ as the only necessary essential to personal salvation. The Methodist church was evangelistic and sought genuine and generous Christian fellowship with other Christians.

The Futurity. -

According to Calvinism, the future of every soul in the world was to be determined by his election and non-election before he was born, maintaining that the salvation of the Elect was intended to glorify the love of God; and the damnation of the non-elect was designed to be for the praise and glory of his justice. Methodist held that the destiny of every man is determined entirely by his own free conduct and character in this life, and that whatever misery takes place in the future life, is not for the purpose of glorifying the justice of God, but in the divine purpose meant to hinder free agents from sin, and there-
fore finds its explanation in that infinite wisdom and
love that is ever working to obtain the smallest possible
amount of sin and misery and the greatest of holiness and
happiness both in this world and in the future world. The
Methodist Church made God more lovable, man more respons-
able, the atonement more available, the way of salvation
more intelligible, the church more evangelical, eternal
death less incomprehensible, and eternal life more attain-
able.

3. THE BAPTISTS' WORK AMONG NEGROES

In 1636, Roger Williams was banished from Massachu-
setts because he was an opponent of coercion in religious
matters. In the same year he found the Providence, rt
Rhode Island, which became a refuge for those seeking
freedom of religious expression. Here the first Baptist
church was organized in 1639, of which Williams was for
a short time a member, spending the latter part of his
life as a "seeker". In spite of many internal diffi-
culties from an intense individualism, the broad princi-
ples of religious toleration on which Rhode Island was
founded were well and honorably maintained. The origin
of the American Baptists had no connection with the Eng-
lish Baptists, rather they date from the founding of
Providence, R. I. The growth of the church was very slow.
Nearly one hundred years after the settlement "only seventeen Baptist churches had arisen in it". But with the beginning and development of the Great Awakening in 1734, the whole religious situation in America was greatly changed. The Baptists gained greater benefits from that change than any other denomination. The Baptists took every little interest in this movement from the start. It was not until 1740 that the Baptists became interested. The development of the Baptists in the middle and Southern States was very slow, but by 1790 it had established churches in all of them.

The Baptist church upon reaching the South began to appeal to the Negroes. There are two things aside from their discernment of its superior merits that attracted them. First, the manner in which it administered baptism appealed to their desire and love of the spectacular; and its democratic form of government pleased their sense of individual importance. Many of the members of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches left to join this denomination.

From the Revolutionary War onward, the Baptist church as well as the Methodist church, was very active in carrying on work among the Negroes, and in 1795, there were 17,644 Negro Baptists in the States South of Maryland. The first distinctively Negro churches belong to this denomination. They are the Harrison Baptist Church of Petersburg, Virginia, and a church in Williamsburg, Virginia. The organization of both go back to 1776. Another Baptist
Church of 69 members was organized in Silver Bluff in 1773. Special interest is connected with the First Bryan Baptist Church of Savannah, Georgia, which was founded in January 1788. The pastor was Andrew Bryan, a slave of Jonathan Bryan. He and many of his members were taken before the magistrates from time to time, and some were whipped and others imprisoned. Bryan himself was twice imprisoned and once publicly whipped, but he declared he would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ, and after a while he was allowed to continue his work. By 1791 his church had two hundred members, but over a hundred more had been received though they had not won their masters’ permission to be baptized.

It is estimated that by 1823 there were 40,000 Negroes in the Baptist church. Although the Baptists were not organized as the Presbyterians and the Methodists for the purpose of converting the Negroes, their associations and conventions often laid stress and acted upon this matter. There were more Negro adherents and more churches, exclusively of Negroes, with their own regular meeting houses, and with ordained Negro ministers, connected with this denomination than to any other denomination in America.

It is difficult to discover primary sources concerning the efforts this denomination made for the religious instruction of the Negroes. We are certain that there must have been houses of public worship erected for them alone in many of the Southern towns.
THE THEOLOGY OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The most important Baptist group among the Negroes is the Primitive Baptist, whose theology is Calvinistic.

Principle of Authority. -

The Bible is divine revelation given of God to men, and is a complete and infallible guide and standard authority in all matters of religion and morals. The New Testament is the constitution of Christianity. It is the revelation of life and immortality. Its messages are: a gospel of peace on earth and of hope. Every man has the right to interpret the Scripture and the right to hold such religious beliefs as he holds the Bible teaches.

God and His Attributes. -

There is one and only one living and true God, who is an infinite, intelligent Spirit, the Maker and Supreme Ruler of Heaven and Earth. He is glorious in holiness and worthy of all possible honor, confidence and love. In the unity of the Godhead there are three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Each is equal in every divine perfection and has distinct but harmonious duties to perform in the work of redemption.

Man and His Predestination. -

Man was created in holiness, under the law of God; but because he was a human free agent he fell from that state of holiness and happiness. As a result of this, all mankind are now sinners, not by constraint but choice; being by nature utterly void of that holiness required

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Sweet, W.W., Religion on the American Frontier, Page 60 f.
by God's law. Thus He is positively inclined to evil, and therefore under just condemnation to eternal damnation, without defense or excuse. According to the Scripture election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which he graciously regenerates, sanctifies and saves sinners. Being in perfect accord with the idea of the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end. Being infinitely free, wise and unchangeable, it is a glorious indication of God's sovereign goodness. It promotes love, humility, prayer, praise, trust in God, and an active imitation of his free mercy. It is the foundation of Christian assurance.

Christ and His Atonement.

Salvation is wholly through grace. Though Christ is the Mediator, He assumed the nature of man, yet He is without sin. He honored God's law by being obedient to it, and by his death made a full atonement for our sins. Since He arose from the dead, He is now enthroned in heaven. He is a compassionate and all-sufficient Saviour.

The Holy Spirit and His Work in Salvation.

Regeneration, or new birth, is that change wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit. By it a new nature and a spiritual life are given to the individual and He thus becomes a new creation in Christ. The will is subdued, the dominion of sin is broken. Man changes from the love of sin and self to a love of holiness and God. The change is
wrought by the power of God in a manner not explainable to reason. The evidence of it is found in a changed disposition of mind, the fruits of righteousness, and a newness of life. Without it salvation is impossible. Regeneration by the Holy Spirit is like justification conditioned on repentance and faith and freely offered to all.

Adoption is a gracious act, by which God, for Christ's sake, accepts believers to the estate and condition of children by a new and spiritual birth, whereby they become members of the family of God and become joint-heirs with Jesus, to the heritage of the saints on earth, and the Kingdom of God.

By sanctification, we are partakers of God's holiness. This is begun in regeneration and is carried on in the hearts of believers by the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, the Healer and Comforter.

The Church and Its Mission.

The visible church of Christ is a body of baptized believers, who are associated by the covenant in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel; observing the ordinance of Christ; governed by his laws; and exercising the gifts, rights and privileges invested in them by the Gospel. Its officers and bishops or pastors, and deacons, whose qualifications and duties are defined in the Epistle to Timothy and Titus.
The Future.

The end of the world is approaching and on the Last Day, Christ will come down from heaven to earth and raise the dead from the grave for final retribution. Then a solemn separation will take place; the wicked will be cast into endless sorrow, and the righteous to endless joy. This judgment will fix forever the final state of men in heaven or hell, on the principles of righteousness.

Sacraments.

The Baptists have two Sacraments: baptism and the Lord’s Supper. They hold that Christian baptism is the immersion in water of a believer in Christ; in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. This shows his faith in the crucified, buried, and risen Saviour, with its results in one’s death to sin and resurrection to a new life. It is a prerequisite to the privileges of a church relation, and to the Lord’s Supper.

The Lord’s Supper is a commemoration of the suffering and death of Jesus. It shows the believers faith and participation in the merits of his sacrifice, and their hope of eternal life through his resurrection from the dead. The person should faithfully examine himself before observing it.
THE DISTINCTIVE MESSAGE OF THE BAPTISTS

In spite of the fact that there are many groups among the Baptists of America, they maintain the view that the New Testament is their sole authority; in spite of the fact that all of these groups claim and exercise unhampered freedom in interpreting the Scripture; and in spite of the fact that they are so widely separated over America and have widely varying degrees of education, and have no ecclesiastical dignitary or council over them, practically all hold the following cardinal principles:

Absolute lordship in the faith and life and labors of Christians belongs to Jesus Christ and to him alone. The Bible and the Bible alone is the sole rule and guide of faith and life and labor in Christ. A direct and personal approach to God is the inalienable right of every soul.

Salvation is altogether by grace through faith and the direct operation of the Spirit of God.

The rights and privileges of baptism and the Supper belong to regenerate believers only.

Christians differ in gifts, in powers, and in places of service, but an equal in rank and privilege and the hope of eternal reward.

Christ only is the King and Lord of all, and every man is brother, and only a brother, to every other man.

The Holy Spirit and He alone is the vicegerent of Christ on earth and the God-appointed teacher and ruler of Christians.

The Church is a body of baptized (not ransomed) believers, recognizing Christ only as Lord and Lawgiver, and voluntarily associating themselves together in brotherly love and in cooperative service and striving continually to know and to carry out the will of God.
The ordinances of baptism and the Supper are symbolic and not saving ordinances; they are Church ordinances and not Christian ordinances, being set within the Churches, not without them; and they are to be observed by the Churches until Christ comes again.

The gospel of Christ made effective in men's hearts by the Holy Spirit is the only means of bringing the world to God.

The whole gospel belongs to the whole world and the chief obligation of every Christian is to carry this gospel to every creature.

Churches being independent and self-governing bodies are under the laws of Christ, may send out and support missionaries separately or in cooperation with other Churches, as they may choose.

Complete religious liberty is the inalienable right of every human soul; and the functions of Church and State must be kept separate in order to properly safeguard this inalienable right.\textsuperscript{15a}

\textsuperscript{15a} Phelan, \textit{Op. Cit.}, Page 50f.
The Episcopal Church inherited the work begun by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It also inherited its hindrances which were brought about by the Revolutionary War. This War brought the Episcopal Church to the edge of dissolution. When the War was over, it had lost practically all of its ministers and all of its State support and for many years was almost entirely disorganized.

Under these hard conditions they gathered themselves together when the after-math of the War had passed. They were a feeble people, few in number, deprived of State aid, and under continuous suspicion both in religion and politics. They had neither piety nor patriotism, because they had held themselves aloof both from the Great Awakening and from the Revolutionary War.

When better days appeared, they began to show renewed interest in the religious instruction of the Negroes. Bishops Meade of Virginia, Ives of North Carolina, and Bowen of South Carolina, did much in persuading the masters to discharge faithfully their duties to the slaves. Many of the ministers gave much of their time to the instruction of the Negroes connected with their congregation. There were many Negroes in this church in South Carolina. Bishop DeBrou of South Carolina did much in instructing the Negroes and thus by his example influenced and encouraged the slave owners.
to have interest in the salvation of their slaves. Several Episcopal missionaries were employed to work among the Negroes of South Carolina.

The theology of the American Episcopal Church was identical with that of the Church of England. For that reason we will not discuss it here.

5. THE WORK OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AMONG NEGROES

Although the Congregational Church had no Southern membership during the days of slavery, it held that the Christian masters should share the blessings of the Gospel with the Negro Slaves. Both John Elliot and Cotton Mather complained about the neglect of religious instruction of the Negroes of New England. Before the Civil War several Congregational conventions held that they would not send missionary money to any State which had slaves.

Since the Congregational Church did not have a membership in the Southern States, we shall not discuss its theological doctrines.

6. RISE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF PLANTERS

Nearly all of the Southern States had associations of planters whose chief duties were to afford religious instruction to the Negroes by their own efforts and by missionaries employed for this purpose. These associations were largely undenominational since they included
members of all the evangelical churches. The purpose of these associations was twofold, namely to win the heathens to Christianity, and a means of social control.

As we have noted, many of the slave states passed laws around 1830 prohibiting the teaching of Negroes to read and write and against their preaching or holding meetings without the presence of reliable white people. About this time the plantation mission began as a fixed institution among the Southern churches. Many plantation-owners employed their own ministers. This work had great results religiously as well as socially.

7. THE RELIGIOUS DUTIES OF THE NEGROES

We have been discussing the religious instruction of the Negro as administered to him by the whites. Under such conditions his position remained a passive one. But, as the time went on, it became necessary for him to assume an active position in matters of worship and moral responsibility. As a result, they became assistants to the white preachers. In some places they were allowed to preach and exhort, while in others they were freely called on or volunteered to pray and sing.

With the increased work of the white ministers, leaders and watchmen were appointed from among the Negroes for the purpose of assisting. These leaders were instructed by their superior officers and had to make regular reports to them.
The Episcopal and Presbyterian churches were slow in permitting Negroes to officiate in worship. Then too, the form of service of the Episcopal church would not have tolerated any such assistance. In the freer type of church - the Methodist and Baptist - they were subjected to the same regulations as the whites. In many instances they were exhorters and class leaders and acted on cases of discipline.

The watchmen were permitted to conduct evening prayers among the slaves, assist believers by warnings, reproofs, and exhortation, heal breaches, report cases of discipline, see that everybody attended worship, visit the sick, bury the dead, and perform marriage ceremonies.16

The persons who were in charge of this work were often illiterate. However, the work proved to be a great asset to their people and their masters.

C. DIVISION OF THE CHURCHES OVER-SLavery

The conditions of the slaves in the South caused great controversies in all of the denominations. The antipathy to slavery gave rise to the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America in 1843. Membership in this denomination was on the basis of non-slave-owning. In 1844 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met and immediately controversy arose over a Bishop owning slaves. Northern and Southern sentiment was hopelessly divided. The Conference adopted a report allowing the division of the church, as a result the Methodist Episcopal Church South was formed in 1845.

16 Jones, C. C., Suggestions of Religious Instruction, Page 49.
About the same time a similar division occurred between the Baptists of the North and South. The Alabama State Convention decided in 1844, that the Foreign Missionary Board make no difference in appointing slave-holders. The Board, seeing that this would involve its approval of slavery, took no action, as a result a division occurred in the church and the Southern Baptist Convention.

The division of the Presbyterian church did not occur until 1861, after the outbreak of the Civil War.

The Protestant Episcopal church divided only during the Civil War and was reunited at its close.

Summary of the Religious Education of the Negro From 1619-1861

As already indicated above, the religious instruction of the Negroes prior to the Revolutionary War was very meagre. The religious conditions of the colonies taken on the whole, was not very highly advanced, not taking into account that there had been several revivals of religions. The New England colonies were much further advanced in religion than were the other colonies. By being recently settled, the entire country was in a state of formation, and at the same time they were repeatedly warring with the Indians, French, Dutch, and Spaniards. Agriculture, commerce, manufacturing and the arts were but in their infancy. Such being the
existing conditions during this period, we can not assume that a remarkable amount of attention was given for the religious instruction of the Negroes as a separate part of the population. Those who had advocated the introduction of slavery as a means of Christianizing the Negroes, saw their favorite argument losing its weight.

However, some colonies made efforts to instruct them. Many were received into the churches. Many of the Negroes of this period were taught to read and books were occasionally given to them; but on the whole, privileges of education were gradually discouraged and withheld, especially in the Southern colonies and States.

About the time the States were recovering from the results of the Revolutionary War, and were in the midst of the formation and framing the constitution, England declared war against France. This war, with its influences, and what was worse, the unfaithfulness and agnosticism which France introduced in America, had serious consequences upon the interests that people manifested in religion. But regardless of these handicaps, religion in the first part of the 19th century, found itself exerted in a great revival, which affected the entire country. During this period many organizations were formed to propagate the Christian Gospel, both at home and in foreign parts.
This revivalistic spirit had great results among the denominations and the people in general. It brought the South's attention the necessity of spreading the Gospel to the Negroes. Many preachers began to devote more time to their spiritual edification. Several endeavors were made in the South to teach the Negroes to read and write, so that they could enable themselves to read the word of God. This work was not carried on very long because the slave-owners thought that the slaves would receive too much knowledge which would prove detrimental to them. This type of religion had a great affect upon the religion of the Negroes.

During this period houses of public worship were constructed exclusively for the use of the Negroes in many of the chief centers. They were under the supervision of white ministers, who were often assisted by Negro watchmen or helpers. In many of the white churches, space was allowed for the accomodation of the Negroes. Many planters formed associations for the purpose of spreading the Gospel among the Negroes. We might conclude that in this period, 1790-1820, the religious and physical conditions of the Negroes were greatly improved. There was a steady increase of Negro Christians in this period. As the original stock of African died out, many of their superstitious, ignorant, and paganistic ideas of Africa passed away with them. The Neg-
roes who were born in this country and came under Christian influences became more capable of receiving Christian religious instruction than those who were originally from Africa. Being peculiarly attached to the plantation, those of the household were forced to attend church. Those Negroes who had no religion of their own grew up in the belief of their owners. For the most part, the majority of the Negroes received little or no religious instruction.

Beginning with 1820 many of the denominations took special action to see that the Negroes receive some religious instruction. The result of such action proved to be very beneficial. The denominations which participated in this were the Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church. This period was also marked by a period of the revival of religion which affected all of the Southern States. It began in 1829 and lasted until 1835.

This revival came silently, extensively and powerfully. It made indelible impressions upon the slave-owners, ministers, members of the church and all of the denominations. Some associations for the religious instruction of the Negroes were formed among the planters.

Such was the state of affairs when the free States began to present petitions to Congress to abolish slavery. The effect of this caused the South to turn its attention from the religious to the civil conditions of the Negroes;
and from the salvation of their souls to the defense and preservation of political rights. The results was, that in many parts of the South religious instruction of the Negro was prohibited. The South began to look upon the North with great hostility.

The religious instructions of the Negroes did not carry with it any idea of their emancipation; but it was looked upon as a means of control and teaching morality. The Christian importance of giving religious instruction to the Negroes was that it was an obligation imposed upon the masters by the providence of God. Being brought here as slaves from Africa, it fell the duty of the masters to be their superiors and guardians. They were placed under the master's control, not exclusively for their benefits, but for the slaves' benefit also. The slave-holders further maintained that it was their duty to propagate the Gospel.

The slaves were taught that, "this world is a sorrowful place; not one of us ever saw the man yet that had no sorrow, that had no sickness, no hard, painful work". Furthermore, "this is a world of misery and a world of toil". Notwithstanding these difficulties, the Negroes were taught to be humble, holy, prayerful and patient. "Vexation, disappointment, and sorrow come upon everybody".17

Slavery had good and evil results. Although the Southern churches did not attempt to seek the emancipation of the Negroes, they did afford them with the theology, organization

17 Dickson., Plantation Sermons, Page 129 f.
and worship of the white churches which they took over bodily and made their own. So that when emancipation arrived, the independent Negro church became a powerful social and religious institution among them.
CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGY\(^1\) OF THE NEGROES' RELIGION\(^2\)

The Negroes who were transplanted to America brought with them practically all their African customs, superstitions, primitive music, and religion. But as we have previously stated, the grosser customs, the ignorance and paganism of the Africans of this country died out with the death of the original stock. We may ask, what caused this change to take place?

The explanation is partly found in the way in which the Negroes were procured in Africa, and partly in the way in which they were separated and disposed of after they reached this country.

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1 Theology - That branch of religious science which endeavors to make a study of God for the purpose of securing a knowledge not only of his being and nature, but also of his relation to the world and to man, of man's relation to him, and of the relation of men to one another as dependent upon their relation to him. It therefore embraces the whole of human life and experience as viewed in relation to God.

2 Religion - An act of faith which involves a disposition of the whole life of man. It implies a belief in a power or powers outside mankind on which man is dependent. It also implies, on its intellectual side, an interpretation of life as a whole, both as regards to knowledge and conduct. As the true interpretation of life is that which represents man as dependent upon God, it implies a system of human conduct derived from this attitude of dependence, and as its intellectual basis a theology or science of God, his nature, his relation to the world, and the relation of man to him.
They came from all parts of Africa and since they had no common language and no common tradition, they soon lost their conceptions of Africa. Furthermore, there was little opportunity for a Negro to meet one of his own tribesmen, because the plantation owners found it easier to deal with them if they were separated. Then too, they were indoctrinated with Christian principles at the precise and psychological moment.

James Welden Johnson writes:

"At the psychic moment there was at hand the precise religion for the condition in which he found himself thrust. Far from his native land and customs, despised by those among whom he lived, experiencing the pang of separation of loved ones on the auction block, knowing the hard task-master, feeling the lash, the Negro seized Christianity, the religion of compensations in the life to come for the ills suffered in the present existence, the religion which implied the hope that in the next world there would be a reversal of conditions, of rich man and poor man, of proud and meek, of master and slave. The result was a body of songs voicing all the cardinal virtues of Christianity - patience, forebearance, love, faith, and hope. The Negro took complete refuge in Christianity, and the spirituals were literally forged of sorrow in the heat of religious fervor. They exhibited, moreover, a reversion to the simple principles of primitive communal Christianity."

If Mr. Johnson's definition of Christianity is pressed too far, it makes Christianity an "opiate". His conception of primitive Christianity and the Negroes' idea of it is only partly true. We have noted in the previous chapter that the Negroes' religion was a direct outgrowth of the white man's religion. The Negroes added to it the naive and

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spontaneous utterances of hope and aspiration, which he
failed to find an adequate means of expression in the
religion which was taught him.

The Negro Spirituals possess more religious and the-
ological views than one would ordinarily suspect. Not be-
ing allowed to present their thoughts and sentiments in
public addresses until the latter part of their servitude,
the Negroes found that they could well express them in their
songs through Christian tenets. These songs were born out
of suffering and sorrow. The Negroes sang continually while
in bondage. They combined with their thoughts of suffering,
hope, sorrow, trouble, and freedom, certain prevailing theo-
logical conceptions. They were forever attempting to avoid
the devil and flee to God. By studying their songs, one
can easily formulate their theological ideas. Although they
are not logically and clearly presented, this does not weak-
en a belief in their existence. In no better way can a
knowledge of the Negroes' theology be secured than by a care-
ful study of the Spirituals.

I. VIEW OF THE BIBLE

The Negroes have but little to say of the Bible as a
book. They spoke of it as "Holy Bible, Book Divine"\(^4\), and
said that every word in it was true: "Now take your Bible
and read it through, and every word you find is true"\(^5\).

\(^4\) National Jubilee Melodies, Page 118.
\(^5\) Fenner, T. P., Cabin and Plantation Songs, Page 74.
They found in it the center of their religion and the basic guide to their conduct:

"For in the Bible you will see Jesus died for you and me Matthew, Mark, Luke and John
Tell me where my master's gone." 6

"Go read the fifth of Matthew
And read the Chapter through
It is the guide to Christians
And tells them what to do." 7

Although the Negroes made but few references to the Bible as a book, they did make many allusions to well-known narrative portions of the Scripture. They sang of sisters "Mary", "Martha"; brothers "Moses", "Daniel", "Doubting Thomas", "Peter", "Elizabeth", "Jacob", "Joseph", "Little David", "Abraham", "Adam", "Jobah", "Gabriel", "The Hebrew Children", and "Noah, and Christ". 8

We may conclude that the Negroes looked upon the Bible as being divinely inspired and a perfect storehouse of religious and ethical instructions. Its chief purpose was to save sinners and to guide Christians. The Negroes were not concerned with any of the textual errors of the Bible. It was their sole creed and ethical code, and their sole authority.

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7 Work, F. J., Folk Songs of the American Negro, Pgs. 3, 4, 5, 7, 12.
8 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Pgs. 4, 10, 24, 26, 30, 40, 44, 56, 77.
10 Dett, R. N., Religious Folk-Songs of the Negro, Pgs. 25, 55, 159.
11 Allan, W. F., Slave Songs, Pgs. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 14, 23, 54, 85, 94.
12 Kennedy, R. E., Mellows, Pages 7, 47, 53, 71, 82, 135, 158.
13 Kennedy, R. E., More Mellows, Pages 90, 127.
II. GOD AND THE WORLD

The Negroes had a vividly concrete conception of God as well as a spiritual conception of his presence, which is shown in their sermons, exhortations, related experiences, prayers and spirituals. They believed in God as a Personal Creative Deity. This is so well expressed in James Welden Johnson's poem which is entitled: "The Creation", that it deserves to be quoted here as a whole:

THE CREATION

"And God stepped out on space
And He looked around and said:
I'm lonely -
I'll make me a world.

And far as the eye of God could see
Darkness covered everything,
Blacker than a hundred midnights
Down in a cypress swamp.

Then God smiled
And the light broke
And the darkness rolled up on one side,
And the light stood shining on the other,
And God said: That's good!

Then God reached out and took the light in his hands,
And God rolled the light around in his hands
Until he made the sun,
And he set that sun a-blazing in the heavens,
And the light that was left from making the sun
God gathered it up in a shining ball
And flung it against the darkness

Spangling the night with moon and stars.
Then down between
The darkness and the light
He hurled the world;
And God said: That's good!

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Then God Himself stepped down
And the sun was on his right hand,
And the moon was on his left.
The stars were clustered about his head,
And the earth was under his feet.
And God walked, and where he trod
His footsteps hollowed the valley out
And bulged the mountains up.

Then he stopped and looked and saw
That the earth was hot and barren
So God stepped out over to the edge of the world
And he spat out the seven seas -
He baited his eyes, and the lightning flashed -
He clapped his hands, and the thunders rolled -
And the waters above the earth came down,
The cool waters came down.

Then the green grass sprouted
And the little red flowers blossomed,
The pine tree pointed his finger to the sky,
And the oak spread out his arms;
The lakes cuddled down in the hollows of the ground,
And the rivers ran down to the sea;
And God smiled again,
And the rainbow appeared,
And curled itself around his shoulders.

Then God raised his arm and he waved his hand
Over the sea and over the land,
And he said: Bring forth! Bring forth!
And quicker than God could drop his hand,
Fishes and fowls
And beasts and birds
Swam the rivers and the seas
Roamed the forests and the woods
And split the air with their wings.
And God said: That's good!

Then God walked around,
And God looked around
On all that he had made.
He looked at his sun
And he looked at his moon,
And he looked at his little stars;
He looked on his world
With all its living things
And God said: I'm lonely still.
Then God sat down -
 On the side of a hill where he could think;
 By a deep, wide river he sat down,
 With his head in his hands
 God thought and thought
 Till he thought: I'll make me a man!

 Up from the bed of the river
 God scooped the clay;
 And by the bank of the river
 He kneeled him down;
 And there the Great God Almighty
 Who lit the sun and fixed it in the sky,
 Who flung the stars to the most far corner of the night,
 Who rounded the earth in the middle of his hand;
 This Great God,
 Like a mother bending over her baby,
 Kneeled down in the dust,
 Toiling over the lump of clay
 Till he shaped it in his own image.
 Then into it he blew the breath of life,
 And man became a living soul.
 Amen. Amen."

This poem, or sermon, embodies a similar theology to that theology found in the spirituals. Although this poem portrays the anthropomorphic conception of God, it is a genuine spiritual conception.

The God of the Spirituals is at once the God of Majesty; and the God of Mercy.

God is the God of Majesty:

He is Sovereign: "He is King of Kings; He is Lord of Lords; No man works like Him."10

He is Omniscient: "Oh he sees all you do, He hears all you say."11

He is Omnipresent: "My God is so high you can't get over him; He is so low you can't get under him; He is so wide you

9 Johnson, J. W., God's Trombone, Page 17 f.
11 Ibid., Page 150.
can't get around Him, you must come in and by and through the lamb." 12

He has revealed Himself in the phenomena of nature:

"Green trees are bending
Tombstones are bursting
Poor sinner stands a-trembling.
My Lord calls me
He calls me by the lightning
He calls me by the thunder." 13

or

"Upon the mountain, my Lord spoke,
Out of his mouth came fire and smoke." 14

He is a God of stern justice:

"As Israel stood by the water side,
At the command of God it did divide
Pharaoh and his host were lost.
Tell ole Pharoah to let my people go,
If not I'll smite their first born dead.
No more shall they in bondage toil
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil." 15

God of the spirituals is not only a God of majesty, but likewise a God of Mercy. He is Father and Comforter. He solaced the Negroes throughout their sufferings and tribulations here. The Negroes believed that man had to do his part in order that God would be accessible to him:

"The Father he looked upon the Son and smiled,
The Son he looked on me,
The Father redeemed my soul from hell,
The Son he set me free." 16

14 Dett, R. N., Ibid., Page 159.
God supplied them with the spiritual necessities of life:

"When I am hungry do feed me Lord,
Do Lord remember me.
When I am thirsty do give me drink
Do Lord remember me."17

And He manifested Himself in the hearts of men:

"The Trumpet Sounds Within my Soul".18 "Every time I
Feel the Spirit Moving in my Heart, I will Pray".19
Not only did God manifest Himself to men, but they were
able to have direct communication with Him:

"Gwine to Chatter with De Fodder".20 "My Fodder Call
an' I mus' Go".21 "Oh my Good Lord, Keep Me from Sinking
Down".22 "My Lord says There's Plenty Room Enough."23
"I'm Gonna Tell God about My Trials."24 "When I Talk, I
Talk With My God."25 "I Got a Key to the Kingdom and the
World Can't Do Me no Harm".26 "My Good Lord has Been Here."27.

They believed that God gave his Son as an atoning sacri-
fice for man's sins:

"Jesus died for Every Man, But He ain't Coming to Die
No More",28 and, "All My Sins Done Been Taken Away".29
Summary of the Negroes' Idea of God

God is often pictured in the Spirituals as a transcendent immanent moral being. As a moral being his characteristics do not differ from ours, except that they exceed ours. He exhibits not only his majesty, but also his mercy, love, compassion and goodness with certain natural attributes such as power, foresight, and omniscience. The Negroes maintained that one should come into close communion with God, and should place one's sole trust in him, and that he in return would preserve one from all evil. God is accessible to the Negroes through prayer and deep meditation. God is a creditor to whom we are indebted for the atoning sacrifice of his Son. God is forever pursuing man; yet at the same time the Christian is pursuing him through humility and prayer. God is also a God of special favors, he is above all the creative and universal God.

III. MAN, SIN, AND THE DEVIL

The Negroes believed that man was created according to the Biblical account found in Gen. 1:27 and 2:7 - "And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; and the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul". They maintained that:

"God made man and man was sure, There was no sin and his heart was pure. God made Adam and Adam was first God made Adam out of the dust of the earth."30

"God made man and He made him out of clay."31

A similar but more imaginative picture of the Negroes' idea of man's creation is found in Johnson's poem, "The Creation,"32 which we have quoted above.

Since man was the product of a creative act of God, he was created in holiness under God's supreme law: "There was no sin and his heart was pure,"33 But by his own volition he fell into a state of sin and unhappiness: "I know a man that was here before Christ, his name was Adam and Eve was his Wife. I'll tell you how this man lived a rugged life, just by taking this woman's advice;"34 "Old Satan tempted Eve and Eve she tempted Adam, and that's why the sinner has to pray so hard to have his sins forgiven."35

Listen to the old time Negro preacher as Johnson tells it in his poem entitled:

NOAH BUILT THE ARK

In the cool of the day
God was walking
Around in the Garden of Eden
And except for the beasts eating in the fields,
And except for the birds flying through the trees

32 Johnson, J.W., God's Trombone, Pages 19-20.
34 Kennedy, R.E., Mellow, Page 82.
The Garden looked like it was a desert
And God called out and said: Adam,
Adam, where art thou?
And Adam, with Eve behind his back,
Came out from where he was hiding.

And God said: Adam
What hast thou done?
Thou hast eaten of the tree!
With his head hung down,
Blamed it on the woman.
For after God made the first man Adam
He breathed a sleep upon him;
Then he took out of Adam one of his ribs,
And out of that rib made woman.
And God put the man and woman together
In the beautiful Garden of Eden
With nothing to do the whole day long
But play around in the garden.
And God called Adam before him
And he said to him:
Listen now, Adam,
Of all the fruit in the garden you can eat,
Except of the tree of knowledge;
For the day thou eatest of that tree,
Thou shalt surely die.

Then pretty soon along came Satan.
Old Satan came like a snake in the grass
To try out his tricks on the woman.
I imagine I can see old Satan now
A-siding up to the woman.
I imagine the first word Satan said was:
Eve, you're surely good looking.
I imagine he brought her a present too,-
And, if there was such a thing in those ancient days,
He brought her a looking-glass.

And Eve and Satan got friendly -
Then Eve got to walking on shaky ground:
Don't ever get friendly with Satan. -
And they started to talk about the garden,
And Satan said: Tell me, how do you like
The fruit on the nice, tall, blooming tree
Standing in the middle of the garden?
And Eve said:
That's the forbidden fruit
Which if we eat we die.
And Eve looked at the forbidden fruit,  
And it was red and ripe and juicy.  
And Eve took a taste, and she offered it to Adam  
And Adam wasn't able to refuse;  
So he took a bite and they both sat down  
And ate the forbidden fruit.  
Back there six thousand years ago,  
Man first fell by woman -  
Lord, and he's doing the same today.  

And that's how sin got into this world.  
And man, as he multiplied on the earth,  
Increased in wickedness and sin.  
He went on down from sin to sin,  
From wickedness to wickedness,  
Murder and lust and violence,  
All kinds of fornications;  
Till the earth was corrupt and rotten with flesh,  
An abomination in God's sight.  

The Negroes believed in the doctrine of original sin  
and held that it was passed on to Adam's descendants. Finally as a result of Adam's sin, God pronounced a curse on Cain, and subjected him and his people to slavery. Then too, they were taught that Noah, in order to punish his son Ham for his assault, subjected him to slavery and sent him off to a far country. Many Southerners maintained and taught the Negroes that they were descendants from Ham and were still guilty of his crime, and that as a result their servitude was ordained and sanctioned by the Bible. This teaching was partly accepted by the Negroes.

36 Johnson, J. W., God's Trombone, Page 31 f.
Thus when the Southerners were questioned concerning their attitudes toward the Negroes, they were apt to reply that God made the Negroes inferior to the white man, and therefore all attitudes of racial equality and human treatments of the Negroes were looked upon as nonsense and impurity, because the white man believed that any sanction of racial equality violated the decrees of providence. The religious sanction of slavery became especially powerful in the Negroes' religious outlook.

We conclude that the idea of original sin had an important role to play in the religious life of the plantation in general; and a specific role in the religion of the Negroes. The Negroes not only accepted the view of original sin as taught them, but they had a strong belief in certain social and ethical sins. The "Sinner-man" is the theme for many of their spirituals. Directed at him are warnings and admonitions. He is told what he must do and when; how he must do and why. The social and ethical sins that the Negroes spoke against were gambling, dancing, stealing, drinking, cursing and scandalizing:

"As I went down in the valley to pray
I met Old Satan on the way,
And what do you think he said to me,
'You're too young to pray, and too young to die". 37

37m Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 64.
The general belief in a power of sin was almost uniformly personalized in the conception of the Devil. We hear very little of original sin in its abstract form, but we do hear much about "Old Satan". They believed that he was a debased schemer disguised in the form of man. He was cunning and deceitful:

"Old Satan's like a snake in the grass, Always in some Christian's path." 38

"Old Satan is a busy old man, he rolls stones in my way; 39
What makes Old Satan follow me so? Satan he ain't nothing at all for to do with me," 40 Old Satan's a liar and a conjurer too." 41

The Negroes believed that "Old Satan" was always in their path seeking to hinder them from worshiping God:

"As I went down de hill side to make a-one prayer
An' when I got dere Old Satan was dere
An' what do you t'ink he said to Me?
'Off from here you better be,
And what for to do, I did not know
But I fell on my knees and cried, Oh Lord." 42

He was the direct opposite of God but a weaker power:

"The Devil tries to throw down everything that is good, He would fix a way to confuse the righteous if he could, Thanks be to God Almighty, he can't be beguiled" 43 "Old Satan will be done fighting after while." 44

He was an arch enemy against whom man was always fighting. It was a personal battle, but he was usually outwitted or disappointed:

40 Ibid., Page 10.
41 Dett, R. N., Religious Songs of the Negro, Page 141.
43 Ibid., Page 15.
"Old Satan told me to my face,
'I'll get you when you leave this place';
Oh brother, dat scare me to my heart,
I was afraid to walk a-when it was dark.

I started home, but I did pray
And I met Old Satan on the way;
Old Satan made one grab at me,
But he missed my soul, and I went free." 45

The Negroes knew that before the Kingdom of God could come, it would be necessary for "Old Satan" to be overcome. They sang:

"We'll build our tent on this camp ground
And pull Old Satan's Kingdom down
My Lord says He's coming by and by." 46

From these picturesque and imaginative ideas, we may sum up the Negroes' conception of Satan. He was a positive, strong ever-present personality, debased, evil, deceitful and cunning. He was a very real and terrible personage. He represented all that was bad; while God represented all that was good. He was the consistent evil and the notorious enemy of man. Either God or Satan entered man's heart and his actions showed the one he worshiped. However, in this constant warfare with Satan, and in the midst of the darkest hours of their bondage, the Negroes always had a note of optimism. The Negroes received this from their close communion with God. They looked forward to the time when the warfare with Satan would be completed. It took "the grace of God in your heart" to overcome Satan. The Negroes maintained that when they had this grace, Satan could not penetrate their hearts.

46 National Jubilee Melodies, Page 34.
IV. THE SAVIOR

The Negroes had very little to say of the birth of Jesus. However, from what few spirituals we have on this subject, we may assume that they believed in the Virgin Birth narratives. They sang:

"Read in the Gospel of Matthew,
The Gospel of Luke and John, Read in the Gospels and learn the news
How the little child was born.

Read about Mary and Joseph Come riding on a donkey from afar Slept in a stable of Bethlehem
What the shepherds all seem to say 'O Mary, where is your baby'?

'They have taken him from the manger And carried Him to the throne."47

or

"Virgin Mary had one Son."48

The Negroes were not so much interested in the doctrinal significance of Jesus' birth, as they were in the fact that God condescended and came down as a little baby to dwell among us. This idea carries with it a deep sense of God's humility which is a predominant note in the Negroes' theology.

HIS PERSON

The Negroes used several names when they spoke of Jesus. They believed that he was the "Son of God" who came into the world to express God's love and to redeem man from his many sins.

47 Kennedy, R. E., Mellows, Page 73.
"Ever see such a man as God?  
He gave up his son to come and die  
Just to save my soul from a burning fire.  

They also called Him "King Emmanuel".

"Oh, who do you call King Emmanuel;  
I call my Jesus King Emmanuel  
Oh the King Emmanuel is a mighty Emmanuel.  
I call my Jesus King Emmanuel."

or Lord:

"My soul’s been anchored in the Lord."  
"From your bounty, fill me Lord,  
Now I’m trusting in Thee Lord  
For to lead me all the way."

"My Lord done just what he said  
Healed the sick and raised the dead."  
"I will trust in the Lord."  
"My good Lord has been here."  

as Messiah:

"Tell how he came from nation to nation  
Tell how he caused his Great Creation  
Like a mother he led them by the hand  
While he gave them wisdom to understand.

Chorus:

Jesus has triumph  
Come shout and sing,  
Jehovah has triumph  
 Messiah is King."

as King:

"King Jesus is listening;  
To hear some sinner pray."  
"King Jesus he was so strong, my Lord,  
Till he jarred down the walls of hell."  
"King Jesus setting in the Kingdom,"  
"King Jesus on the mountain top."  
"Jesus, ride on, conquering King."  
"King Jesus brought the light to me."

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Kennedy, R. E., More Mellows, Page 37.  
National Jubilee Melodies, Page 84.  
" " " " 87  
" " " " 99  
National Jubilee Melodies, Page 79.  
as "Master and Friend":

"Master Jesus is my friend,
He rolls the stone out of my way." 61

"Going to see my Master Jesus". 62

as Man:

"O Jesus is a mighty man.
Ride in King Jesus,
Who sets poor sinners free." 63

as Son of Man:

"Christ said, 'Man, if you want to be wise,
You'd better repent and be baptized,
Believe on me, the Son of Man
Then you will be born again.'" 64

or

"The Son of Man has no where to lay his weary head." 65

as Bridegroom:

"There were ten virgins, when the Bridegroom came." 66

as The Lily of the Valley:

"He's the Lily of the Valley, Oh! My Lord." 67

as A Balm in Gilead:

"There is a Balm in Gilead
To make the wounded whole,
There is a Balm in Gilead
To heal the sin-sick soul." 68

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64 Ibid., Page 353.
65 Ibid., Page 291.
66 Ibid., Page 353.
67 Cabin and Plantation Songs, Page 90.
"Jesus Christ, He died for me".69

as Jesus, The Friend:

"Knocks like Jesus,
Jesus will come by-and-by."70
"Little Talk with Jesus makes it right."71
"If you love Jesus".72

As Man of Sorrows:

"Man of sorrows, sinner, see,
Died for you, died for me."73

as Lamb:

"O redeemed, redeemed,
I'm washed in the blood of the Lamb."74

as Light:

"We are walking in the Light."75

as Rock:

"We are building on a Rock,
Christ Jesus is the Rock;
Help me build on the Rock."76
"I've got a home in that Rock;
Poor old Lazarus has a home in that Rock."77
"Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I."78

as Savior:

"I want to feel my Savior near
When my soul and body's parting."79

"With my burden and my Savior".

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70 Ibid., Page 29.
71 Ibid., Page 30.
72 Ibid., Page 34.
73 Ibid., Page 25.
74 Ibid., Page 16.
75 Plantation and Jubilee Songs., Page 116.
79 Barton, W. S., Old Plantation Hymns, Page 12.
Summary of the Person of Christ. -

The humanity of Christ: The reality of the Negroes' belief in Christ's humanity was expressed in the phrase "Son of Man", "Jesus was a Mighty Man", and "Man of Sorrows". He also possessed the necessary elements of human nature: "Jesus ain't coming here to die no more. The Son of Man has no where to lay his head";80 "The Jews killed poor Jesus".81 "Jesus died for every man".82 The Negroes expressed their idea concerning Christ's humanity when they sang of his crucifixion:

"Were you there when they crucified my Lord?  
Were you there when they nailed him to the tree?  
Oh, sometimes it causes me to tremble, tremble, tremble."83

or

"They pierced him in the side;  
And the blood came trickling down;  
He bowed his head and died  
And he never said a mumbling word."84

The expressions alluded to abundantly prove that the Negroes believed in the reality and integrity of Christ's humanity. But to them he was also divine. They ascribed to Him supernatural power: He raised Lazarus from the dead; he gave health unto the sick; he gave sight to the blind; he caused the cripple to walk;"85 What kind of shoes are those you wear that

80 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 291.  
82 Dett, R. N., Ibid., Page 103.  
you can ride upon the air?"  

Further proof of his divinity was proved by his resurrection and ascension:

"An angel came from heaven  
And rolled the stone away,  
He arose, He arose  
He arose from the dead,  
And the Lord shall bear my spirit home."  

"The cold grave could not hold him  
Nor death's cold iron band."  

"He arose and went to heaven in a cloud."  

Their belief in his divinity was shown in their conception of his supreme kingship. They called him their King:

"O reign, O reign, O reign, my Savior,  
Reign, Massa Jesus, reign.  
O Reign salvation in -a my soul  
Reign, massa Jesus, reign."  

Likewise the atoning significance of his death was proof of his divinity:

"O redeemed, redeemed,  
I'm washed in the blood of the Lamb".  

or

"O yes that was a mighty day  
When Jesus Christ the redemption paid.  
He hung and bled on the shameful tree.  
He died to make the whole world free."

87 National Jubilee Melodies, Page 54.  
89 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 30.  
91 National Baptist Melodies, Page 124.  
We may say that the Negroes believed in the divinity of Jesus because of his supernatural miraculous power; his resurrection, his kingship and his atoning sacrifice.

To them Jesus was a great Consoler and comforter. In the time of their deepest suffering they went to him:

"Run to Jesus, shun the danger,
I don't expect to stay much longer here.
He will be our dearest friend,
And help us to the end."

They put their entire trust and faith in him, they sang:

"Oh when I come to die
Oh when I come to die
Give me Jesus.
You can have all this world,
Give me Jesus."

"Keep a-inching along
Keep a-inching along like a poor inch worm,
Master Jesus coming by-and-by."

We might conclude by saying that he was Lord, Prophet, Priest, King and Redeemer to the Negroes. Around his person and his works, their entire theology was centered.

V. THE WORK OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

There is no doubt in the Negroes’ mind concerning the existence, and the work of the Holy Spirit. Although the Negroes did not have a formulated doctrine of the Trinity, we do find adequate material in their spirituals from which we may construct one. They believed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. However they did not attempt to find out the relationship between the three. Whereas, they were not Christologists, they did believe that the Holy Spirit came from the Godhead.

The Negroes maintained that one had to have the witness of the Holy Spirit in his breast before he could become a Christian. This new birth or regeneration was a change which was absolutely necessary to their salvation. It was a change of heart, and furthermore, a change in the moral relations of the sinner’s soul. This change which was wrought through God was an instantaneous one. It brought the sinners into a close union with Christ. Conversion meant that they had turned their backs toward hell and began to journey toward heaven.

This act of Holiness was an indispensable condition of securing God’s favor and of preparing the sinners for
the associations of the best in the Christian life. Since man by nature was in a state of depravity, he was in direct opposition to God's holiness, therefore, a radical internal change was a requisite in every person's life. There had to be a reversal of man's inmost dispositions and principles of action if he were to enter the Kingdom of God.

None of the Negroes' meetings were complete unless there had been an outpouring of the Spirit, which manifested itself in the "shout" which was an indispensable part of the Negroes' worship. It was through this act and God's work that the Negroes expected to destroy the Kingdom of Satan. Although this act of theirs might have been looked upon by some as mere play or relaxation from a difficult task, or a means of driving away a hostile spirit by creating among the members the feeling of being possessed with the power of God, it was a genuine and real religious experience.

Often through this ceremony the Negroes were aided to forget the cares of this world and dwell in a closer communion with the Supreme Reality. It aided them when they were "troubled in mind" and it kept them from "sinking down".

They believed that, "When Jesus was preaching at Pentecost, He was endowed with the Holy Ghost. They believed that the Holy Ghost was a "heavenly breeze", and
that it was received by praying to God. When the Negroes were discouraged and thought that their work was futile, it was the "Holy Ghost" which revived their soul again. When their services had reached their climaxes, they would sing:

"Oh I feel the Spirit moving
Don't you get weary
There's a great campmeeting in the promised land.

Summary.

The Negroes had a definite belief in the Holy Spirit. They maintained the belief that it came from heaven, and that it was received in answer to prayer, at conversion, and worked in the human heart.

VI. THE IDEAS OF ANGELS

The angels had a special role to play in the Negroes' theological doctrine. As God's messengers they represented everything that was beautiful and lovely. It was the angels who officiated at conversion:

"I went to the hillside, I went to pray;
I know the angels done changed my name,
Done changed my name for the coming day;
I know the angels done changed my name.

It was the angels who were waiting to give the Negroes a crown when they reached heaven:

"Come on sister, and don't be shame
Angels waiting for to write your name.
Come on sister with your ups and downs
Angels waiting for to give you a crown."

It was they who rejoiced in heaven when a sinner was converted:
"Hear the angels singing
For the angels are calling me away
Hear the angels singing
And I must go, I can not stay".

It was the angels who were waiting to receive the soul of the deceased: "My sister took a flight and gone home, and the angels is waiting at the door;" "I want to go to heaven when I die, the angels waiting for to give me a crown".

It was the angel Gabriel who was to blow the trumpet at the Judgment Day:

"The Lord spoke to Gabriel:
Go look behind the altar,
Take down the silver trumpet
Blow your trumpet, Gabriel,
Lord, how loud shall I blow it?
Blow it right calm and easy,
Do not alarm my people,
Tell them to come to judgment;
Gabriel, blow your trumpet.
Lord, how loud shall I blow it?
Loud as seven peals of thunder
Wake the living nations."96

It was the angels who rolled the stone away from Jesus' tomb: "The angels came from heaven and rolled the stone away, the angels say he is not here, he's gone to Galilee".

The angels were mere manifestations of God's providential and redemptive activity. They were his agents and ministers. They carried out his will and communicated strength, light and courage to his adherents.

96 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 68.
VII. IDEAS OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The Negroes' conception of the Christian life was an ideal one. They believed that a life at its best should be one of dependence, trust, service and communion. It was a life peculiarly associated with God. They sang: "I'm born of God, I know I am. My soul is anchored in the Lord." It was a life of deepest communion with God through prayer. In their most miserable moments the Negroes would steal away and pray to God for courage and strength. They felt that they could not live without prayer: "Trials and troubles on the way; but we must watch as well as pray; Jesus will come by-and-by; or, "A little talk with Jesus makes it alright".

The Negroes believed in a higher ethical life than some authorities would have us believe. Frequently, authorities have given attention to one side of the question of the Negroes' morality. Often the women would suffer punishment before submitting to the desires of their overlords. Many times the Negroes were punished when a lie could have prevented such. As we have stated before, the Negroes looked upon the Bible as their ethical code and Christian guide.
The Christian life was also one of activity. They carried it with them to the fields, the auction blocks, "praise meetings" and wherever they went. The Negroes sang:

"We want no cowards in our band,
That will their colors fly
We call for valiant-hearted men
Who are not afraid to die."

What do you say, seekers,
Abut that Gospel war?"

The Christian life consisted of growth and perfection. This is well expressed in the spiritual, "Inching Along":

First Verse: "It was inch by inch that I sought the Lord
Jesus will come by-and-by,
It was inch by inch that he saved my soul
Jesus will come by-and-by.

Second Verse: "We'll inch and inch and inch along
Jesus will come by-and-by,
And inch by inch till we get home
Jesus will come by-and-by.

Third Verse: "Oh trials and troubles on the way
Jesus will come by-and-by,
But we must watch as well as pray
Jesus will come by-and-by.

Chorus: Keep a-inching along, keep a-inching along,
Jesus will come by-and-by,
Keep a-inching along like a poor inch worm,
Jesus will come by-and-by."

This song expresses the exalted endurance and forbearance which the Negroes possessed during the hectic days of slavery. Also, it expresses a certain degree of hope and aspiration.
The Negroes looked upon the end of the Christian life as being a state of joy and happiness. This world to them was one of woes, pains, and sorrows. They were forever looking for the time when they could reach the other world which was just the opposite of this one. They felt that the adversities of this life assured them of happiness and peace in the next:

"Children, you'll be called on
To march the field of battle,
When this warfare'll be ended.
I'm a soldier of jubilee
I'm a soldier of the cross".

or

"No more auction block for me;
No more pecks of corn for me;
No more drivers lash for me;
No more pints of salt for me;
No more mistress calls for me;
No more, no more,
Many thousand gone."

The culmination of the Christian life was a state of holiness. The Negroes did not think that perfection was to be had in this life. This state of perfection existed in heaven alone. It was the duty of every Christian to strive for that perfection which could not possibly be secured in this world. They were forever seeking to become like Jesus in their heart:

"Lord, I want to be a Christian in my heart;
Lord, I want to be more loving in my heart;
Lord, I want to be more holy in my heart;
Lord, I want to be like Jesus in my heart." 97

Thus we may conclude that the Negroes believed that the Christian life was a life of gradual development, of

activity, or morality, of faith and trust, and the ultimate culmination was blessedness and holiness.

VIII. THINGS TO COME

The Negroes held that Christian perfection could not be attained in this life, but in the world to come. Certain events, as death, Christ's second coming, the resurrection of the body and the general judgment, had to happen before God's Kingdom could come in its completeness. There was to be an intermediate and an ultimate state, both for the righteous and for the wicked, as stages in the future condition of men.

The Negroes did not believe that man reached the end of his existence in this world. His development is imperfect here, and God would not leave his work incomplete. In the next life the righteous man's powers, satisfaction, and aspirations would reach their highest perfection. The wicked man forfeited all claim to this future. Thus, the Negroes put forth great effort to reach heaven and avoid hell. The avoidance of hell was an outstanding feature in the Negroes theology. In this doctrine may be traced the element of other worldliness and their songs.

The Negroes often sang with great hope:

"Going to see my mother some of these mornings,
See my mother some of these mornings,
See my mother some of these mornings,
Look away in the heaven,
Look away in the heaven, Lord,
Hope I'll join the band.
Look away in the heaven, Lord,
Hope I'll join the band."98

98 Fenner, R. E., Hampton and Its Students, Page 190.
The Negroes continuously expressed his sorrow and his desire for the release or removal of his burdens. They sang:

"Now I'm troubled in mind!
I'm so troubled in mind!
I ask good Lord to show me the way,
To ease my trouble in mind." 99

"I'm in trouble, Lord,
I'm in trouble,
I'm troubled about my grave,
Troubled about my grave,
Troubled about my grave.

Sometimes I weep, sometimes I mourn,
I'm in trouble about my grave,
Sometimes I can't do neither one,
I'm in trouble about my grave." 100

"Nobody knows the trouble I've seen,
Nobody knows but Jesus,
Nobody knows the trouble I've seen,
Glory hallelujah!
Sometimes I'm up, sometimes I'm down,
Oh yes, Lord,
Sometimes I'm almost to the ground,
Oh yes, Lord!
What makes old Satan hate me so,
Oh yes, Lord!
Because he cast me once but he let me go,
Oh yes, Lord." 101

"My lovely brother howdy-do,
Everyday'll be Sunday by-and-by
And does your love continue true
Every day'll be Sunday by-and-by". 102

Not all of the Negro songs express dissatisfaction with this world, there are some that indicate their perception of joy which arises from a sense of victory over this world of woes by faith in another world of happiness:

101 Krehbiel, H. E., Afro-American Folk-songs, Page 75.
102 Canadian Colored Concert Company, Page 49.
"I started home but I did not pray
And I met Old Satan on the way;
Old Satan made one grab at me,
But he missed my soul and I went free
My sins went a- lumbering down to hell;
And my soul went leaping up Zion's hills". 103

"Stay in the field, stay in the field,
Stay in the field until the war is ended."

"My eyes are turned to the gate
Until this war is ended.
I'll keep on my way, or I'll be too late
Until the war is ended". 104

"My sister, have you got your sword and shield?
Marching up the heavenly road,
I got them before I left the field
Marching up the heavenly road.

Marching up the heavenly road,
Marching up the heavenly road,
I'm bound to fight until I die;
Marching up the heavenly road". 105

Often when the Negroes were in a state of passing from
this life they would mournfully muse:

"Lord have mercy
Lord have mercy
Lord have mercy
Save me now.

Lord I'm sinking
Lord I'm sinking
Lord I'm sinking
Save me now." 106

"Oh, my mother's in the road
Most done travelling
My mother's in the road
Most done travelling
My mother's in the road
Most done travelling,
I'm bound to carry my soul to the Lord."

104 Ibid., Page 15.
107 Ibid., Page 88.
Although the Negroes gazed upon this world as a world of hell, still they were willing to remain patient and wait upon death, after which they would see the other world. To the Negroes heaven was a place of splendor, comfort and beauty, located somewhere beyond the sight of the visible eye. Its streets were paved with gold, its seas were of glass, upon which the angels and the souls of the departed danced and sang praises to God. In heaven Sabbath had no end. Here the poor would be rich and free to sing, shout, walk and fly all over God's heaven. Here the departed would reunite. There would be no more sorrowing of parting, but instead rest from toil and care:

"My heavenly home is bright and fair,
No pain nor death can enter there;
Its glittering towers the sun out-shine
That heavenly mansion shall be mine."108

"I hope my mother will be there
In that beautiful world on high.
Oh, I will be there, Oh, I will be there.
With the palms of victory
Crows of glory you will wear
In that beautiful world on high."109

"Oh when I get to heaven going to sit and tell
Three archangels going to ring those bells."110

The Negroes had definite attitudes concerning his heavenly life:

"A golden band all around my waist,
And the palms of victory in my hand,
And the golden slippers on my feet,
Going to walk up and down those golden streets.

Oh, wait till I put on my robe
And a golden crown placed on my head
And my long white robe dazzling down,
Now wait till I get on my Gospel shoes
Going to walk about the heaven and carry the news
Oh, wait till I put on my robe.\textsuperscript{111}

"I've got a robe, you've got a robe
All of God's children got a robe,
When I get to heaven going to put on my robe
Going to shout all over God's heaven.\textsuperscript{112}

The Negroes had a definite belief in the physical resurrection of the body. They held that as Christ had risen all mankind would rise. A trumpet would blow "to wake up the dead.\textsuperscript{113}

They sang:

"You may bury me in the East,
You may bury me in the West;
But I'll hear the trumpet sound
In that morning.\textsuperscript{114}

In that great day the resurrection of the bodies from their graves they would dress in golden shoes, long white robes, starry crowns. On that day the Lord would speak to the angel Gabriel and tell him to blow his trumpet, then the poor sinners would rise from their graves and the world would be consumed by fire. The righteous would rise and march home toward heaven, and would be met by Jesus and his holy angels, who would escort them to heaven to live forever with God:

\textsuperscript{113} National Jubilee Melodies, Page 68.
"Then you'll see poor sinners rising; 
Then you'll see the world on fire; 
See the moon a-bleeding, 
See the stars falling, 
See the elements melting, 
See the forked lightning, 
Hear the rumbling thunder; 
Earth shall reel and totter.

Then you'll see the Christians rising; 
Then you'll see the righteous marching, 
See them marching home to heaven, 
Then you'll see Jesus coming 
With all his holy angels, 
Take the righteous home to heaven, 
There they'll live with God forever". 115

They believed in a final judgment, for which all were asked to get ready:

Judgment, Judgment, 
Judgment Day is a-rolling around 
Judgment, Judgment, 
Oh how I long to go." 116

Judgment resulted in everlasting punishment of the wicked, and everlasting happiness for the righteous. The song of the "Ten Virgins" expressed the different results of the judgment for the "wise", and the "foolish". They believed that at judgment the sinners would be punished:

"My Lord what a morning
When the stars began to fall,
You'll hear the sinners mourn,
To wake the nations underground
When the stars begin to fall." 117

or

Don't you hear those sinners a-screaming
While the moon drips away into blood." 118

And that the righteous would receive their just reward:

"And the ransomed of the Lord are returning home to God. 
Oh blessed be the name of the Lord." 119

112 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 68.
117 Ibid., Page 157.
118 Ibid., Page 162.
119 Ibid., Page 162.
Angels are to be waiting at the door to carry the faithful to the land of eternal happiness, where they shall dwell forever with God.

We have endeavored to show that in the spirituals of the Negroes are expressed the most important theological conceptions of orthodox Christianity. We have shown in a previous chapter that the Negroes, during the days of slavery, attended the same religious services that their masters did. We have also observed that the Negroes were not granted permission to make public addresses, and as an outlet for their religious emotions and ideas they expressed their thoughts in songs. Throughout the spirituals we do not find the Negroes expressing a note of revenge. The Negroes never did ask God to cause his wrath to come down upon their oppressors. They placed their sole trust in God to whom belonged vengeance. They believed that God as the judge of the universe would reward the righteous and punish the wicked at the Day of Judgment.

When historians, sociologists, educators and Christian leaders have cleared their visions of intense prejudice against the Negro race, they will give to the public an unbiased history of the wonderful Christian views this oppressed and suppressed group possessed.
After the Negroes were released from their bondage, they brought with them into freedom the same theological conceptions which they had received plus the rhythmic expression which was largely African. Most of these conceptions are still prevalent in the religion of the Negroes of the rural South and the backward communities of our larger cities, both in the North and in the South.
CHAPTER V

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NEGROES' RELIGION

1. INTRODUCTION:

The first attempt to use the resources of scientific psychology in the investigation of religion was made close to the beginning of the twentieth century.¹ This does not mean that no attempts had been made to apply the psychological method to religion; this only marks a departure when systematic, empirical methods were used to analyze religious conversion and place it within the realm of the natural sciences. Likewise, there arose a great interest in the problem of mysticism. As a result of these interests, authorities began to make inquiries concerning the earliest forms of religion. Also authorities made attempts to explain the essence of religion and its connection with human development. The organization of the results of the entire field has been undertaken.

The rise of the modern psychological direction of religion received its impetus from Schleiermacher (1768-1834). His theory concerning religion was that it is neither belief nor action, but feeling. Specifically, the sense of dependence upon God. In order to search

¹ Starbuck, E. D., The Psychology of Religion.
for the nature of religion we must examine the soul itself or else we will not understand religion.

Interest in the psychological approach to religion was also caused by philosophical concern as well as religious concern. Lucretius maintained that the very foundation of religion is fear: "it is fear that first made the gods." Hume makes a distinction between questions that involve the rationality of religion and those that involve its "origin in human nature". Other philosophers have advanced certain theories about the relation of religion to human nature. Hegel looked upon religion as a particular development in the process whereby God comes to self-consciousness in man. Feierbach differed with him. He held that the gods are only projections of man's desires, so that in religion, man is God-conscious of what he himself is.

The field of the history of religion has used several psychological ideas in facing its problems of doctrines and institutions. However, neither theology, philosophy, nor the history of religion has been successful in explaining the psychology of religion in line with present conception of psychology. A scientific psychological approach to religion utilizes the results of philosophy, theology, and the history of religion. It involves

2 James, W., *The Varieties of Religious Experience*
The Psychology of Mysticism
Pratt, J. E., *The Religious Consciousness*
certain scientific methods for securing data and assimilating them within the general field of human knowledge.

The present development of a psychology of religion is due to several conditions. Psychology has divorced itself from other sciences and has become an independent and a separate science. In 1875 Wundt founded the first psychological laboratory. Since that time many other scientific authorities in the psychological field have become interested in the other branches of the science.

Then too, anthropological research has unearthed much material that has a definite relationship to the field of religion. Furthermore, the historical study of the Bible has brought much to the field of religion from the point of view of higher criticism. Finally, the dogmatic view of the Protestants toward religion and science has been on the decline.

To understand religion one must have appreciation, feeling and some actual experience in it rather than remain a mere outsider looking in upon it. A psychology of religion is possible, only when there are some religious appreciations for it. Many religious leaders maintain that there are some religious experiences beyond the field of psychology. Certainly so, if the latter is limited to sense percepts. However, at present it is impossible to observe a separation between religious and
other mental processes. The alleged separateness depends in every case upon a supernaturalistic assumption.

Some of the questions that a psychology of religion attempts to answer are those concerned with conversion, mysticism, self-contradictory complexities, and the nature and growth of religion in the individual and in the race. Many authorities have approached this field of study with different interests. Starbuck first made a psychological study of conversion; James, Leuba and Pratt of mysticism; Stratton of self-contradictory complexities; while King, Durkheim and Wundt studied the nature and growth of religion in the individual and the race. Coe early made a psychological study of the spiritual life, and later of all the problems of religious psychology stressing the functional point of view. Thouless, Rivers, James and others have studied the psychology of religion from the points of view of suggestion and auto-suggestion.

The material for an inductive study of the psychology of the Negroes' religion is found in their spirituals, exhortations, sermons, journals and other records that treat the subject. We have given in the previous chapters the historical background of the Negroes' religion. We began with his African religion - Fetish - the worship of animate objects, conceived as the residence of spirits not inseparably bound up with, nor originally connected with
such objects, the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conceiving influence through certain material objects; the use of charms, which are not worshiped, but through which the natives derived their magical power from a god or spirit.

The Africans believed that their entire environment was possessed with embodied spirits which they feared, and therefore worshiped, or sought to control by magic. Being unable to establish a close friendship with these unseen spirits, the Africans did not visualize a bright future beyond death.

The Negroes who were brought to America left most of their customs and traditions in Africa or soon transcended them, as we have already stated. However, a few of the first generation attempted to cling to some of their customs and traditions; but when these died out their grosser and intense ignorance and superstitions died with them. One authority writes: "Negroes born in this country were generally baptized, but for Negroes imported, the gross barbarity and rudeness of their manners, the variety and strangeness of their language, and the weakness and shallowness of their minds rendered it in a manner impossible to attain to any progress in their conversion."

Since the Negroes were carefully assembled in Africa and more carefully dispersed in America, they possessed no group African tribal customs and traditions. They were forced, through circumstances, to learn the English language. As a result they were more able to assimilate the elements of Christianity found in American life. Many of them became the house-hold property of their masters and gathered with them around the family altar and became actual participants in the daily singing and praying. In some States the masters were forced by legislation to expose the Negroes to religious instruction.4

Earnest writes that by the nineteenth century: "few Negroes escaped some religious instruction..... Usually on Sunday afternoons, but sometimes in the morning, the slaves would be gathered in the house and lessons in the catechism had to be learned. The Apostle's Creed, The Lord's Prayer, and The Ten Commandments were also taught. Hymns were sung and prayers rose to Heaven. Many good masters read sermons to their slaves".5 Another source of Christian contact was that resulting from the missionary work carried on by the various denominations in the various states.

II. The Negroes' Religion As An Escape Mechanism

We have repeatedly noted the fact that the religion of the Negroes was used socially to keep them in a state of satisfaction with their existing conditions. And in our

4 Woodson, C.G.; The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, Page 3
discussion of their theology, we have noted how large a place was given to the conception of a happy future life. This suggests that the first psychological problem to be faced in connection with the Negroes' religion is the question: "Is it an escape mechanism"?

Some authorities are justified to quite an extent in classifying the Negroes' religion as an escape mechanism, or as the Marxians would assert, "an opiate of the people". Within the Spirituals we do find phrases and ideas contrasting the heavenly life with the earthly life which makes one content to hold out to the end.

(To repeat the striking quotation of James Weldon Johnson to which we have already alluded): "The Negroes seized Christianity, the religion of compensations, in the life to come for the ills suffered in the present existence, the religion which implied the hope that in the next world there would be a reversal of conditions, of rich and poor man, of proud and meek, of master and slave." 6

The following songs will illustrate the Negroes' desire of escape from this world:

"Steal away, steal away,
Steal away to Jesus!
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here." 7

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Ibid., Page 36.
This spiritual originated at a time when the slaves on many of the plantations were not allowed to hold religious services. This was due largely to fear caused by the "Nat Turner Insurrection." As a result of this prohibition, the Negroes "stole away" into distant cabins or gathered at the branch and held their services.

The Negroes believed that Jesus was the chief concern of their life. In times of trouble and sorrows they sang:

Lead me to the Rock
That is higher than I,
I'll leave this sinful world behind
That is greater than I.

When the Negroes grew weary of this world and its ills, they felt as if their time here was very short:

I feel like, I feel like,
I feel like my time ain't long;
I feel like, I feel like,
I feel like my time ain't long.

The Negroes looked upon this world as a world of woe, thus they were always seeking to escape it, they sang:

This world is a wilderness of woe,
So let us all to glory go.

The Negroes did not seek to store up earthly treasures, because they feared that they would prevent them from seeing Jesus:

You can have all this world,
But give me Jesus.

They believed that Jesus was their sole protector from danger and that he would help them hold out to the end:

9 Ibid., Page 35.
11 Deit, R. N., Religious Folk-songs of the Negro, Page 15.
Run to Jesus, shun the danger
I don't expect to stay much longer here.
He will be our dearest friend
And will help us to the end,
I don't expect to stay much longer here.\textsuperscript{12}

We may ask the question: What caused the Negroes
to have this view concerning life? The Negroes were
greatly retarded in their physical and mental development,
and were\textsuperscript{not} able to do very much toward lightening their bond-

age; therefore, they had to look beyond this world for a
place of joy and happiness.

Furthermore, when the life forces whose powers glorify
us, when we are victorious, are suppressed, they tend to
manifest themselves in other ways. Thus nature being de-
nied the best way to personal realizations shows itself in
substitutionary ways. Psychologically, substitution implies
an unconscious disharmony. Substitution leads from reality
because it uses religion as a means of self-satisfaction.
The state of exaltation and other worldliness become the
compensation for the emotional satisfaction that would have
found expression in some inhibited instincts. The Negroes'
religion viewed from this point of view is a substitution
experience because it had very little relation to personal
reality, either in the personal reality of God or the per-
sonal reality of a man capable of intellectual and ethical
response.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, Page 34.
This is not the whole story of the psychology of the Negroes' religion. This hope in a better chance in another world is not deadening and inconsistent with a present religious experience. The Negroes' religion also supplied an idea of the present transformation of things on this earth, not necessarily through insurrection, but by divine incursion. There is no doubt that the frequent reference to the deliverance of Egypt was related to the hope of an earthly deliverance for themselves. This is best illustrated in the following spirituals:

When Israel was in Egypt's land  
Let my people go,  
Oppressed so hard they could not stand  
Let my people go.  
Go down, Moses,  
Way down in Egypt's land  
Tell Ole Pharoah  
To let my people go.  

As the Civil War actually came on and the prospects of freedom became more realizable, they sang songs of hope and jubilee:

Jubilee, Jubilee, O Lordy!  
Jubilee, Jubilee, O Lord  
Jubilee, Jubilee, Jubilee, O Lordy  
Jubilee, Jubilee, O Lordy, Jubilee!  

Even in their hope of a future life, it cannot be said that the practical consequence was uniformly one of apathy and passive acquiescence from the existing ills. In the following spirituals it is impossible to miss the note of actual resolution and determination to fight on and hope on to the end:

14 National Jubilee Melodies, Page 111.
Fighting on, hallelujah,
We are almost down to the shore;
Hallelujah to the Lamb,
Jesus died for every man,
We are almost down to the shore. 15

We want no cowards in our band,
That from their colors fly,
We call for valiant hearted men
That are not afraid to die. 16

My Lord delivered Daniel,
My Lord delivered Daniel,
My Lord delivered Daniel,
Why can't He deliver me? 17

The final proof that the Negroes' religion was not purely an escape mechanism is to be found in the abundant evidence that they enjoyed their religion as a present spiritual possession. Religion also supplied them with compensatory thrills for this life. When they got religion they got a complete shaking up which gave them peace and joy which afforded them power to take with ease and tranquillity the shocks of life. This leads us to consider the psychology of conversion and revivalism which are the most outstanding characteristics of the Negroes' religion.

III. CONVERSION AND REVIVALISM

We cannot intelligently understand the psychology of the revivalistic element in the Negroes' religion unless we consider its background in relation to the evangelical

15 Jubilee and Plantation Songs, Page 53.
16 Ibid., Page 61.
17 Ibid., Page 24.
revival of the eighteenth century. The great period of revivalism began in England and spread to America. We may ask the question: Why did the revival start in England? The religious and social conditions of England and the Continent were at a very low ebb at the opening of the eighteenth century.

The average person of the early eighteenth century accepted conditions and thoughts without challenging them, and responded very slowly to new ideas. This attitude manifested itself among the lower classes in a certain docility and submissiveness under grave injustice to their political and economic disabilities.

In England the Established Church had become a church of the aristocrats. Sweet writes that: "the church was degraded by its political connections, the bishops being simply political appointees who were as a rule hated by the lower clergy. Many of them paid little attention to the affairs of the church.... The majority of the lower clergy was poor and indolent, church buildings were out of repair, and the people were cold and indifferent to all religious matters." 18

Moral conditions among the aristocrats were very low. Vileness and immorality were much more common among the great masses of the poor. Poverty, ignorance and filth were present among the lower classes of the eighteenth century in England. The church did not endeavor to serve

18 Sweet, W. W., Our American Churches, Page 27.
the masses, neither were there schools for them. Crime was steadily increasing. Society was forever facing the actions of terrified mobs. Prison conditions were deplorable.

In such a period John Wesley was born and began the movement which changed the entire structure of the religious thought of England. He, his brother, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield organized the Holy Club. John Wesley was the outstanding organizer, though in power as a preacher, he stood next to Whitefield. He was able through the Methodist movement to offer a lasting contribution to the religious development of the world.

The Wesleyan Revival began in 1737 when the members of the Holy Club removed to London and began to carry messages on religion and morality to the submerged classes. They were able to reach the hearts of hardened men. Thousands joined this movement because they felt condemned of their sin, feared hell and had a new hope of a bright future life presented to them.

While the Wesleyan revival was beginning in England, a similar movement was commencing in America. At first this movement was entirely separate from the Wesleyan movement. However, the two were finally connected through the efforts of George Whitefield. The Great Awakening in America began at Northampton, Massachusetts in 1734, under the leadership of the Congregational minister, Jonathan
Edwards. From Northampton the religious a-wakening swept throughout the New England colonies. Later Edwards was assisted by George Whitefield. In the middle colonies this movement affected the German and Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches. The revival had great effects upon the social, economic and religious conditions of America.

Although this revival had its center in the Sea-board States, it did not stay there very long because as a group becomes more intelligent the crudities, of ignorance and emotions fall into the background.

No sooner was the Revolution over than the population began to move westward, and many new communities were found around the Ohio River and its tributaries. Kentucky became a State in 1792, while Tennessee became a State in 1796. A few years later Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama and Mississippi became States. It was in these new States and among the frontier settlements that the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches had great success.

These churches on the frontier began the Great Revival in the west in Kentucky in 1797. It continued with little interruption until about 1805. This revival was marked with great emotional excitement. Often the people in states of extreme ecstasy fell into unconscious states. The "shakes" were very common manifestations of this revival. The "Camp-meeting" had its origin during the great revival. The emotional epidemic attained great violence among these people.
Davenport explains these strange phenomena by saying that these people were "quite different in many respects from their kinsmen remaining in the north of Ireland. In the first place they were a selected population, fitted for a border life, and their forceful motor traits appeared in their children. The new environment too had put its stamp upon them. Here was necessarily some disintegration of intellectual elements..... These people were in a new wild country where neither conventionality nor law held its accustomed sway. The rational restraints of religion were many and strong in their native land, but were largely absent in the wilderness..... Furthermore, the circumstances of their daily living developed in them a quick response to stimulus. They were obliged to be ever on the alert against attacking savages..... The new experience of rational inhibitions removed, of a strange and dangerous environment, developed in them to a high degree the motor and emotional tendencies which were already in the blood of their kind."19

This revival had great effects upon the Negro population of the South. In the first place the Negroes were an ignorant and imaginative people. Such being their state they imitated the white race. Since they were extraordinarily emotionally endowed, they found it very difficult to withstand the effects of this great revival. (The Negroes

19 Davenport, F. M., Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, Page 63,64.
have never overcome the results of the impression that it made upon them).

Crowd psychology was manifested throughout these revivals. Likemindedness is the pre-requisite that psychological unity, suggestibility, emotional excitement and absence of inhibition which combine to form a crowd psychology. Likemindedness always precedes the description of what is coming. When the change occurs, the old inhibitions flee and the mind is left exposed to new suggestions, and a tide of emotion and devoted loyalty sweep over the people which were not known to them before.

The preacher and his message also have an important part in creating an atmosphere which will become contagious to emotion and suggestibility, in which secular reason, selfish edification and material welfare are inhibited and the audience reduced to a state of relative primitive credulity.

Prior to the Civil War there was little or no separation of Negroes and whites in the campmeetings. Thus the Negroes had an opportunity to be immensely stirred by the Great Revival. During the week or in separate services, the Negroes had a better opportunity to express their religious emotions which were stimulated by the excitement of the previously attended religious service. The Negroes have never overcome the results of the impressions that it made upon them. The practices and the conduct of the religious meetings in the deep South have hardly changed since the period.
we are describing. A description of a contemporary revival may be given as being similar to the ones found in the period that we are considering.

This revival takes place in the latter part of August in Madison, Georgia, in a rather highly emotionalized Baptist Church. The church is of a frame structure, unpainted both inside and out. It is neither papered, plastered nor ceiled. Most of the seats are of rough pine boards. Most of the windows have been removed in order that the air may pass freely through. Adjacent to the church is the church cemetery.

The revival service begins a little after the setting of the sun and lasts until midnight. The Negroes gather from all directions. Some have come from northern and southern cities to participate in this religious festival. All of the seats in the church having been occupied, the people bring in chairs from their wagons and trucks.

Upon entering the edifice, one finds the congregation waiting for the service to begin. The pulpit is occupied by the preachers and the deacons. The minister in charge is looking through the large Bible, selecting texts for his sermon. The deacons have small Bibles and Hymnals in their possession. There seems to be no fixed order or church discipline. The only type of musical instrument in the building is an old pump-organ, but it will not be used in the service. There is no choir for in such a service, one is not needed.
Most of the people who live in the rural communities of the South are clad in bright colors, while those from the Northern and Southern cities are normally clad.

The service is just about to begin. Without any previous warning, some member begins a mournful humming of "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen", which rises and falls in strange, weird rhythmic cadence which is accelerated with the fervid pulsation from seat to seat. This is added by the slow gradual increase of a contagious humming which causes the congregation to commence swaying of the body and patting the feet in a regular rhythmic fashion. Suddenly a woman under the influence of the ecstatic wave, rises to her feet and moves forward toward the pulpit. After the first song subsides, she begins to give her testimony in a sort of mourning voice. After this she begins to sing, "Ain't I Glad I Come Out the Wilderness". Likewise the entire congregation joins in on this song. The shouting and the sympathetic shouts of "glory", "A-men!" "Sweet Jesus!", and other similar expressions are heard from different parts of the house. In the midst of this ecstatic excitement many persons rise to their feet and begin to explain with a trembling voice what religion has done for them. During these episodes the congregation continues to murmur in a chanting form the above songs or some other familiar song.
At this point one of the deacons rises and makes an announcement concerning the financial affairs of the church. As the congregation sings, "Lord, I Want to Be in That Number", the people file up to the table to make their offerings. Over half an hour is spent on this part of the service. Some of the people delight in this part of the service because it affords them an opportunity to display their clothes and at the same time it is looked upon as being generous to make contributions to the church. While the collection is being carried to the table, the deacons move up and down the aisle urging the people to give generously because "God loveth a cheerful giver". Throughout this part of the service, the congregation keeps time with a rather subdued patting of the feet upon the floor, and a continuous clapping of the hands and a swaying of their bodies. Finally the desired amount is raised. The deacons announce the amount and are reseated in the pulpit.

At this juncture in the service, one of the deacons begins to sing, "Walk together, Children". He is joined by the congregation singing in an undertone. This song is followed by a long drawn out prayer. After which the preacher has one of the other deacons to read the 37th chapter of Ezekiel. Intoning the Scripture in a high-pitched musical voice, the deacon reads it. As he completes it the minister rises and announces the text of his sermon:
"Son of Man can these dry Bones Live?" During the sermon the preacher dramatizes his Bible story and fills it with imaginative and exaggerated figures of speech. The people are made to feel as if they were in the "Valley of Dry Bones". At great length, he continues to repeat the subject of the sermon: "Son of Man can these dry bones live?"

He holds them throughout this discourse vivid pictures of the ever-burning flames of hell for the damned and a bright beautiful heaven for the saved.

The atmosphere becomes more and more tense and a very peculiar sense of guilt seizes the congregation as the preacher skillfully repeats catchwords and phrases along with a strange vocal intonation. More and more of the congregation joins in these ejaculatory phrases of the preacher.

Now the congregation has become thoroughly intoxicated. The preacher continues, the congregation continues to mourn and shout. Suddenly a young lady rises to her feet and staggers helplessly to the pulpit, dancing, shouting and crying in mysterious voice. At last she has "gotten religion". Several of her friends follow her. Excitement increases. By this time the spirit of the service has seized every one, even the hard-hearted sinners.

Gradually the emotional intensity subsides, the singing grows fainter and fainter, the converts become conscious. After a great big hand-shaking ceremony the meeting dis-
perses. To the Negroes the revival service was full of awful mystery, of intoxicating passion, of excruciating pain, of heaven, joy and close communion with God. This service was a genuine religious experience to them, an evidence of the presence and power of the Spirit of God.

IV. THE FUNCTION OF RHYTHM IN THE REVIVAL

Music is a very important feature of the revival as well as in human life. Musical rhythm corresponds with the inevitable rhythms of organic and inorganic nature. In practically all religious group movements, the laws of rhythm combine with the psychological factors, which we have already described. This musical element in man was one of the most significant forces used in the revival.

Furthermore, the singing and the words and music of hymns are equally important in the revival. The hymns create curiosity and aid to produce awe, surprise and astonishment. The hymn's power of suggestibility, educational value, and the effect of the rhythm, help to create the desired emotion experience and has lasting influence in producing religious ideas and impulses. Permitting the whole congregation to take part in the singing of the hymn proved to be a means for expressing the violent emotions aroused by the revival experiences; and simultaneously the
emotion was intensified by its expression. Therefore, "the hymn is especially valuable for both suggestion and auto-suggestion".20

While singing the hymn collectively each member of the audience suggests the desired ideas and sentiments of himself, and at the same time he was passing on the suggestion to his neighbor. "The whole audience thus acts upon each individual in the audience and so acts and reacts upon itself, thus spreading the desired suggestion by geometrical progression".21

The subjects and themes of the hymns were doctrinal and experiential and thus their educational value was great. The various phrases of the hymns often supplied the adherents with definitions to their many phases of religious experience, and their constant repetition supplied the new converts with a range of religious ideas upon which they could construct the theological ideas.

V. CROWD PSYCHOLOGY

In order to understand the abnormal physical results which occur in connection with religious revivals, we should know the difference between the mechanism of group action (the structure) and the satisfaction that such action brings (the function). There are important differences both in the structural and the functional directions. These diff-

20 Pratt, J. B., Religious Consciousness, Page 176.
21 Ibid., Page 176-177.
ferences gather around certain types of group conduct. However, we may find common elements in more than one group.

The most primitive religious group conduct was of the emotional, non-meditative type. The Crusaders, the medieval "dancing manias", the "witchcraft mania", and some of the present day revivals among both white and Negroes may be classed under this type.

A man's action in a given situation does not depend entirely upon his original nature and the items which his attention is directly focused upon. His action depends upon the actual distribution of his attention over these items. His attention "may be distributed with a greater or less degree of what is variously called deliberation, analysis and criticism. Deliberation consists in having within the focus the attention of two or more objects or ideas that involve opposing tendencies to action. An immediate result of deliberation is postponement or checking of these tendencies. Hence each idea that is thus attended to may represent to us an inhibition of a tendency represented by each of the other ideas. Deliberate action is response that takes place after, and in a form determined by, such preliminary inhibition or checking.... Crowd action, in the technical sense of the term "crowd", is cooperation produced by suggestion, that is, the suppression of inhibitions". 22

The oneness of a crowd depends upon the lack of inhibitions. The reduction of inhibition may come about as a result of men being together in one place. Man's attention may be dominated by sensory objects which move and produce sounds; or their mere presence may awaken in them a gregarious response that is pleasurable. Also conversations aid men to fasten their attention to certain movements, objects and projects. A speech expressing a sentiment or proposing an action, or initiating action, may attract man's attention. From this common focalization of attention which is excited and emotional arises the common act.

Each kind of crowd action arises spontaneously. However, some kinds "can be reinstated by a designed reproduction of appropriate conditions, as in football games, revival meetings, or primitive religious ceremonies. On such occasions an additional factor is the mental representation of previous crowd experience. What has happened before easily determines the present focus of attention and therefore the fresh response. Thus it is that fashions of crowd action arise".23 This is largely produced by suggestion.

Within the revivals there are various styles of such as singing, praying, preaching and response. Within the revivals of the Negroes there are dancing, shouting and the "power." The various types of revival movement produce different types of conversion.

23 Ibid., Pages 122,123.
The action of a crowd normally bends toward the simplicity of instinct, because unity is secured by causing the individual variations to lose their workable effectiveness. Notwithstanding this, the common habits of the individuals in the group are not entirely dormant. There are always present in the individual minds some well formed habits of thought and action. However, the habits of the individual may be intensely obstructed by the action of the crowd. The thing that really takes place is the awakening of a greater indelible habit or else of the intellect itself.

A religious crowd has certain acts to execute: (1) to produce unconscious imitation through social suggestion which causes the individual to lose his independence; and at the same time cause an increased sense of corporate power, which in turn will diminish the sense of individual responsibility; (2) to affect the breakdown of inhibitions by recalling past emotional experiences and bringing into play emotions, actions and beliefs. Thus one reaches a point where he is no longer bound by his limitations but he becomes one with the crowd; (3) to cause the emancipation from the daily activities of life by introducing new sensations and emotions; (4) to eliminate the possibility of social unrest; to displace rational perception by emotional action. Therefore, it is possible through the revival to reinforce common morality or the dogmatic authority of a particular religious body.
The great disadvantage of the "religious crowd" is that it does not always assure that their acts are social rather than unsocial in motive and end. Crowds do not often appreciate the traditional moral standards which are the products of social progression. The direction of the crowd lies almost entirely in the hands of its leader.

VI. THE PLACE OF INSTINCTS AND DRIVES IN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Many of the contemporary writers on psychology have given their attention to the question of the significance of instincts in religious experience and have made attempts to determine their pertinent importance in the development of religion. Fear has been recognized from a very early period as one of the chief elements of religion. The line from Petronius is often quoted: "Primus in orbe timor fecit deos."24 Ribot, Leuba, and McDougall have also recognized its importance. Ribot recognizes "the tender emotion" as equally important,26 and both Leuba and McDougall add awe to fear or admit fear only under the form of awe. McDougall also adds reverence and admiration. Robertson Smith maintains that religion is rooted not in a vague fear of unknown powers, but in a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship.30

27 McDougall, W., A Psychological Study of Religion, Chap. 7.
30 Smith, R., Religion of the Semites, Page 55.
Jevons is against the theory that religion began as a reaction to fear. He asserts that "Religion is social, an affair of the community". "A god is not merely a power conceived of the intellectually and felt emotionally to be a personal power from whom things may be hoped and feared; he must indeed be a personal power and be regarded with hope and fear, but it is by a community that he must be so regarded". Maret holds that if fear means awe we are nearer the truth, but we must admit wonder, admiration, interest, respect even love perhaps, to be, no less than fear essential constituents of the elemental mood of religion.

According to Ribot love was predominant in the second stage of the evolution of religion. McDougall asserts that in the development of morality, fear and pugnacity were supplemented by curiosity and subjection, and that in a still later stage, "be the tender protective impulse principally evoked in the form of gratitude towards the protecting deities."  

Dr. Wright contributes the origin of religion as being the results of the activity of gregarious, reproductive, and food-seeking tendencies. Mr. A.S. Woodburne would make still another addition - namely, an instinctive effort at self-preservation. From what we have stated above, we may

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conclude that in a highly developed religion, nearly all the instincts may be involved. The validity of this statement may be ascertained by an examination of the Negroes' religion.

The physical results of the Negroes' conversion have been explained in many different ways, by the Negroes themselves and their friends, and by psychologists. The Negroes attributed these physical phenomena of conversion to God or to the Devil while their enemies considered it to be mere play or relaxation after a day's work. Davenport classifies the effects of conversion as growing out of "dense ignorance and superstition, a vivid imagination, volatile emotion, a weak will power, a small sense of morality." Other psychologists attribute these revival occurrences wholly to the peculiar conditions created by crowd contagion and excitement. The psychologists for the most part, paid very little attention to the persons involved in the experiences.

We have already mentioned two - fear and love - of the primary instinct tendencies which are factors in the religious experience of the revival. We have given sufficient room to the contribution of social influences in creating revivalistic tendencies. However, the social explanation is not an adequate explanation of the facts; for the breakdown of inhibitions cannot of itself produce mental or physical activity. Furthermore, the laws and tendencies of social and crowd behavior do not adequately explain the larger part of individual religion.

Let us return to the analysis of instinctive and impulsive drives that may be involved in Revivalism.

James, McDougall, Stout and others attempt to classify the instincts. However, all of them may be reduced to: curiosity, fear, repulsion, anger, and gregariousness, imitation and love. Practically all of these instincts are present within the Negro revival. Emotion and motive are very important in a service of this type, because the peculiar quality of experience in it is brought into action by the action of the instinctive impulses which are at work within the individual.

Curiosity is involved in wonder, but wonder is more than curiosity. In its simplest form it is baffled curiosity and in the strict sense of the word cannot be viewed

38 McDougall, W., Social Psychology, Chap. 3.
39 McDougall, W., Outline of Psychology, Chap. 5.
as a primary emotion. However, wonder exists when curiosity has made the most outstanding discoveries and inventions. The combined emotional tendency of curiosity and wonder operate in two directions. It can be the source of intellectual curiosity which is the basis factor of theological discussion, or it may pass into astonishment which often precedes fear. Of the many Negroes who became Christians in the period under discussion, a large proportion did so because of fear. Some were attempting to avoid the Devil, while others were attempting to rid themselves of their sins, both original and acquired. There were some who feared the wrath of God and the impending punishment into which they seemed to have been falling without any way of escape. "Fear, when strong, expresses itself in cries, in efforts of escape, in palpitations, in trembling; and these are just the manifestations that go along with an actual suffering of the evil feared." Not only did the terror of physical torment in hell draw the converts, but likewise the danger conceived in the thought of the loss of the self or soul. Thus the fear of a final condemnation proved to be an important feature in converting the Negroes.

Another important feature which acted as a driving force to entice the Negroes to join the church was the attitude of submission or self-despising, which is also responsible for their conversion.

sible for self-condemnatory actions. Often certain physical manifestations accompany this act. It produces in the individual a negative self-feeling. This may develop into disgust or repulsion or avoidance.

The role played by fear and submission and the minister of the revival exhibits the general characteristic of the emotional life. The emotion which finally directs one's habits may derive an enormous part of its driving power from emotions which are experienced simultaneously, or so short a time previously, that the disturbance of the emotions do not have time to become quiet. These emotions do not, themselves, necessarily lend their force to an impulse.

Therefore, we may conclude fear had an important part to play in the role of the Negroes' conversion. Anger, as we have seen, may possess two main functions. Like fear, it is protective or again like fear, it is a reinforcing agent both to the individual and to society. It develops strength in the weaker ones and gives them form. Thus curiosity, fear and anger are the primitive basis from which
theological doctrines are produced and organized, or they may prove to be important factors in religious crowd psychology.

Religious harmony is made available through conversion, which "is a natural human phenomenon, independent alike of supernatural and of theological prepossession". Conversion can be either sudden or gradual. According to Ames, conversion "is the result of immediate direct control and suggestion on the part of evangelists, parents and teachers. It is common among certain evangelical Protestant denominations. It occurs chiefly in those communions which have cultivated an elaborate technique to produce it". This statement is only partly true. The importance of conversion for psychology depends largely upon its universality. Mr. James rejects this narrow view of conversion. He asks, "is there, under all discrepancies of the creeds, a common nucleus to which they bear their testimony unanimously; and second ought we consider the testimony true?" Mr. James answers the first part of the question immediately in the affirmative. "The warring gods and formulas of the various religions do indeed cancel each other, but there is a certain uniform deliverance in which religions all appear to meet. It consists of two parts:
(1) an uneasiness; and (2) its solution.

41 James, W., Varieties of Religious Experience, Pages 176-9.
1. The uneasiness, reduced to its simplest terms, is a sense that there is something wrong about us as we naturally stand.

2. The salvation is a sense that we are saved from the wrongness by making proper connection with the higher powers.43

The psychological process of conversion is not only found in the Christian religion, but is found in nearly all the major religions of the world.

There are two other definitions of religious conversions which we should consider at this point. Pratt defines "the moral self as a group of powers united in the service of a harmonious system of purposes - and is self-guided in the sense that its activity is, at least in part, determined by purposes or ideals. The establishment of fairly settled purposes is therefore the first step in the achievement of moral personality. But purposes may and often do conflict with each other quite as much as with temporary gusts of passion and impulse. Hence, the other great step in self-making is the victory of one group of harmonious purposes over all others, and the complete subordination of everything else in life to those best-loved ends.... The essential thing about conversion is just the unification of character, the achievement of a new self.... The really important and the only essential part of it is

just this new birth by which a man ceases to be a mere psychological thing or a divided self and becomes a unified being with a definite direction under the guidance of a group of consistent and harmonious purposes or ideals". 44

Thouless defines conversion more psychoanalytically. He asserts "that it is an outbreak into consciousness of something, such as a system of beliefs, which seem to have had no period of development in the mind." 45

Both of these definitions emphasized too much the ethical and intellectual side of conversion rather than the intense psychological side. For our study of the conversion of the Negroes, we accept James' definition. "Conversion is the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, in consequence of it firmer hold upon religious realities. This unified self is more than the achievement of a moral character and a casting off of unconscious elements. It involves more than these, it includes attention and will, and rational and emotional experiences. From this point of view, the conversion of the Negroes may be looked upon as typical of religious conversion in general, as a normal experience of human nature.

The conversions of the Negroes were for the most part immediate. They were marked by a union of both ethical and

emotional elements. Most of the converts were adults. The particular crisis of the individuals varied proportionately with the organization of the religious feeling. The reason for believing that the conversion of the Negroes was instantaneous is that most of the Negroes who became Christians during slavery and soon afterwards asserted that their conversion came about as a result of a revival service in which the preacher, his message, the crowd played important roles. However, conversion was not instantaneous in every case. Another reason that conversion was instantaneous with the Negroes was that many of the Negroes had never been under the direct influence of Christianity before their conversion.

Most of the authorities in the field of the psychology of religion have attempted to classify the various types of conversion. Pratt classifies them according to emotion and ethics. Thouless makes a distinction between adult and adolescent conversion. He treats the mystical experience with adolescence, and subdivides the ordinary adult conversion into moral, intellectual or social. James classifies the gradual conversion type as "healthy-minded" and the sudden conversion as "the sick soul". Höfding makes a similar distinction between "expansive" and "discordant" natures. He also holds that "when development proceeds by leaps and where there is a tendency to emotional states, we get a

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type which might be called affective. The peculiarity of the other natures causes their development to proceed by small steps, and hence it represents the character of continuity .... The continuous type has a certain kinship with the expansive type." These are the ways in which psychologists have attempted to classify differences in human mentality.

These classifications do not adequately fit the conversion of the Negroes because it was emotional, ethical, and social rather than intellectual. The Negroes' emotional discord and conflict and their instantaneous conversion coincide with the experience of the "sick soul", the discordant, and the affective types. The most primitive and most obvious examples of conversions that depend upon "instinct experience" are those in which the physical results occur. According to Davenport these are found among primitive and ignorant classes of people. The general characteristics of this type are very common, and they center in certain native drives, as curiosity, fear, repulsion, and gregariousness, imitation and love. This type of conversion involves violent fear and its expulsion by the more powerful attitude of love. This particular element is shown in this Spiritual:

"I was in the church and praying aloud
And on my knees to my Jesus bowed
Old Satan told me to my face,
'I'll get you when you leave this place;'
Oh brother, that scared me to my heart,
I was afraid to walk when it was dark.

I started home, but I did pray
And I met Old Satan on the "ay
Old Satan made one grab at me
But he missed my soul and I went free.
My sins went lumbering down to Hell,
And my soul went leaping up Zion's hill". 49

or

"I heard my Jesus a-many one say -
Time is coming that sinner must die
Could move poor sinner's sins away -
Time is coming that sinner must die.
Yes, I'd rather pray myself away -
Time is coming that sinner must die,
Than to lie in Hell and burn one day -
Time is coming that sinner must die." 50

"Prepare me, prepare me, Lord
Prepare me when death shall shake this frame."

"As I go down the stream of time,
I'll leave this sinful world behind
When death shall shake this frame.

The man that loves to serve the Lord
He will receive his just reward
When death shall shake this frame." 51

The violent excitement of primitive instincts produce an impetuous crisis which may end in a moral collapse. During this excitement emphasis is placed on love, light, joy, expectation; deliverance from fear. Thus a sense of security and completeness are supplied. In the midst of emotional fervor repression is released, the fear of the law of God is supplanted by an irresistible love toward God and man. Thus a new attitude of protection and redemption is produced.

50 Ibid, Page 37.
At the time of conversion the whole self-conscious and unconscious is present in the operative forces. From the point of view of psychology, the factors involved may be grouped into two classes; namely, those which are less related to the conscious and those that are interested in the more elaborate conscious mental processes. The degree of difference depends almost entirely upon suggestibility, and generally there is a trace of factors in the removal of repressions and the sudden completeness in the consciousness of recently hidden mental processes. In other cases, the crisis is preceded and followed with conscious knowledge of approximately all of the elements and factors involved. However, the conscious and unconscious activities are unavoidably combined in conversion. Many authorities explain conversion in terms of "subliminal" or "subconscious" or "unconscious" realms or processes.

As yet authorities are puzzled as to the part played by the less conscious factors. However, we may assume that suggestions and repression both entered into the experience of the Negroes. Unconscious suggestion produces sensation, anticipation and emotional excitement, and at the same time supplies the religious conceptions which decides the conscious explanation of the crisis. There are some converts who are swayed by the mass suggestion of the crowd and others by the rhythmic emotions of the singing. But, at
the same time adequate recognition must be given to the personality and ability of the minister. In every revival preacher there seems to be a definite hypnotic element. This in addition to the unconscious suggestibility of the crowd assures the desired results. Generally emotional conversion is ascertained by the terror of sin and it is characterized by the unexpected deliverance of unconscious repressions by means of an emotional experience, the result of which is seen in a more fruitful life. This borders within the mystical realm, which climaxes in the search for the good life. This may manifest itself in individual or crowd mysticism, which will be seen in trances, visions, and speaking in tongues.

We have given considerable attention to the normal aspects of religious conversion; but we feel that if we should fail to mention its abnormal aspects, we would be doing an injustice to the importance of this peculiar phenomenon of religion. The most outstanding peril found in the emotionalism and excitement of the religious revival is that it may induce a state of mere feeling, which, when it is over leaves no spiritual inference. It may weaken the ability of people to control themselves morally, which may eventually lead to gross immorality. Furthermore, it may lose its good effects on character and become an end
which may be repeated constantly for its own sake.

Because of these abnormal aspects we must not completely disregard the benefits which have grown out of the change of life produced by the revival.

Summary.

The psychology of the Negroes' religion aided them to overcome discord in this life through an adjustment to life without and a harmony of life within. As a result of this attitude towards life, the Negroes were able to have an intimate communion with God which was available to every man. The transcendent God became immanent within their consciousness. They were able to discern God's very presence and power. Thus the divine grace of God was at work in every man's heart, giving him mental and moral stability by means of religious assurance.

Although conversion is looked upon as an intimate, individual, and almost incommunicable experience, it produced a basis upon which the Negroes have constructed a system of religious beliefs and ideas which have proved to be indispensable to their life. The Negro church is a product of the Great Awakening but at the close of the Civil War it did not develop simultaneously with the white Baptists and Methodists, rather it took a retarded independent line, thus preserving most of the theological conceptions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
CONCLUSION

In the study of the Negroes' religion from 1619 to the close of the Civil War, we have shown that the original religion of the American Negroes while in Africa was Fetishism, which is the worship of animate and inanimate objects conceived as the dwelling places of spirits not inseparably bound up with, nor originally connected with such objects. The Africans used charms which were not worshiped, but derived their power from a god or spirit. Their use as objects was regarded magically powerful in themselves. With such a religious background, the Africans conceived the universe to be controlled by the works of these spirits, whom they fear; and as a result of this inherent fear were worshiped, or were sought to control by magic. Since they were unable to enter into a close communion with these spirits, the Africans did not develop a dwelling place of happiness and joy beyond death.

The Negroes who were transplanted to America brought with them their gross ignorance and rudeness of customs, their various languages, and their poorly intellectualized mental apprehension. Since they were brought from all parts of Africa and carefully disposed of in America, it became easy for them to adjust themselves to the American environment. With such a background it was very easy for the Negroes to learn the English language and to take over certain
elements of Christianity as were taught in America. They became participants in the religious life of their communities and in many instances received special religious instruction.

The music of Africa in contrast to the Negroes' music in America shows the results of the environment upon the Negroes. Their earlier songs referred to war, hunting and the spirits, but the songs, beginning with the second generation, show a note of sorrow and suffering.

The religious songs of the Negroes are always within the limits of the imagery of the Bible which they took over from the whites. Their religion was as real and original as that of the native and orthodox Methodist and Baptist denominations. Their great emotional waste was similar to that found in the American religion rather than that of African fetishism. The chief difference, if any, may be attributed to their gross ignorance and servitude.

We might say that the Negroes had a greater estimation of Christian orthodoxy than did the whites. They placed greater emphasis on the Bible and theological conceptions, especially everything connected with conversion and the future life. They had a keen appreciation and devotion for religious restrictions.

The Negroes participated in and shared the ethical convictions of the whites. Their many sins were not due to their ignorance of ethical values for they had a true appreciation of right and wrong. To them hell was a very vivi-
id and horrible place here the wicked would suffer eternally; while heaven was a place of great splendor where the blessed would dwell eternally. The Negroes condemned the pain moral vices, as liquor, tobacco, dancing and card playing, because they were not in harmony with the best Christian life.

We should not conclude that the religion of the Negroes was exactly identical with that of the whites. The religion of the Negroes was of the more primitive and emotional sort. The differences were due to the variations in the social and the cultural levels of the two races. The Negroes interpreted the fundamental Christian ideas in terms of their own experiences. They made the Biblical characters their own. They pictured heaven and hell with the prevailing features of their environment. This is shown in their spirituals and many of their practices. Heaven was a place with no inclement weather, no burning sun, no hard taskmasters. To reach heaven one had to cross "the lonesome valley" or just "one more river."

The Negroes' elaborate baptism ceremony illustrates how they were able to bring a great spiritual experience into harmony with their environmental conditions. The ceremony was very simple. The pool was located in a creek or the shallow part of the river. The preachers dressed in clothes of loud colors. The candidates entered the water with fear and came out screaming.
The most important feature of the Negroes' religion was that it placed emphasis upon the forgetting of the sorrows, poverty, sins of the world in order to concentrate upon the blessedness which was to be enjoyed in the next world. This element existed also in the religion of the whites.

We may conclude that the Negroes' religion was not the revival of an older and more primitive form of religion, but the creation of a new and original form of Christianity. The musical literature in which they expressed their religion belongs accordingly among the classics of Christian experience.
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