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The religious experience underlying the negro spiritual

Davis, Henderson Sheridan

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THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE UNDERLYING THE NEGRO SPIRITUAL

BY
Henderson Sheridan Davis

(A.B., Wilberforce University, 1941; B.D. Payne Theological Seminary, 1940)

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Approved
by

First Reader: Paul E. Johnson
Professor of Psychology of Religion

Second Reader: James R. Houghton
Professor of Church Music and Worship
I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem ........................................... 1

2. Importance of the Study ............................... 1
   a. The Spiritual has earned a place of
      importance in our culture .......................... 2
      i. It is distinctive folk music
      ii. It has artistic worth
   b. It is an application of the recent point of
      view, interpersonal psychology ................... 3

3. Limitations .............................................. 9
   a. The persons involved are inaccessible ............ 9
   b. The available record is restricted ............... 11

4. Survey of Previous Studies on the Spiritual ...... 13
   a. Collectors and expositors .......................... 13
   b. Johnson, E., The Green Pastures Spirituals .... 18
      of American Negro Spirituals ...................... 19
   d. ______, The Second Book of American Negro
      Spirituals ........................................... 19
   e. Nyes, E.N., The Nears' Gold ........................ 21
   f. Odum, H.W., Religious Folk-songs of the
      Southern Negroes ................................... 23
CHAPTER

5. Thurman, H., "The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death." .......................... 24

5. Sources of Data .............................. 25

a. For background and setting ............... 25

i. Anthropological. Elements of Negro cultural and religious development in Africa

ii. Historical. Pertinent writings on slavery and the slave trade

iii. Socio-psychological. The individual related in his environment

iv. Musical. The musical mood consulted for conveying meanings in the Spiritual

v. Biblical. Use of the Bible found in the Spiritual

b. For closer approach to the problem ....... 31

i. The Spiritual analyzed psychologically for uncovering the experience behind it.

ii. The Spiritual’s religious experience evaluated against the standards of the Christian religion for establishing its quality

II. EUROPEANS WITH INDIANS AND AFRICANS IN EARLY AMERICA

1. The European comes to the New World. ........ 34

a. Rise of European nationalism ............... 34

b. Competition in discovery and claim on territory 34
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. Profitable planting in the West Indies</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Labor supply</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Extension of planting in North America</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Colonization, planting system, slave system</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Two kinds of People</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Europeans</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Non-Europeans</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relative Capacities of the People</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Europeans, whites</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Non-Europeans, Indians and Negroes</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Anthropological Findings on Relative Capacities of Varying Ethnic Stocks</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. A recent science</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The Negro man or beast</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Statement of the American Anthropological Society</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Findings of some reliable anthropologists</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. The term &quot;race&quot; is not in good usage</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Meaning of the term ethnic stock</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The Negro in American Life</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Conditioning features in the slave trade</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Course of events in America</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THE SLAVE

1. Inescapable and Augmented Conflict | 72 |
a. Slave status a felt violation of personal status ...................................... 72
b. Slavery an unfair economic arrangement .............................................. 73
c. Abuse through the opportunity given .................................................. 73
   i. Use of the whip to work off emotion
   ii. Sexual liberties taken because of sole possession

d. The breaking in period ................................................................. 74
2. Growth of High Tension ................................................................. 77
   a. The lowest level of tension ......................................................... 77
      i. "I'm just a poor Negro," self-rejection
      ii. "Stay in good wid de white folks."
   b. "I don't like it, but mashin' I can do about it." .......................... 78
   c. "I'm goin' to stay out of trouble, but I'll look out for myself." ....... 78
   d. "I'm out to get 'em everytime I can." ...................................... 79
   e. "One of these days I'm goin' to fly off an' raise the devil." ............... 80
   f. "There are some good white folks who don't like things this way." .... 80
   g. "Should I let things go? Is it worth the trouble and risk of getting killed or hurt? 81
vii

CHAPTER

b. Fear was promoted .......................... 61

i. Hate and tension ............................ 83

j. Recrimination was probable .................. 86

3. The Accumulation of Frustration .............. 86

a. Proscribed area of life ....................... 88

b. Limited scope in daily physical movement .... 88

c. Initiative forbidden, denied .................. 89

d. Disparity between capacity and opportunity ... 90

4. Aggression was sure to Result .................. 93

a. A certain come-back, Davis and Dollard ........ 93

b. Findin ways ............................... 94

5. Negative Controls Exerted by Master Class, and

Employed by Slave ............................. 97

a. Master class controls

i. Keep the slave unarmed

ii. Keep the slave dispossessed

iii. Claim of superior ability to command by

psychological force

b. Slave class controls .......................... 98

i. "Always remember to please the white man."

ii. "Do not let unexpected situations catch you

off guard."

iii. Fear of abuse under slight provocation

iv. Lack of integration
CHAPTER

v Lack of defined objective, futility
vi Discouragement and despair
vii Acknowledged or denied cowardice

IV. RESOURCES AND CONDITIONING FORCES FOR THE SLAVE'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

1. Stabilizing resources brought from Africa... 101
   a. Folklore philosophy of life .................. 101
   b. Sense of humor ............................... 101
   c. Wisdom and reverence in proverbs .......... 102

2. Agents for improving the ethical condition of the slaves .......................... 102

3. Needs which might be fulfilled in religion .................. 106

4. The introduction of the Christian religion ....... 107
   a. Intention of the master ...................... 108
   b. Content of the religion presented .......... 108
   c. Means of presentation ...................... 109
   d. The religious experience possible from it. ... 110

5. The Bible and further enlightenment ................. 110
   a. Masters unwittingly gave more than they
       Intended ...................................... 110
   b. Slave agents secured what was not intended ... 111
   c. Helpful whites intended improvement ....... 111

6. Strains of the religious development ............... 111
   a. The strain with the policy to conform ....... 111
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. The religion of the Hebrew strain</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The religion of Jesus strain</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Application of religious experience to the psychological condition of the slave</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Application in sorrow</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Application to fear</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Application to hate</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Religious experience and racism</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SLAVE'S RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Negative elements developed in the religious experience</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Otherworldliness</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Compensation</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Emotionalism</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Escape</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Positive elements</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Otherworldliness</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Compensation</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Emotion</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Faith</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Hope</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Persistence</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Cheer</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Courage</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Humility</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Forbearance</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. Righteousness</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Resistance</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Love</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VI. HEBREW-CHRISTIAN REVELATION IN THE SLAVE'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT**

1. Their Grasp of the Hebrew-Christian prophetic
   emphasis | 180
   
a. Jehovah is God of all the earth | 180
   b. Right is identified with God | 180

2. Interpreting cross bearing | 183
   a. These slaves are charged with not
      changing the social order | 183
   b. A charge of no interest in changing the
      social order must be denied | 183
   c. Their situation was a cruel ordeal | 184
   d. Their immediately urgent responsibility
      was standing it | 184
   e. They willingly carried on without bitterness
      where they were being taken
      advantage of | 185
   f. Religion lay at the friction point of
affliction. Here it came into its own. . . . 187

g. This religious experience overcame the

environment . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 188

h. It found inspiration for achievement. . . . 190

3. The importance of attitude. . . . . . . . . . . 190

a. The slave's time was monopolized . . . . . . 190

b. The focus and expense of energy involved

in effort to break out of slavery. . . . . 191

c. Boundaries of the function of religion

confined in the limits of human slavery . . . 191

d. Through religious experience the Christian

slave had transcendent orientation and

personality completion . . . . . . . . . . . . 191

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The Spiritual is valuable data . . . . . . . . 198

a. It is religious folk music of

fine quality . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 198

b. It was produced by the people brought

from Africa during their slavery

in the United States . . . . . . . . . . . . 199

c. Folklore preserves a record of

psychological life. The Spiritual

preserves a record of religious

experience . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 200
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. A specialized social situation in North America grew up with political events and economic conditions</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Competitive national and individual interests stimulated the early activity of Europeans in the Americas</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Severe demands upon a labor supply led to the importation of Africans</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Social and political preference was reserved to Europeans and whites in America</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The African took human capacity into his experience of slavery</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Racism is fallacious</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The African's opposition</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Use of firearms, a crucial factor</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Psychological interaction occurred on a personal level between owners and slaves</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. The slave was thrown into unavoidable psychological conflict</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Fear, a control device and source of tension</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Human personality is frustrated by slavery</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Hatred grew up in the slave as a form of aggression</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. The direct emotional life of the slave was of a destructive, disintegrative kind</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Frustration, fear, and hate gave the slave a bent toward violence</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Means for adjustment to slavery</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Cultural and religious resources from Africa</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Religion presented the slave as a pacifier</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The Bible appropriated beyond the point intended by slave system sponsors</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Resources for successful personal orientation within the experience of human slavery</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Three strains in the course of religious development among the slaves</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Wholesome therapy through religious experience in the religion of Jesus strain</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Racism harmonized exploitation and
    idealism. The slave faced up to it
    successfully through his religious
    experience .................................. 223

d. The positive elements of the slave's
    religious development outweigh the
    negative elements. ....................... 226

e. The slave's religious experience
    reflects some significant emphases of
    the enlightened Hebrew-Christian tradition. 227

f. The cross of Christ found urgent
    application in the slave's adjustment
    through religious experience ............. 227

g. The slave's religious experience
    improved in ethical values and in
    integrative force as it lay at the
    friction point of affliction ............ 227

h. The attitude of love toward persons
    including the master class and slave
    driver was a major accomplishment. .... 228

6. Conclusions. .............................. 229
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The problem of this study is to uncover, to describe, and to relate to life the religious experience behind the Negro Spiritual. The relation sought is a faithful reproduction of the ideals kept and of the tension held in balance by the motivation furnished through religious experience—such religious experience as was involved in the authorship and in the vivid singing of Spirituals during slavery. The description attempted will be principally evaluated in terms of Christian revelation. The text and the music of the Spiritual will be consulted for uncovering meanings which will be treated as preserved expressions of individual and group religious experience.

The Spiritual has earned a place of importance in our culture. In eighty years\(^1\) this body of songs from the restricted places of its origin has found an acquaintance here and beyond the United States as representative American folk music.\(^2\) The Spiritual has been given the distinction of being appropriate music for the concert stage. The manner in which it has lent itself to artistic interpretation places it entirely out of the class of the minstrel song, or even the work song, and the blues. There is some folk music which has

---

1. Marsh, SIGS, 32.

2. Marsh, SIGS, 32.
found appropriate presentation through the artistic medium of our culture’s best musical tradition and when this happens it comes by a grasp of the reality in life and through gathering up valuable insights from the wisdom of the long experience of a national or ethnic group. Some such folk songs have persisted in high regard; such as, “Annie Laurie” and “Danny Boy” (“Londonderry Air”). For frequency of concert presentation the Spiritual ranks well with other American folk music, our cowboy songs, and our mountain music. Their first presentation to the general public was by a group of singers who through identity with their songs only could have had any acceptance as a concert company. They were just “four half-clothed black boys and five girl-women,” — led by a man with a cause and a purpose.

They stopped at Wilberforce, the oldest of Negro schools, where a black bishop blessed them. Then they went, fighting cold and starvation, shut out of hotels, and cheerfully sneered at, ever northward; and ever the magic of their song kept thrilling hearts, until a burst of applause in the Congregational Council at Oberlin revealed them to the world. They came to New York and Henry Ward Beecher dared to welcome them, even though the metropolitan dailies sneered at his ‘Nigger Minstrels’. So their songs conquered till they sang, and brought back


4. Marsh, SJS, 17. Perhaps six including the accompanist.

5. DuBois, SRF, 253. See also Gravath, JS, 5. Nine names are listed, five girls and four boys.
a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to found Fisk University. 6

Of course they improved their techniques and were more polished after singing together seven years. But their big accomplishment was in identity with their songs, "their songs conquered". James Weldon Johnson pointed out that their success was due to pity which white people had for the poor, oppressed Negroes. Their success in raising money very likely did stem from arousing pity. But their breaking through the initial opposition, described by DuBois above, to get a general hearing can not be accounted for by pity. It should be remembered that this opposition faced them in every place they visited in the United States at the beginning. While there may not have been open hostility, there was no appropriate appreciation for what they were presenting in the mind-set of the audiences they confronted.

Their songs won. How? What is there in the Spiritual which makes for its distinction? There is simplicity. There is plaintive melody, rich harmony, fascinating rhythm, weird contrast and association, a constant pulse of movement. But these are fairly duplicated in the blues. Spirituals are distinguished for additional quality. No item of their form

gives the answer for it. Their content, their function in
the life of the slaves, and the scope of their conception
must be consulted.

They are described as religious folk music and here
is a clue for the start of this inquiry. A casual view of
their words identifies them as religious. More than this,
the fountain-head from which they issued may be found to be
religious experience. Whatever relation it bears to them
it is that religious experience which this study examines.

Church life and religious promotion in America have
been strongly influenced by the dominant cultural and eco-
nomic factors at work. [Racial caste distinction has affected
life in America all through the period of Negro slavery. The
general pattern of church life in the United States from
colonial times has conformed to color caste.] Justification
for the work of the earliest slave traders was given as the
work of converting the heathen.7 Throughout the years of
slavery in the United States common use was made of the Bible
to support it in the areas where it was carried on by re-
peated reference to the curse of Ham as a curse upon all Negroes,
ordaining them by God's will as servants forever. There was
continued preaching from the writings of Paul on the text.

"Servants obey... your masters..." The Christian conviction which crystallized in abolitionist sentiment and activity was screened from regular contact with the slaves. From the nature of the case any slave holder who became an abolitionist was separated from his slaves by ammission. Surrounded by religion that was accommodated to the slave system, the religious experience of the slave may be expected to have furnished no variation from this general trend. The slaves' share in the religion accommodated to slavery was the use of religion as an escape mechanism. This consisted of emotional outlet as an end in itself at the occasions of "meeting", and a "pie-in-the-sky" acceptance of his lot in life with reward after while.

This kind of religion has not lasted. The curse of Jim sermons and the admonition of Paul to servants are given careful criticism in the light of a growing Christian conscience. The religion among Negroes which adheres to escapism is identified by many as undesirable. While it exists, and in some quarters is flourishing, it is suspected of being the tool of the exploiter. Where the slave-holder is no longer the promoting agent either some unfair imposition upon the Negro's labor or living conditions or the religious leader

himself has taken over the role of beneficiary. A glance at the critically conceived religion taught in the theological schools among Negroes will bear out the ill-regard accorded escapist religion at present. More and more trained Negroes and those who have made material advancement are discounting all of religion by charging this defect to its account. While this blanket accusation is erroneous, the mood is none the less clear. In the face of this turning away from the religion that approves slavery the Spiritual remains in good repute in the most advanced circles of thought. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* includes a section on "Negro Music" where a current evaluation of the Spiritual occurs in a discussion of early American Negro music. "The spirituals rank first in value and beauty. They indeed, constitute one of the finest bodies of folk songs in the world."9 It did not seem altogether too strange that Howard Thurman should choose for the Ingersoll Lecture on the immortality of man for the academic year of 1946-1947 at Harvard University "The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death".10 And the Spiritual proved to be a fertile resource for a commendable presentation on his part.

There are at least two kinds of religion involved in slavery. One of them endorses the appropriation of men as

material for the system's hopper. It would deal with them in a mass and manage them to a material profit. It is not interested in their personal development. The needs that they have are not viewed as the needs of men who are ends in themselves in the context of time. Their life after while is not the continuation of individual, conscious existence through committed identity with the purpose of God which makes imperative their survival in immortality through God's preservation of values. In fact, the life after while is not very real at all. It is something to promise dupes. It is not a just reckoning and needs no serious consideration by those who have the advantage of being informed and are the promoters of the system.

When this abusive religion is condemned and thrown out the nobility in "Go Down Moses", "Steal Away", "Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray", and "Deep River" is still recognized. Currently the religious circles among Negroes who exploit the people make little use of these time-tested Spirituals of worth. In fact a vogue of new "gospel songs" has grown up in the last fifteen years. Most of them are used in a way designed to draw out an adequate emotional response. A few years ago when some swing bands took on the novelty of including the theme of a Spiritual to swing, its condemnation as sacrilege came from quite ordinary sources. When Sister Rosetta Tharp recorded some numbers to be offered to the
premium on the individual person, the human being is the unit for psychological investigation. A man may best be studied not in a laboratory, where life-situations can scarcely if ever, be simulated, but in real life. In any relation there is most importantly, a meeting of psyches and upon such a meeting where normal consciousness is continuous there can not be total giving on the part of one and exclusive reception on the part of the other. The process is a reciprocal one. Some tenacious fallacies may be eluded as interpersonal psychology is applied as the point of view in this study.

After a century has passed it is plain fiction to claim to know what a slave felt on a given day as he was called to his overseer. Nor is it possible to reconstruct that overseer's words, feelings, and thoughts. The limitation which the removal in time places upon this study is a serious one and an insurmountable one. Added to it is the lack of records on the incidents between the slaves and the masters. All records are scarce, even those for personal identity among the slaves; such as, birth, name, marriage, age, and death. Slaves bore the lot of common stock on this score rather than having the distinction of prize Aberdeen cattle. They were registered with no association of breeders nor agency of the civil government. The frontier practice of putting a record into their own family Bible was not practicable or lawful. Their
high rate of illiteracy prevented their keeping a record of themselves even if they had an interest in doing so.

Psychology had not emerged as a science then and if techniques of the questionnaire, the personal interview, or the case history could have been employed, a good deal of cooperation would have to have been secured from both slave and master. To surmount the difficult hurdle of getting into the real-life situation to assemble data would require that the investigator be able to carry the inventions of sound recording and technicolor filming back beyond the point of their invention into the slave communities and with himself and his equipment invisible, spare no expense in filming and recording events. He would need to catch the slaves at work under the direction of their overseers, the lives of the slaves at night in their cabins, in their gatherings, in private conversations, prayers, songs, sermons, testimonies; as well as, the conversations of owners with overseers, overseers and owners among themselves, their prayer life and religious practices, the scenes of sale and exchange, the changing seasons and locations or work. This collection of data could well extend over a selected half part of the period of years from 1619 to 1865 in order to furnish a desirable store of data. Psychology's job of getting back of performance to motives and feelings would still be left to be done. One would still not be inside of those slaves'
heads to get what they thought. One would not be inside the
seat of their emotions to know what they felt. Their religious
experience would still have to be interpreted from this more
adequate store of data.

But such a speculation is fantastic and we are without
any considerable articles of equipment used in their religious
observances, there is no formal expression of creed or doc-
trine left to us, and there is no special body of religious
literature produced by them. Even in this precious sur-
viving remnant of the record of their experience with God
there has been loss. James Weldon Johnson estimates that
five or six hundred Spirituals were produced during the days
of slavery.\footnote{11} We are considering any of the religious songs
which came during the years of Negro slavery in the United
States and down through the years that an appreciable number
of persons born in slavery still lived. All of the well known
Spirituals grew out of this period and any of the songs which
can be shown to be religious will have a bearing upon this
study.

Approaching the meaning of religious experience Paul
F. Johnson says:

Religious awareness will be seen to arise in devotion
to values. Briefly we may note three characteristics of

\footnote{11. Johnson and Johnson, SBNS, 12, 15.}
religious experience, (a) Religious experience is a value experience: a preference for interests and needs worth realizing. (b) Religious experience is a divine reference: an objective outreach to a supreme value and source of values. (c) Religious experience is a social response: an effort to cooperate with a divine power in the creation of values. 12

Rather suggestively Harry Emerson Fosdick has said.

"Religion at its fountainhead is an individual, psychological experience." 13 In answer to the question, What is religion?

Edgar Sheffield Brightman says:

Religion is concerned about experiences which are regarded as of supreme value: devotion toward a power or powers believed to originate, increase, and conserve these values; and some suitable expression of this concern and devotion, whether through symbolic rites or through other individual and social conduct. 14

Discussing the idea and origin of religion he says,

"Religion is, subjectively, man's consciousness of relation to suprasensible Being; and, objectively, the beliefs, customs, rites, and the institutions which express and incorporate this consciousness." 15 The religious song of the enslaved Negro is a body of material which incorporates his religious experience. As folk music it is a body of intimate psychological data. The value experience, the divine reference, and the

12. Johnson, PFR, 26
14. Brightman, PFR, 17
15. Brightman, PFR, 200
social response involved in it must be explored.

The earliest literary work which makes this study possible is the work of those who collected and published copies of Spirituals. This required some skill and talent for the collector often needed to write as he listened to get the music on paper and to catch the words as they were sung. The collector had to go where the songs were sung and make himself acceptable enough to be allowed to carry on his work. The earliest collectors had little to encourage them for they began before the Spiritual was a recognized folk song type. Of course those who sang them did not do so for the purpose of making a record. And there was a stigma of slave song attached to them. Minstrel troops of white men caricaturing the Negro had already proceeded. Minstrels started early in the nineteenth century and by the Civil War had established an impression which affected the popular attitude toward any material coming from the Negro. The earliest collectors worked against difficulties and this work seems to have been done by some white persons who felt the worth of the songs. Their work brought the Spiritual up for some serious discussion, which according to W. E. Allen,16 reached some periodicals of repute, including Continental Monthly, the Philadelphia Press, the Atlantic Monthly, the N.Y. Nation, the Watchman and Reflector.

16. Allen, Ware, and Garrison, SSUS, ii-xx.
and included among those who took part, the name of the well-known Harriet Beecher Stowe.

A collection copyrighted in 1867 bears the names of William F. Allen, Charles F. Ware, and Lucy M. Garrison with the title Slave Songs of the United States. According to W. E. B. DuBois17 this is the earliest collection of Spirituals made. This is verified by the separate collections found in connection with the present study. Their collection is a result of work among the Negroes of Fort Royal, S.C. for the most part. In it are also songs from the Northern seaboard, the inland, and the Gulf slave states. In the thirty-eight pages of introduction they express their interest in preserving the music, describe the singers, locate the places where the songs are found, and tell how impossible it is to accurately reproduce the songs on paper. There are one hundred thirty songs in the collection. Some of them are not religious songs. In the editor's note on pages 114 and 115 the term 'spiritual' is definitely used to apply to the religious songs. This term seems to have been used among the Negroes themselves with whom Allen and his associates worked.

At least in the case of one of the religious leaders of this time the stigma of slave song or "cornfield ditty" seems to have outweighed the values in the songs. Wilber-

force University had Bishop Daniel A. Payne as its president. He had been working with the school since before the Civil War. He was stridency raising money to pay out the purchase price for the school. But there is no record of his employing the Spiritual or organizing anything like the group brought together by the efforts of George W. White which resulted in the Fisk Jubilee Singers. There is some evidence to indicate that Spirituals were not at all acceptable at Wilberforce, during this time, where the Negro was trying to lift himself out of the association with slavery.

A collection of Jubilee Songs (as sung by the Jubilee Singers) was copyrighted in the year 1872. It includes a preface by Theo. F. Seward and an introduction by R.W. Gravely which expresses an appreciation for values in the songs. At least one of the values, not denied, is that of drawing people out to a concert where money could be secured from them through ticket sale and through additional subscriptions. This printed collection of sixty-one Spirituals was put on sale for twenty-five cents per copy. A Story of the Jubilee Singers, with their songs, was published and by 1877 had gone through six editions. By 1892 it had sold 130,000 copies and still another edition was published.

This lead was quickly followed by the workers at Hampton Institute. Carrying a preface by Thomas F. Fenner with the date of 1876, a collection of *Cabin and Plantation Songs* (as sung by the Hampton students) appeared. Mr. Fenner was in charge of the "Musical Department" of Hampton. A tradition of singing the Spiritual well has grown up in the colleges for Negroes in choirs and in special smaller groups of singers. This has continued to be true in institutions sponsored by such agencies as the American Missionary Association. It is also true in schools sponsored more independently by Negroes.

Homer Smith, a tenor with the Southerners for some years, carries on a concert career in singing Spirituals in which the Music Department at Wilberforce claims a stake during his training as a student there. Important for promoting this tradition has been artistic arrangement of the songs by such men as Harry T. Burleigh, R. Nathaniel Dett, John W. Work and William L. Dawson.

Collecting and publishing Spirituals has continued through the years since the Civil War. Examples which appear in the bibliography with others are the collection by Marshall W. Taylor, *Revival Hymns and Plantation Melodies* published in 1882, one by Natalie Curtis-Burlin, the Hampton Series of *Negro Folk-Songs* published in 1918, one by Nicholas G.J.

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19. Fenner, (arr.) GFS.
Ballads—(Taylor), Saint Helena Island Spirituals published in 1925, one by R. Eumet Kennedy, More Hallow published in 1931, one by John W. Work, American Negro Songs and Spirituals in 1940, one by Roland Hayes, My Songs published in 1948.

Each of these collections includes a preface or longer section of exposition. Here the collector may discuss his interest in the Spiritual, critically evaluate it, or give his purpose for collecting.

The work of critical discussion has also been carried on by others. In 1903 W.E.B. DuBois closed his book The Souls of Black Folk with chapter fourteen on "The Bawo' Songs" in which he says that "the Negro folk-song—the rhythmic cry of the slave—(is)...the greatest gift of the Negro people." He is referring to the Spiritual particularly and he gives details concerning the Jubilee Singers from his point of view. This is the statement of a northern-born, northern-trained Negro at the beginning of this century. Henry E. Krebbiel made a study in racial music under the title Afro-American Folksongs in 1914. He praises the work of the earliest collectors, raises a question about the right place to give credit for the origin of the songs, he discusses what a folk song is and uses examples of them and includes some in the text of his book with the words and music to make his studies more exact.

The number of songs examined is given as 527. All of them were not Spirituals and he does not include all of the total number in the discussion of his book.

One of the smaller contributions to the literature was by Newman I. White on "Racial Traits in the Negro Song" in 1920.21 Another article appeared in 1924 of about the same length but including such important information as the first published Negro song on record in the United States.22 This article was written by Joseph H. Smith on "Folk-Songs of the American Negro". Included in DuBois' The Gift of Black Folk also published in 1924 is a chapter on "The American Folk Song"23 which shows a continued interest in this part of Negro life.

Other work done in collecting the Spiritual and in examining it, which especially opens the way for the present study is listed in the following paragraphs in alphabetical order.

Johnson, E.,_The Green Pastures Spirituals._

In a brief introduction to the collection of Spirituals used with the stage production "The Green Pastures", Hall Johnson expresses enthusiasm in his work with Spirituals.

22. Smith, Art. (1924)
23. DuBois, CRF, 274-286
Back stage on the opening night the fervor of the response of the audience seemed to me surpassed only by the emotional intensity of the cast and the choir. It was as though an emotional spark of these negro performers had been fanned into flame by the still warm breath of their ancestors.24

He displayed ability to organize and train a choir in singing folk music even before "The Green Pastures" was produced. But with this production he did, perhaps, his most unusual work. He exercised his abilities in arranging and composing as well as doing the kind of conducting which consistently drew an "inspired" interpretation of the songs from his singers.

A clue to his effectiveness may be gleaned from the comment he makes of reception given "The Green Pastures" generally.

'The Green Pastures' in performance has meant many things to many negro observers. For some it has had all the purifying effects of a beautifully organized ritual which brings human thought to a nearer contemplation of divinity; to others it has seemed but one more attempt to flatter the white man's sense of superiority by permitting him to smile at the childishness of the negro soul.25


James Weldon Johnson gives his appreciation for the beauty and worth of the Negro Spiritual in the preface to The Book of Negro Spirituals and to the Second Book of Negro Spirituals.


Earnest purpose and simplicity make for dignity in the Spiritual. Force grows up in it from a grasp of life in primitive terms. In this he makes a rather technical reference to musical form.

Now the Negro in America had his native musical endowment to begin with; and the Spirituals possess the fundamental characteristics of African music. They have a striking rhythmic quality, and show a marked similarity to African songs in form and intervallic structure. 26

A transition is observed from earlier African forms which preserves some of that past and leads to a further development.

But the Spirituals, upon the base of the primitive rhythm, go a step in advance of African music through a higher melodic and an added harmonic development. 27

Johnson has interest in and some evident understanding of the origin of the Spiritual. And in his critical evaluation of its form and content he exceeds the work done by some of the other collectors.

His contribution in the direction taken by this present study is a recognition that the Christian religion is one of the indispensable elements in the development of the Spiritual. The Christian religion is the thing which led to "higher melody and an added harmonic development". The Spiritual

27. Johnson and Johnson, BANS, 19.
resulted when "the spirit of Christianity . . . was blown through . . . African music" he says.

He has a poet's appreciation for the artistic beauty and worth of these songs. His poem "O Black and Unknown Bards", which appeared first in the Century Magazine, is a classic tribute to this cultural heritage and to the people behind it. 29

Further in the preface to The Book of American Negro Spirituals he gives an account of the origin of Spirituals, African rhythms included in them, their poetry, the work of collectors, the attitude of colored people toward them, and the probable number produced during slavery. The preface to the Second Book of Negro Spirituals points out the variety found among them, the total silence or limited attention to some subjects among them, their sociological influence on American life, and their unmatched excellence in distinctive art.


Benjamin Mays, in his book The Negro's God 30 includes the ideas about God that are expressed in the Negro Spiritual. As he examines one hundred twenty-six Spirituals he employs what is probably the most extensive theological training 31 of

29. See Appendix.
30. Mays, NG.
31. Ph. D in Church History, University of Chicago.
anyone who has contributed to the studies about the Spiritual. He considers the literature from 1760 to 1860 in one unit and regards the Spiritual as a product of "the masses". He believes that their thoughts about God, in the main, grow out of their experience of slavery. They are, therefore, as urgently practical, not theologically speculative, as one might expect them to be. He isolates and criticizes these ideas. From the conclusions he reaches he interprets the trends taken in Negro social adjustment in the United States, especially since the Civil War.

While the ideas Mays locates are helpful the disciplines of church history may profit by aid from psychology in processing these ideas and in interpreting the behavior of the people who had them. When the historian has located an idea in time and with respect to the social situation he has done a great service for those who would reconstruct a period in the past in terms of the principal forces exerted in the lives of men of the time, including a measure of the relative tension of these forces. If Mays had been covering less ground he may have been able to analyze more carefully this period out of which the Spiritual grew. As it is he leaves something wanting by way of locating, by year or the range of a few years, the appearance of an expressive Spiritual and relating its idea to the situation prevailing then.
Odum, H.W., *Religious Folk-songs of the Southern Negroes*.

As a Fellow in Psychology at Clark University, Howard W. Odum submitted a dissertation toward the Ph.D. degree which was accepted on the recommendation of C. Stanley Hall. Its title was *Religious Folk-songs of the Southern Negroes.*

Here Odum shows an enthusiasm for folk music as a medium for knowing a race. He believes that not only the past, but the inner life of people who have lived in the past may be recovered through treasures stored in folklore and song. If a people has a folklore a record of its psychic life is preserved.

He found much value in the religious folk-songs or Spirituals as material for understanding religion among Negroes. "In no way can a better insight into the negro's religion be obtained than by a careful study of his songs." He sets out "to present the best of the negro's songs." He keeps within the classification of religious songs in those presented and in the sense that the religious may be the best songs, follows out his purpose. But he does not indicate how those he chooses are the best to be found, nor does he actually show how those songs he chooses have excellence. They are not discussed as to the values

32. Odum, Art. (1909)
contained in them. Although he promises at the outset

... to interpret impartially the exact spirit of
their essential qualities ... and the essential
qualities of his (the Negro's) religion as found
in the analysis of his religious songs and
spirituals ... "35

He really deals with their principal characteristics or with
typical subject matter in them. Discussion of the religious ex-
perience is not brought into the main focus of attention. It
comes in for casual consideration in the course of the descriptive
reference to the wording of the songs.

This discussion of religious folk songs among Negroes
is as extensive as any that may be found. It includes good work
in classifying the words of songs according to the subject matter
they treat. He groups the words of Spirituals that deal with
Jesus, with heaven, with the devil; for example. After grouping
excerpts from various songs, and after illustrative use of parts
of songs, something may have been gained toward evaluating the
Spiritual by considering whole Spirituals. Even something of the
meaning conveyed by the melody and harmony to which it was set
should not be ignored.

Thurman, H., "The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life
and Death."

No more fruitful pursuit of the meaning contained in
Negro Spirituals has been made than that made by Howard Thurman.
One of his discussions was for the Ingersoll Lecture on the subject "The Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death." He does not hesitate to attribute ambitious claims for the intentions of those slave singers. Their grasp of truth is prophetic. Their aspiration is noble. They take soul-flights in religious experience which number them in the company of the immortals.

Slavery does not out-do them. God is repeatedly their answer. He "was a companion to them in their miseries even as He enabled them to transcend their miseries." Other aspects of the worth of the religious life of the slave are also related to the consideration of life and death.

Before the three short centuries, 1600 to 1900 A.D., in which people from Africa joined with others in the growing life of the United States, their forebears on that continent had carried on life for many more centuries. They did not live at the swift rate of change that marked American life in its change from frontier and plantation colony to industrialized world power, but the process of instilling a culture which seeps through long centuries on end, had been taking place. Men secure from their parentage language, ways of getting and preparing food, ways of providing shelter, type of clothing usually worn, customs regulating


37. Thurman, Art. (1948), 18
family life, modes of play, ceremonies for religion, and for making war. Every man is a product of his culture. The Negroes brought here during the slave trade brought part of West African culture with them. When DuBois and Herskovits go to West Africa to delve into the culture of the Kingdom of Dahomey or to study the Ashanti they are on a warm trail of related connection. Their work along with information about the extent of the slaving belt, the tribes affected, and their religious practices is valuable background for this study.

The songs of the slaves reflected the events through which they were passing. They were reactions in the context of consecutive happenings among people who lived here in very strenuous times. The record of individual lives with names and dates and places where many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century immigrants are concerned are very scarce. Relative population figures, distribution of slave and free population, type of work imposed, comparative ease or oppressiveness of the lot of the slaves in view of the changing events in the rise of the Cotton Kingdom and numerous pertinent events have their bearing as background to the experience behind the Spiritual.

It is a matter of historic record that the North American Indian fought practically to extinction against the tide of superiorly armed European invasion. Both the Indians and the Negroes met the Europeans in America. Differing reasons for the variation which led to fighting to extinction in the general
case of one and being enslaved in the case of the other will be weighed by anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnologists.

Enough notice of the forces at work in the historic process will be included to relate the religious experience of the slave in its special life setting.

The scope is confined to the slaves in the United States and to the people with whom they had contact. A competent observation of how they were treated, how they received this treatment and how they treated others is sought. The scope of events includes especially the slave trade and work and life in the plantations.

A supplement to the setting given by studies in history is that to be secured through social psychology. The happy combination of the efforts of sociologists and psychologists here furnish a means of investigation which can intensively study the individual to recognize the importance of his attitudes and keep in mind interactions between groups which may not flaunt themselves in striking, overt conduct. In a definition by L.H. Bernard "Social psychology studies individual and collective social adjustment behavior." When it studies the adjustment behavior of the Negro slave it may recognize an advantage in being removed in time enough to profit by being somewhat

Among the divisions of study in social psychology are (1) culture trait interaction and (2) personality integration and behavior. This first one may furnish not only setting but helpful method for tracing the ways that the Christian religion got across to the slaves. The second may aid in describing the effects of religious experience in the life of the slave. Out of the early work done in this field comes the statement that social psychology examines the crises or incidents in group life which interrupt the flow of habit and give rise to changed conditions of consciousness and practice. Transportation and enslavement will be the incident affecting a changed consciousness and practice, under which the religious experience is held for special consideration in this study. Interpersonal psychology is a social psychology of religion.

The Spiritual is a song. It was not said it was sung. The words had the accompaniment of a tune and they were repeated and remembered with the help of the music. When breath was short and stress cut down expression the singer hummed or moaned. These singers were not trained musicians by any means, but they composed and created with music as well as words. Their expressions were given fluency through music. A tech-


nically trained musician may analyze form and point out
symbolism from expressive patterns in order to identify mean-
ings. This is especially possible since the Spiritual has the
impressionism of folk music explicit in it. But in the present
study the music is part of the whole, somewhat as the canvas is
what the picture is painted upon or as a platter is used for
the purpose of serving up meat.

Repeated reference is made to biblical characters in the
Spiritual. The Bible had authority for them. It had rich stores
for help. Messages from those who read the Bible were treasured
and kept by putting them into song. It was God's word. When
they knew no other help they grasped for help in it. Search
may be made in this area to see whether they cried to God as the
Hebrews did to get relief.

Some suggestion has been made that the Bible furnished
instigation for slave revolt in rising up and rising and throw-
ing off the yoke when Denmark Vesey thought of himself as a
Noses.

Classified in literature the Spiritual is poetry. The
words are measured in lines and stanzas and they are often set
in rhyme. This may locate it in a body of material where it
may be submitted to a standardized mode of processing. In this
way it may be better understood and more accurately interpreted.

Literary criticism has devised some tools and techniques and
has worked out some canons of procedure which carry authority.

S. L. Bethell gives a discussion which carries promise for what may be accomplished under this method of procedure.

My approach (is the) . . . combination of theological considerations with close criticism of the text . . . Words are not applied after thinking, they are the means of thought . . . In the achieved work, form and content are, for better or worse, identical. The content is not just a bare abstraction, the poem is a 'message', but the whole tissue of inter-related experience which has evolved, much of it unconsciously, in the course of composition. For a poem's an experience, to the writer and to the reader; it conveys not merely abstract thought but a complex state of mind in which thought and feeling are mutually involved. A close examination of the words themselves is a fundamental process in modern literary criticism . . . When once the words have done their job, and the full content of the poem— or what you will—is available to us, we may discuss that content on any level; only, as I said, we must be sure that it is the full content from which we are abstracting.

It must be established whether the texts of the Spiritual merit serious consideration as poetry. John W. Work thinks that in the interest of the makers of Spirituals the words were only incidental to the music. Howard Thurman, on the contrary, sees the words as of first importance. The question is, however, whether they are shallow jingles with no significance, or expressive utterances which have worth-while application in life.

If the Spiritual may be subjected to literary criticism the whole of the body of collected ones may be submitted to

41. Bethell, ELC.

42. Bethell, ELC, 30-37.
some useful classification as to content. The thought or meaning will be dealt with in this manner.

Spirituals cannot be gathered as so many apples and squeezed in a press until cider is made. They cannot be reduced in this way. Or if they were apples one might take sample slices from each of the lot and have laboratory tests made which could report the chemical elements or food properties present. This cannot be duplicated with Spirituals. But psychology has devised techniques of examination which try to reach below the surface of a recorded statement and search back of an incident of behavior for causes and motives, for thoughts and feelings.

It is conceivable that the men and women who came from Africa should not have sung at all. They could have been so depressed or so sullen that not a one of them would ever utter a musical note. They could have been so cowed that no one of them would have composed a line. Psychic activity was involved in the events that resulted in the Spiritual. Then this song did not have to turn out the way it did. It could have been sadder or funnier. Turning out as a song it could have been a blues or a work song. It could be involved with a so-called Christian religion without being a Spiritual.

The experience responsible for the religious song may safely be expected to be a religious experience. When that experience is well enough located to be described in terms of
its principal elements it may then be considered further. From his primitive stages, man has shown a religious interest and carried on some religious practice. He has held many mistaken beliefs. In the course of his development he has discarded mistakes and improved the quality of his faith. All religious traditions are thus not on the same level of ethical development, nor are all levels of ethical development identical within the same religious tradition. They do not conceive of or promote values equally well. Because of this they do not promote the well-being of their adherents quite identically. The relative values in Mohammedanism and Christianity need not be argued to support this observation. It would be more to the point to recognize that in Christianity there is a level of personality development and control which is very poor. Its adherents admit its claim upon them and they hold to their religion while they continue to be ill-tempered and spiteful. There is another level of personality development under the disciplines of the Christian tradition where forbearance, understanding, and loving-kindness chart the pattern of life. The divorce courts are one indication of the effects of these different stages of personal improvement. So far as they may be traced to levels of religious development the relevance of such development to the manner of performance in life is obvious.

Not all slaves had identical levels of religious develop-
ment. They did not all react in the same way to slavery. Those who authored the Spiritual must have had similar experiences and those who sang them sincerely, or in the best sense "in the spirit", must have shared a similar experience. The effect this experience exerted in the life of the slave may be evaluated.

One of the best functions found in religion is that of binding together, unifying the personality. Another is tying him into a creative fellowship with others of similar adjustment. Another is setting the individual at home in the universe and actively in accord for himself with the purpose of its Creator. Was the religious experience behind the Negro Spiritual capable of doing any of these things?
CHAPTER II

EUROPEANS WITH INDIANS AND AFRICANS IN EARLY AMERICA

The emergence of European nationalism had an effect upon the course of events in the rest of the world. The exploration which led to the discovery of the West Indies and the North American continent was part of the active competition of those growing powers. Commerce with the East was profitable. Some goods could not be produced in Spain which could be shipped there from distant places. If the trip could be shortened so that goods would not have to be brought all the way from India, that would be an advantage. The islands stumbled upon during the search for an all water route to India had the right kind of climate for growing cane for sugar production.

Each of these islands was small enough and separate from the others enough to be readily subdued. This done, claim was laid upon the island by one of the European powers and plantations were put up for sale to hearty seekers of fortune. These men applied themselves to the task of becoming sugar planters. They employed the Indians who were still living in their native islands. These people were like the Indians of South America and the well-known ones of North America. The planters were out to make money, a lot of it, and in as short a time as possible. The virgin soil was good. Work was all
that was needed to bring fabulous crops, extensive clearing, planting, and some cultivation; later more and more cultivation. But it was not only the soil that gave way; men gave way too. Long hours under the tortuous sun, with further brutal treatment took its toll. Forced gold mining was also engaged in. The native Indian population of the West Indies was practically exterminated. A representative description in 1507 was "Nineteen out of twenty of the Indians had by this time been destroyed; only 60,000 remained."\(^1\)

The word got around that a source of wealth had been tapped. The way to get rich was to become a West Indian planter. The horrors of slave life were not publicised. And the need for profitable enterprise was an effective spur back in Portugal, Spain, England, and in France. Nations could get ahead by extending their commerce and, if possible, their territorial holdings. Some know how had been gained in the experiment with the first West Indian population. The planters themselves did not plant. They could not do their own labor and operate on the scale large enough to suit their fancy for the amount of return on a crop. They needed a labor supply. It had to be a cheap labor supply, no wages at all was preferred. This was a requirement also in order to keep profits fabulous.

During this casting about these men must have considered

\(^1\) Southeby, CHWI.2, 106. See also Southeby, CHWI,2,132. Newton CHWI, 18-20.
South America and North America where other Indians lived. Capture was difficult here because of the larger range. Although the Europeans had superior arms these Indians could not be readily subdued and brought to the Islands to work in numbers large enough and steadily enough to supply the labor demand. There were workers in Europe. The Roman Empire had drawn slaves about over that continent. But there were laws that had to be observed in the sixteenth century which could get planters into complications should they try to extort a large slave labor supply. Non-European places were better adapted to the need. China had man power, but its political and national life was developed to such an extent that any capture and deportation of persons would have required the involvement of the government of the offending planter with the government of China. The people of India or any of the other far-off strange places would be taken if it would pay, or the people of Africa would do.

In 1440 Alonso Gonzales secured twelve Africans by capture. He put them aboard his ship and sailed to Portugal with them. They were not put to a profitable use. It was more a chance happening than anything else. Merchants got anything and everything into their possession. But it was not totally forgotten and when the demand arose for the hands of men which would plant and cultivate sugar cane the connection was made.

2. Renaut, RAC, 36. See also Donnan, U.W.A, 18-23.
3. Dubois, NFW, 155.
In 1510 to 1518 African slavery was introduced into the West Indies. It happens that these first slaves were prisoners of war who were being held and may have met death if this means of disposal had not eventuated. Occasionally such wars occurred among the tribes of Africa as elsewhere. When these Africans arrived in the West Indies as potential workers for sale, the immediate question of how many more could be furnished was raised. The men who had ships wanted to keep them sailing with cargoes in great demand and for profit. The planters needed workers, many of them, to get back on a paying basis. Friendly contacts with the chiefs along the West Coast of Africa were made and a trade in slaves for American ports was begun. With their work the island plantations flourished and paid large profits again.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century Europeans were colonizing on the continent of North America. Among them were some men like those who were profiting in the islands or had made their fortunes and returned to Europe. In the vast southern part of this larger area they were fired by dreams of far vaster accumulations of wealth. The plantation system could reap the bounty of the land. The slave system was a profitable labor supply for the plantation.

4. DuBois, NFTW, 156. Denman, DSHA, 41, 42.

5. Hollingsworth, MSHA, 11. 100,000 slaves imported per year were required to keep up the labor supply in the West Indies Islands, by 1726.
During the seventeenth century there were two distinctions finally drawn among the people found on this continent. There were more distinctions: such as, the Dutch in what is now the leading city, the Spaniards, the French, the Portuguese, and the English. But these people were on an equal footing so far as European nations are equal to each other. People from any of these nations bore the seal of a proud tradition of conquest. They were here to gather more glory for the homeland, with the exception of some dissenters in this early period. There may be distinguished from these another group of people. They were the non-Europeans, the American Indians and the Africans. The non-Europeans could be sharply distinguished from the Europeans and opinions took form as to their comparative abilities and capacities.

These comparative opinions grow with the passing of the years when they are designed to foster one's self regard. They take on revisions and sometimes unpredictable lines of growth. They help make up the cultural deposit of the people of the United States today. Those earlier Europeans were glad to have their capacities judged on the basis of their military, nautical, political, economic, and religious achievements. From the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, through the success of Charles Martel, the eminence of the Spanish Armada, and her successor there was great military strength. Columbus and Magellan sailed out from European ports. The Magna Charta was framed as
a development following Roman law. Rich treasures had been carried back to her ports from the far corners of the earth. Paul the Apostle had traveled out of Asia Minor perhaps to Spain and the Church of Christ had centered in Rome.

They were proud of their achievements. Their emergence as a family of nations not only fostered competition, they recognized a common bond as well. The Crusades showed them to be together as ever against the rivalry of the east. Their will to conquer now in the new west was no less strong than it had been earlier in the middle east, and to some it seemed to have been another crusade. They were better armed now than formerly. Gun powder, which had been discovered in China and had not been given a use to affect human relations, was taken by the European and pointed at other people to bring them into subjection. There were some fights among fellow-Europeans even on the continent itself. But most of the effort of these years was spent on gaining the upper hand on other people who were not in Europe, and in enriching the home continent.

On the continent of North America these Europeans met the American Indian. This was a valuable land and the Europeans proceeded to take it by conquest. The Romans had nothing but contempt for barbarians, and conquest was an accepted approach for Europeans to make upon non-Europeans, savages. They would have taken from each other by fighting in Europe if the stakes had been high enough. Here, with such a prize
ready for the taking, there was no question as to what the procedure should be. In the case of William Penn there is a notable exception both in the approach and in the reception. The European purchased. The Indian, in turn, was not the unreasoning "savage" he was made out to be in the conquest propaganda. There was brutal slaughter of Europeans by the Indians, but even this does not look the same from the point of view of the Indian. In his self-consciousness he seems not to have registered so much as a savage as he did a brave man. He was standing in the force of all the manhood he could command, fighting an invader who was devastatingly armed (with the sixteenth century atom bomb). The Indian must defend himself as best he could and if possible by main strength or by terrorizing and scalping, drive out the enemy who was obviously bent on complete conquest. With these two strongly felt and greatly differing odds of purpose between them there was little opportunity for the European and the American Indian to see anything of each other except their apearate and mutual capacity for inhumanity.

From observable differences among men such as their culture expressed in manner of dress or language, other differences are sometimes assumed. Let two different cultures meet and comparisons will be made. It cannot be doubted that a given culture may have devised a way of performing one of the tasks necessary to carrying on life which is an improvement
over the way the same task is done in another given culture.
When two cultures meet it is probable that neither of them
would have all of the best ways of doing life's tasks.
There have been notable exchanges of culture which disregarded
the result of the triumph at arms. Thus the rich Greek culture
Hellenized the conquerors, the Roman world. While this rather
intuitive wisdom is practiced and superior items of culture
survive, another policy also operates. It is based on the
opinion men hold of each other. If it is not the honest
opinion it is at least the practiced disposition which men
assume. At the juncture of two cultures this disposition tends
to be assumed by an individual for the whole cultural group dis-
tinguished from himself. This disposition seems to follow the
line of the success of arms. Here cultural values and accom-
plishment in human excellence are overridden. Any Roman soldier,
including a debauched one so long as he was in the uniform of
the regular army, was better than any Greek scholar in chains.

A generalized identity with a cultural name can turn
aside from discriminative judgment and intercultural appreci-
cation and assemble emotions of patriotism to heighten the walls
of uncritical self-preference. In the seventeenth century Spain
and Portugal were still selling the seas with kings and queens
proudly seated upon rich thrones at home. Add to their senti-
ments those of haughty Britains who had been knowing nothing
but victories, the French and the Dutch, and the European
self-preference was well established. Every European was assumed to be better than any non-European. A European might do anything to or with a non-European. North America became the property of Europe officially; the continent and all its resources and population. Europeans here were subjects of their crowns. Just as complete as this political arrangement was the transportation of the attitude of European preference through all the areas of contact between Africans, Europeans, and Indians here. This attitude did not pass, although the years brought changes. One vague appearance of it is in the pride held by those who can trace their ancestry back to someone who came over on the Mayflower. In the eighteenth century freedom became a big issue of the day. This led to a break from Europe which meant independence from Britain who had gained ascendancy here. But the colonists then in control were still of good European stock and the Indians and the Africans were not. Another difference to be noticed between the European stock and non-Europeans was skin coloring. There was now in America a white stock and a non-white stock which followed the lines of the former distinction. There were white men and red men and black men but there were still two classes of men, white men and non-white men. When the Constitution was framed all men are created equal came to mean all white men. The Indian had no inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He was not represented in the convention. His birth in this place did not
qualify him as a citizen. Color difference was practical in formulating policy for dealing with the red man. It lumped him into one item of disposal and eliminated numerous debatable issues that could arise. This also served as a convenient device for those men who were claiming liberty for themselves, freedom from unjust treatment. While they were writing freedom into their new-born government, and equality of opportunity and just consideration with one hand and strangling the life out of American Indians with the other they could avoid the break down of splitting their own personalities by looking at the Indian with studied pity and applying an evasive, self-deceptive formula, "If you were only a white man this would not have to happen to you." But since he was not white, he was a red savage. He could not be reasoned with. He had no capacity for morality, no dependability. He had not the capacity for civilization. He was an arrested likeness of humanity. One would only waste his time trying to deal fairly or even to impose one's own culture upon him by teaching him. "The only good Indian is a dead one."

One may not feel the shock of immorality in this slogan or national policy so well in its memorized form as in an inverted form. "The only good white man is a dead one." Then it becomes senseless and when applied in seriousness it is intolerable. The social life of America must have suffered serious desensitizing toward the persons in each of these groups.
When no emotional objection accompanies the observation of children killing the Indians over again in their play, the common reaction may be that there is nothing wrong with playing cowboy and Indian. Who did not do it in his childhood? But change the scene and let the observer watch German children killing the Jews and putting them into concentration camps and the American observer can feel the undesirable consequences of uncritical thought.

The fact to be noted is that imperceptibly a prevailing social attitude got into operation in America which accommodated, without self-condemnation, to inhumane treatment of the native Indians and could accept the Africans as slaves. This could be done at a time contemporaneous to the nation's great original birth of freedom and justice. Some of the people motivated by religious principle protested, but the dominant trend in religious circles permitted and condoned the growing social attitude. Quakers protected Indians but birthright Quakers in that ethnic group are rare. They exerted themselves in underground railroad activity but Negroes were left out of membership in the society despite this close association. Even that type of personality which authored and sang in quiet worship "Steal Away to Jesus" or "Hush, Hush, Somebody's Calling My Name" were left out. Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists split North and South on the question of slavery. But never in the north has the Negro enjoyed first-class membership in these
churches. In the administration of the constituents individuals have been classified according to color in a way that has given deference to the prevailing social attitude. This assumed a radical disparity between the persons (not merely the tastes, the life and thought habits, or the tendencies) of white and non-white individuals. For this inflexible reason congregations and ministers followed a strict pattern of separation by color. This state was a conditioning factor upon the religious experience affecting Negroes under American Christianity.

Whether the charge against Indians and Africans was the slight European thrust "they do not wear clothes", or the brand of racism later fully developed "they are both darker than we", the surface objection was meager to what it implied. The implication carried out in practice was that these people are not Europeans, they are not white; therefore, they are not human beings, at least not worthy ones. Human beings have dignity, they have rights, they demand respect. These do not.

This position was supported by argument of relative capacities. When evidence of capacity for advancement was sought, the European, as has been pointed out, could hold up the achievement of centuries brilliant with military, nautical, political, economic, and religious achievements. When the same test was used by the European to judge the capacity for advancement in the African and in the American Indian, no capacity was found at all. This line of reasoning helped justify dis-
possessing the Indian and using the African. Why should the
Indian cumber the ground and hold back progress? Why should
not the African be directed and ordered? They cannot be
humanized. They cannot be dealt with as men. Since this was
not merely the opinion of fanatics but the philosophy which
accounts for the course of national policy, it must be re-
garded.

In the context of the sixteenth to the nineteenth
centuries a burden of proof lies with those who would assume
that the African does have capacity for advancement equiva-
 lent to that of the European. The issue must be restated
but there is an unavoidable burden of proof involved which
must be assumed before this study can proceed. The situation
may be referred to as posing a burden of proof in the sense
that the relative condition—conqueror—conquered, master-
slave—of whites and non-whites in those centuries indicates
full human capacity inate with whiteness and sub-human
capacity inate with non-whiteness. The problem of this study
centers in an examination of religious experience which is
not attributed to sub-human creatures. The study cannot
proceed should there be any denial of the sensitive capacity
referred to as personality. It must, therefore, regard this
important requisite as independent of political or economic
state. It also proceeds upon the understanding that the
endowment of personality is not diminished nor increased in
keeping with the lines of ethnic or cultural identity. In ex-
amining the religious experience of the American Negro it
will study him as a man who had experiences among other men
in a trying period of the history of this nation.

Man may easily have made unintended mistakes in his
ideas about himself since the science of anthropology is as
recent as it is. If in the beginning of the seventeenth
century a man observed a striking difference in the appearance
and mode of life of a group of people over against his own
that is understandable. He may have thought of their way of
life in contrast to his own and preferred his own for him-
self. If he thought of their way of life and even if he
thought of them as inherently inferior to himself he did
violence to no scientifically established findings on the
nature of human beings. He would have to square his thinking
with the position of Christianity on the subject, but this
was not as hard to do as it may have been if the Church had
said and done one uniform thing.

As the study of anthropology got its start types of
human skeletons were labeled by giving them the names of the
location where they were found. A similar force goes with
the term Caucasian that very noticeably refers to an area in
eastern Europe. Other designations were given by anthro-
pologists in early works to locate groups of people who could
be distinguished by their appearance and by the place where
they might be found. "Buffon in 1749 classified mankind into six races." But there seems to have been no other intention on his part than that of the popular botanist who can distinguish the Chinese cabbage and the African violet. Still, his terms were not left as merely tags for convenience. They were seized upon as classifications and gradations. Variations were made upon them but the idea of three to five separate races of men persisted. There are white, yellow, and black, races of men with perhaps red and brown ones. These may be distinguished throughout by such features as the texture of the hair, but in whatever way they are distinguished the important emphasis made was that they are separate, distinct, and independent from each other. Any mixture became a violation of the right nature of things. The lines of demarcation indicated areas of varying degrees of the endowment of characteristics and capacities which tend toward excellence and achievement. The favored race was the white race. Those who have made noteworthy achievements, even from the most ancient times have been white or nearly white, Nordic, Aryan, European.

In this the doctrine of racism had unmistakable ex-
pression and academic respectability. Racism is "the doctrine that there is special virtue in ancestry." It operates as an assumption for action. It furnishes the consistency for a biased medium of relationships between men. It operates in Europe, in North and South America, in Asia, in Africa, and in Australia. Wherever men have relationships with other men, in the administration and in the social life of the nations of the world.

In the United States color casting has long been an application of this doctrine. Its record may be traced through the history of many years. Occasionally an extreme statement is made such as the one in the book by Charles Carroll, *The Negro as Beast* (or in the Image of God).* The title page carries the statement "The Negro is a beast, but created with articulate speech, and hands, that he may be of service to his master— the White man." Chapter ten bears the title "The Bible and Divine Revelation, as well as Reason, all Teach that the Negro is not Human." The supposed findings of anthropology which established separate races of men have stood with the meaning given by the racist doctrine with

8. Gallager, "Racism and Color Caste", in Craig, CCO, 74,75. See also Embree, FOB, 42.

9. Carroll, FAB.

apparently little objection from the anthropologists.

In 1938, however, the American Anthropological Association found its way to issue a resolution which put the association on record in opposition to the form of racism which was getting a fresh footing and extension in Europe at that time.

Whereas the prime requisites of science are the honest and unbiased search for truth and the freedom to proclaim such truth when discovered and known, and whereas anthropology in many countries is being conscripted and its data distorted and misinterpreted to serve the cause of an unscientific racialism rather than the cause of truth:

Be it resolved, that the American Anthropological Association repudiates such racialism and adheres to the following statement of facts:

1. Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind, but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science.

2. The terms 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' have no racial significance whatsoever. They simply denote linguistic families.

3. Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation, or linguistic heritage.\[11\]

Provoked by Nazi practice and the way some anthropologists were conceding to the position demanded by it these scientists also come out to state that "Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority..." The committee report

carried the names of Cooper, chairman, Cole, and Vaillant
and was enlarged to include the officers12 of the organisation
who include the following men of ability: Edward Sapir (absent
because of illness), Diamond Jenness, John E. Cooper, Earnest
A. Boas, Wm. Duncan Strong, Frank M. Setzler, Cornelius
Osgood, Leslie Spier, W.J. Hershkovits,13 Cornelius Osgood,
F.H.H. Roberts, Jr., Frank G. Speck, E. Linton, T.C. Parsons,
B. Redfield. The resolution was adopted unanimously by this
committee and passed in the annual meeting of the American
Anthropological Association December 29, 1938. In this
American anthropologists were placed on record as officially
as they can be placed there. Individuals have shown in their
work their opposition to the racial myth which makes Nordics
superior to Negroes. Among them are Melvin J. Hershkovits,
Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas, and Herbert J. Seligmann. In a
chapter with the title "What is Race?" Seligmann says

In conclusion, it may be said that in the appli-
cability of the word race to man as denoting species
there is one species: the human species. There may
be, and are, smaller ethnic groups designated as races.
But the designation is either geographical, or based
on physical description. And it should be clearly
understood, first, that any 'race' will contain
innumerable variations and overlapping with other
races; second, that the physical descriptions do not

Art. (1938), 297.

Art. (1938), 297.
imply fatal limitations of cultural and spiritual potentialities. 14

In the light of the findings of anthropologists and their most recent statements there appears no evidence that should indicate any other course in the present study than that the Africans enslaved in America should be examined as any other men. It might be assumed in line with opinions accompanying the practices of the time that the Negro did not experience aspiration, high resolve, tender emotions, reflective thought, depression, hurt from mental cruelty, sensitiveness, shame; in short, attitudes and traits important for the psychologist's examination of the behavior of a subject. The simplicity of slave mentality applied to conform to the opinions of racism must be so revised as to carry all of the complexity of human mental activity. The brain, in its development, the total nervous system, the faculties which make human beings what they are uniquely, are capacities embodied in Negroes in America throughout the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Since the first slaves purchased in Africa were already deprived of their freedom when the European ships of trade arrived, those European traders relieved a tension in the populous area where some natives of one tribe had

been captured by those of another. Not much change in the
life of Africa would have taken place so long as deportations
had been on the basis of such prisoners. But when their
number was not enough to supply loads for ships arriving to
take them away the ship captains resorted to encouraging wars
among the tribes and encouraging seizure by one tribe of
single individuals and groups from another. Whole tribes
have been known to be sold away in one sweep. There was co-
operation by the Africans themselves, especially at a time
when the pattern of racial distinction, of white dominance,
and black solidarity against it was evidently no consideration
in the practice of their seizures and sales.

There was added to these methods of securing slaves
the practice of plunder by the captains and crews themselves.
As the practice continued they became experienced in ef-
ficient methods of securing cargoes. They became informed
about the ways of delivering them for the greatest profit and
they came to be known as slavers. The most efficient way of
getting a load did not mean the way which cut down on the
number of Africans killed. Efficiency depended upon the
shortest time to assemble enough African slaves for a maximum
load with the least risk of injury to the personnel of the
slave ship crew. That crew must repeat its trips time after
time and the fewer replacements needed the smoother the
sailing. There was evidently an unlimited number of blacks
available, a natural resource without limit at their disposal to be converted into saleable goods. The usual effects of the exploitation of a supposed unlimited natural resource is inordinate waste. Top soil, natural gas, crude oil, and virgin growths of timber have been among the resources wasted.

The waste of the African slave trade was in human life. The trade from Africa to the West Indies and to the United States extended from 1518\textsuperscript{15} to 1807.\textsuperscript{16} This is all one unit so far as the way in which it affected the lives of the natives of Africa. Even though they might be disposed of in European ports or in places in Asia through the hands of Mohammedan traders, the net effect of waste had an identity in it. There was a further identity in the trade with the West Indies and United States. They lie in the same general direction from Africa and since they are as close to each other as they are some ships set up points of contact in both places in a round of exchange which included the exchange for profit in slaves from Africa molasses in the West Indies, rum in the United States.

There is considerable agreement among earlier writers and among those who have studied since that the area of

\textsuperscript{15} Donnan, DSTA, 41, 42.
\textsuperscript{16} DuBois, SAS, 108. This is the official closing date. It continued at an advanced rate through the first quarter and persisted during the first half of the nineteenth century.
Africa which furnished slaves for this trade was practically confined to West Africa. The slave traders kept to the coast or to their boats as much as possible. They wished to avoid delays and risks of life and limb. When the system was set up well "factories" or places to corral the slaves were maintained along the mouths of rivers or near the coast. Some of the earlier writers on the slave trade are Anthony Benezet, Thomas Clarkson, Thomas F. Buxton, Esther Copley. Some later persons who studied it are W.E.B. DuBois, who wrote his Ph.D. thesis at Harvard on a study of its suppression (published in 1896), J.A. Tillinghast, M.J. Herskovits. Added to their studies are the records of ship captains and of other people who took trips on the voyages made by slave ships and have reported. The first of these reports found by Herskovits17 was made by Mungo Park.18 It describes travels taken in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797 and was published in London. In 1887 a report of a much earlier voyage got into print. It is Edmund Goldsmid's *Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verde, and the Coast of Africa*. It was translated by M. LeMaire and printed privately in Edinburgh. The voyage on which it reports has the date of 1682. There are numerous reports available and doubtless many which were not preserved or

17. Herskovits, MEP, 34.

18. See also Buxton, AST, 75.
published. These reports have the limitations of the people who make them, they have value as samples which are close to the source. Thus Goldsmith reports on page thirty-five of the conditions in 1682.

The best slaves are to be had for ten francs a piece, and are sold for more than a hundred crowns. For four or five jars of brandy, one can often get a very good slave; thus the expenditure is less in the buying than in the transport, because of the great expense of the vessels.¹⁹

The "factories" were making the slaves available and they were being supplied, evidently, by the natives. The low price for which a slave could be secured indicates that the slave was being taken from a native and not from another white trader engaged in the business of plunder and transportation to the factories in Africa. The white trader though operating in Africa would have known the price on the Western market and would, therefore, have demanded more for himself.

The trade to the West Indies started with official action taken by King Francisco De Los Covos in August 1518. This gave authority to the Governor of Brasa, Lorenzo de Gorreve to take 4000 slaves from the isles of Guinea and other regions "from which they are sent to bring the said

¹⁹. Goldsmith, VSSA, 35.
negroes to these realms and to Portugal. With them he was to proceed "to the Indies, the islands and mainland to the ocean sea." But the trade in the sixteenth century did not grow to a large volume.

In the seventeenth century it became confused with more competition. The Spanish monopoly was broken. Portuguese, French, Dutch, English, and Danish ships were engaged in the effort to share in the large profits. In this century the Dutch and the English were the chief contenders. During the last forty years of the seventeenth century the demand for slaves for raising tobacco in some continental American colonies began. In the eighteenth century this demand asserted itself steadily. From its beginning to its end there was a substantial increase in volume. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century the trade had reached staggering proportions, especially in loss of life. Buxton discusses the rate of loss according to revised estimates and conservative testimony and computing corrected during the appearance of two different volumes of his work. The total number of slaves available to planters in the Western world

20. Donnan, DSTA, 41, 42.
22. Donnan, DSTA, 73.
annually at that time was 120,000 slaves. To provide this number 400,000 was the total lost to their homes and killed. He computes in the following manner:

Taking the annual victims at .... 400,000
One-half perish before embarkation .... 200,000
Embarked .................................. 200,000
One-fourth in the Middle Passage .... 50,000
Landed ..................................... 150,000
One-fifth in the Seasoning ........... 30,000
Available .................................. 120,000

He adds to this number the 100,000 victims of Mohammedan slavery annually (50,000 killed 50,000 taken) to make the total annual loss of population to Africa at 500,000. The large number of people killed on the continent of Africa annually, 250,000, when the trade was running at its highest volume, could not help making an impression upon the Africans. Of the number killed some lost their lives during the march to the place of embarkation onto ships or all the way overland to Mohammedan markets, the rest lost their lives in resisting seizure. Many Mohammedan slaves lost their lives on the much longer marches over the caravan routes. But in the case of 200,000 annually "murdered" in Africa in our Christian trade by far the greatest loss was that which was

of the caves, dug for security against their enemies. They throw their long poisoned javelins, covering themselves with their shields, while their wives and children stand by them and encourage them with their voices; but when the head of the family is killed, they surrender without a murmur. When struck by a ball, the negro, ignorant of the nature of the wound, may generally be seen rubbing it with earth till he falls through loss of blood. The less courageous fly with their families to the caves, whence the hunters expel them by firing pepper into the hole. The negroes almost blinded and suffocated, run into the snare previously prepared, and are put in irons. If after the firing no one makes his appearance, the hunters conclude that the mothers have killed their children, and the husbands their wives and themselves. When the negroes are taken, their strong attachment to their families and lands is apparent. They refuse to stir, some clinging to the trees with all their strength, while others embrace their wives and children so closely, that it is necessary to separate them with the sword; or they are bound to a horse and are dragged over brambles and rocks until they reach the foot of the mountain, bruised, bloody, and disfigured. If they still continue obstinate, they are put to death.\textsuperscript{27}

There are other accounts of the extremities practiced in seizure. Some of them are quite similar. They illustrate the controlled mass production of slaves by comparatively easy conquest through the use of firearms. This kind of seizure can account for the high rate of deaths in Africa. In the

\textsuperscript{27} Burston: AST. 92-94.

* Though they had taken this precaution in general practice these particular natives surely had not heard of the attacks of slave trader's armies. They were not at least living in the constant fear which would have led to their posting night sentinels. The reaction to a gun shot wound also suggests inacquaintance with the most dangerous weapon of this attacker.
final stage of the process, the conquest by Europeans and Americans, during these centuries accounts for 50,000,000 African inhabitants extracted or killed in the traffic of slaves for the western world. To arrive at this enormous figure Woodson prefers the top estimate of his authorities, that 10,000,000 in all were put to work in the islands and in the Americas who were brought out of Africa. He computes that four lost their lives for every one made available.

Woodson may be checked on the basis of his choosing top figures for his estimates. He presents the choice of 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 as the outside estimates of the total number expatriated. He presents four or five as the choice of the estimated number lost for each one expatriated. On the other hand Buxton estimated the annual loss in life and exportation at 400,000 at a time before and during the time of his writings (1840). There is considerable ground for Woodson's top estimate checked by conservative estimates in Buxton's studies when it is observed that in a period of one hundred years at the rate of 400,000 victims per year 40,000,000 would fall victims. The slave trade began officially in the West Indies in 1519. It ended officially in the United States in 1807. 29 This is a period of 269 years. During

this time the annual total of slaves imported varied
greatly, particularly as compared between the beginning and
the end of the period. Yet in the light of Linton's work
Woodson's figures need not seem incredulous. DuBois con-
tributes a paragraph of sweeping summary in this connection.

The slave trade from the fifteenth through the
seventeenth century flowed westward as a small, quiet
but deepening stream of black labor. It rose to a
flood in the eighteenth century, eventually over-
flowing the market with slaves, decreasing the profits
of slavery, increasing the revolt of slaves, revealing
the cruelty of this new slavery and giving philanthropy
a chance to check it.30

They were fastened with cords, with pronged sticks
designed to fit about their necks, hands of the men were at
times fastened together, or two or more of them were
fastened with chains. They were taken to the coast and
placed on board the ships. In the early days of the trade
enough space was provided to avoid crowding. As sailing
designs changed to get faster ships less space was provided
for the slave cargo and the increased demands tended toward
heavier loading. The average loss on this passage between
continents of one fourth of the cargoes given up by death
carries the process through another grim stage. The in-
tolerable conditions during the voyage could well have
stimulated the slaves to object more to their new-found

condition. Their objections brought harsh treatment from the slavers. This was both to discourage objections and, in the extreme cases, to break or eliminate the objector.

By the time they were in chains in the ships those who were still alive had seen a number equal to their own killed who had lately been their friends or family. It is not possible to state with any accuracy what kind of selectivity took place in the skirmishes. One speculation could be that the strong ones were killed and the weak ones were taken alive. Those who resisted most were killed. They may have been those who were driven to desperate violence by the threat of being torn from their homes. They may have been proud ones driven to fight without quarter against the outrageous violation of their home and family and tribe. But every African killed was one less African to sell. And they were graded and sold at varying prices. The slavers went to Africa for the purpose of taking slaves and not of extermination. Prisoners could be taken in these encounters. Once the prisoner was in chains he had less chance to struggle. His suffering was great but not great enough to take the toll in lives that the original fighting had taken. If the captives met strangers in the depots at the coast or in the ships and they understood each other, what they learned had happened to the others increased their knowledge of what they were up against. On the long voyage
they had time for reflecting or the time and their plight
hung on them for brooding.

On board ship they had with them the language and
the folk ways of home. And importantly in a time of
desperate tribal crisis or family and individual tragedy,
they had their religion. They had upon them the insistent
oppression of the hold of a slave ship and its chains. They
had the shock and bruises of the war which brought them
there. The section of West Africa which they left behind
was outlined at an early time by Benezet.

That part of Africa from which the Negroes are
sold to be carried into slavery, commonly known by
the name of Guinea, extends along the coast three or
four thousand miles. Beginning at the river Senegal,
situated about the 17th degree of North latitude,
being the nearest part of Guinea, as well to Europe
as to North America; from thence to the river Gambia
and in a southerly course to Cape Sierra Leone, com-
prehends a coast of about seven hundred miles; being
the same tract for which Queen Elizabeth granted
charters to the first traders to that coast. From
Sierra Leone, the land of Guinea takes a turn to the
eastward, extending that course about fifteen hun-
dred miles, including those several divisions known
by the name of the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the
Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, with the large
kingdom of Benin. From thence the land runs south-
ward along the coast about twelve hundred miles,
which contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola;
there the trade of slaves ends. From which to the
southmost Cape of Africa, called the Cape of Good
Hope, the country is settled by Caffres and Hottentots,
who have never been concerned in the making or selling
slaves.31

Tillinghast bears out this description with some variation in the coast length in miles. J. J. Cooksey and Alexander McLeish give information listing the people inhabiting these sections at present. Their tables are neat and understandable. Melvin J. Herskovits shows that a scholarly and useful work can be done in studying the homes of these several people in his two volume work on the ancient West African Kingdom of Dahomey which he describes as lying "at the very center of the long coastal belt where the most intensive slaving operations were carried on." This "belt" in addition to the length described by others was, he believes, limited in width.

... research must look to tribes well within a belt stretching, as a maximum, not more than two or three hundred miles from the coast as the area meriting closest attention.

History has a way of drawing down the trend of human events until some conclusions are reached. The conclusion reached about any group when one of its own members writes the history may be expected to be complimentary. Trends may be noted here in the events of the slave trade. Con-

32. Tillinghast, NAA, 9.


34. Herskovits, DAB, iv.

35. Herskovits, MHP, 37.
clusions will be reserved. They are not to be based upon the trend of events as reported in the histories of the United States most generally recognized. Although they must be located in the past events of American life they are based upon what can be found about the inner experiences of the slaves. The standard texts generally in use in our educational system are not a source of information for the life of the slaves in America. Still the obligation for anchoring this study in history is in no way relieved. It must still be done.

[The Negro has figured as a slave in the over-all picture of the history of America.] This has been the case through most of the years of life here. There were free Negroes from very early time but they were exceptions. With intellectual fairness, men who have written classic histories of the United States have indicated a general trend regarding the period included in this study. They have written that beginning in 1619 Negroes were brought to the United States to be slaves; with the Civil War they were freed. When slavery is thrown upon the record, there is little else to be said. The historian treating the life of a populous and growing nation has a point of view. He must be selective of materials. He may easily regard anything said about the lives of slaves themselves as unwarranted detail. Yet, there is need to know more about these slaves as people.
On December 19, 1875 Carter Godwin Woodson was born near New Canton, Buckingham County, Virginia. His parents, James Henry Woodson and Anne Aliza (Riddle) Woodson had both been slaves. After a delay in his early education which found him entering high school at the age of twenty he finished in less than two years, attended Berea College in Kentucky two years and began teaching. By 1908 he had found time and means to study and travel in Asia, and in Europe as well as at home. In this year he received the Master of Arts degree from the University of Chicago where he had earlier received the Bachelor of Arts degree. By 1912 he had received the Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in history.36

Four years later he had come upon the thing which was to distinguish his career, editing The Journal of Negro History. In the Harvard Widener Library a copy of the first bound volume beginning with January 1916 is presented to President Abbot Lawrence Lowell and signed by C.G. Woodson. This work has gone through thirty-three volumes and marks the most sustained effort among American Negroes to study and to present their history under the discipline of a learned society. The Journal of Negro History is a project

36. Miller, RGW 2, 3.
of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., which was organized in Chicago in the Wabash Avenue Branch of the Y.M.C.A. on September 9, 1915 with Dr. Woodson and four others present.37

Born ten years after the Civil War in a former slave state, Woodson has continued this work and other publications as well with the purpose of affording more trustworthy information as a means of better understanding between white people and Negroes. Among them are The Negro in Our History first published in 1922 with the most recent copyright made in 1945, and The African Background Outlined published in 1936. White persons and Negroes have both contributed to scholarly historical studies of the Negro in the last thirty years. Franklin observes that such studies have been going on for one hundred years in different areas of American history.38 Numerous studies have been made of the Negro in the life of particular states, Virginia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and others. Representative of this work are the books published in New York City by Alfred A. Knopf. Among them is the book by John Hope Franklin,39 From Slavery to Freedom, a history of

38. Franklin, ESF, 591, 593.
39. The same writer referred to in footnote 38.
American Negroes. Through the pages of these books the Negro is studied as a group whose life has warm interest, attractive color, constant contact with the larger whole of the population, and often strategic significance in affecting the direction life in this nation and in this hemisphere has taken. Some recent writers are exerting themselves in study on geographical areas which have not been studied earlier or on aspects of life formerly neglected. Laurence Foster wrote a Ph.D. thesis on  

Indian Relationships in the Southeast in 1935. It was written in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania and has stimulated interest in the Seminole Indians and in other tribes. In recent studies of slavery there is persistent, if not increased emphasis upon the instances of revolt among the slaves. Works by Herbert Aptheker,  

Slavery Revolts in the United States  

(1939) and  

To Be Free  

(1943) illustrate this trend. Other such works are Joseph C. Carroll,  

Slave Insurrections in the  

United States, 1800-1860  

(1938), Raymond and Alice Bauer,  

"Day to Day Resistance to Slavery," Journal of Negro History  

27, (October, 1942), Lorenzo J. Greene, "Mutiny on the Slave Ships," Phylon 5, (Fourth Quarter, 1944), and John Hope Franklin,  

From Slavery to Freedom pp. 204-212.

The contribution of African culture is woven into the American Negro culture. Egypt is not to be excluded
from the darker peoples among these writers. 40 A kinship among Negroes in the United States and those in Africa is recognized. DuBois’ tendency to make predictions and to pronounce moral judgments in the light of the course of events, as he did in an earlier time especially, is not shared by these students of history. They do not bid for sympathy. They do not emphasize the suffering which has occurred. They give an account of events including the Negro wherever the opportunity arises and in ways which do not conform to a stereotyped idea of the slave in America.

Among these historians there is a significant swing from any evidence of an underlying philosophy which includes faith in God as working in the events of human society. In fact there is evidence that in the long and remarkable intellectual career of W.E.B. DuBois in history and sociology there has been a progressive removal in later years from faith in anything called Christian. Carter G. Woodson wrote on The Negro Church in an earlier work but has not shown interest in it since. This may not be a superficial skepticism only. It may include the disillusionment of earnest men. Franklin takes note of some responses of the natives in Africa to Christianity. He notes Christian idealism and its compromises on the issue

of slavery. He gives space for discussing the development of churches among Negroes. But in the days of slavery the religion of the slaves had no determining, dynamic effect.

To the demonstrations of brutality as well as to the very institution of slavery itself the Negro reacted in various ways. Thanks to the religion of his master he could be philosophical about the whole thing and escape through ritual and song. His emphasis on other-worldliness in his songs certainly suggested grim dissatisfaction with his worldly status. 'Dere's A Great Camp Meetin' in de Promised Land'; 'Look Away in De Heaven, Lord', 'Fo' My Soul's Goin' to Heaven Jes' Sho's you born', and 'Heaven, Heaven; Everybody Talkin' 'Bout Heaven Ain't Goin' There' are only a few of the songs which slaves sang in the hope that their burdens would be relieved in the next world. As long as he was in this world he had to make the most of the unfavorable situation by loafing on the job, feigning illness in the fields and on the auction block, and engaging in an elaborate program of sabotage.41

Franklin and others have adopted an agreed evaluation of the place occupied by religion in the course of events. They write a record which, throughout the Negro's participation in the affairs of the Western World, finds but meager evidence of whole, positive, constructive influence from religion in the lives of men.

41. Franklin, FSF, 206.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF THE SLAVE

While the physical condition of the slave caused much comment in abolitionist circles and the observable disadvantages were urged and apparent there are other considerations which are held in higher regard as more is understood of the nature of human beings. Benevolent masters boasted of good treatment, no harsh punishments, no flogging on their plantations. There was plenty of food, and quarters adequate for shelter, and clothing.

With this good treatment slavery was defended as a desirable state of affairs for one who wished to get along on as little self-dependence as possible. The best of social information discourages permanent relief as a solution of economic problems because of the victimizing effects resulting in the persons receiving it. Skilled personal counselling recognizes quickly the indispensable part played by the need for "standing room". An individual must be given room enough to stand on his own feet in order to have mature adjustment. He must have responsibility commensurate with his capacities for reliable performance. He needs opportunity to expand that scope of responsibility to sustain wholesome growth. The slave status, regardless of how benevolently it
was administered, violated the requirements of personal status.

Slavery is an unfair economic arrangement. Men work for reasons. Usually a general reason can be applied. A man works because he has to. But this is reduced to meanings which fit individual cases. As commonly understood men make the adjustment to his environment through which he can secure food and other necessities from it. That he readily understands. When he is hungry he must go to the trouble of securing food. Animals and the most primitive men do this. With foresight he may provide in advance. With skills he may store goods a for long lengths of time. If his labor is contributing to his own well-being or to those for whom he feels a responsibility he submits to it without rational objection. Any culture along the West Coast of Africa by the seventeenth century had arrived at this point. When, however, he is required to do labor above and beyond any return to himself he has an inclination of distaste for it and a rational ground for objecting to it. Slavery is built upon this stern demand, labor from the enslaved for which there is no compensation. This crossing of purposes in the man enslaved and the requirement of slavery sets up an inescapable conflict.

Slavery provided that one man should own the person of another. A person is a valuable possession. If he is compared to other forms of life he is distinguished in having the power of speech and response that is singular. The
mechanisms of his hands are superior to the animal kingdom.
The ownership of such a possession as like oneself without
any responsibility required on one's own part is a tremendous
overturn of human relations. An unusual opportunity is given
in this way in the privacy of one's own real property or
estate (plantation) to take liberties with human property
which would not be practiced under other relationships. Some
floggings could be working off pent up emotions which im-
mediate incidents need not provoke. Sexual liberties taken
by the master class were taken without the usual restraints
of the social mores in operation. They were exploits of the
abusive opportunity found in sole possession of live human
bodies of the opposite sex. To the slave this was denial of
basic rights and inescapable conflict.

At the end of the voyage from Africa the usual practice
was to leave the slave at a place near the port in this
country for a few days of observation and "seasoning" or
"breaking in". Stripped to its skeleton the process involved
two persons. One was unarmed and seated on the ground. The
other stood by him and held a loaded revolver to the first
man's head and asked, "Do you give in? Will you behave?"
And the first man's answer was, "Yes." In practice the
whip was flourished and used but the gun was behind the whip
and the man on the ground was always unarmed. He could
answer "No". Some of them did and they were killed as crazy, dangerous, out of their heads, wild. Including those whose health failed them from digestive disorder, lack of nourishment, over-crowding, one-fifth of those landed or 30,000 per year at the highest rate of trade, died in this way.

As the man sat on the ground he knew that the man with the gun would kill him. All he had to do was to strike with his fist and he would be killed. A defiant "no" might bring torture. A persistent "no" meant death. He had a decision to make. The choice was between death and life. The answer from all those who failed to choose death in this circumstance may have been a terrified "yes". "Yes, I will give in. Yes, I will behave. You will never have any trouble out of me; only don't kill me." These will be considered a bit later. Still under the discussion of unavoidable conflict another possible group contained in the 120,000 left alive may be considered. Whenever men are developed in any culture who deliberately choose death rather than life at an intolerable compromise, those men are an accomplishment to that culture. These are the men who are not afraid of death. In every culture they are held at a premium. Discounting those who were terrified and so disorganized by the crisis they were not accountable for their actions, discounting those who would have done anything but die and yet were killed, 50 per cent is still a
high-death rate. When 200,000 out of 400,000 died death—rather than submit even when the invaders' purpose is capture and not annihilation there is strong indication of a deliberate refusal. The deaths on the ships which were not due to accident or lack of water and nourishment were high on the scale of deliberate choice of death in preference to a compromised life because the panic of war and seizure was quieted. The possibility of survival in a fight and killing the enemy was removed. The odds were now hopelessly in favor of the conqueror. And there was a period of a few weeks of inactivity on the ships when reflection or brooding is nearly synonymous to consciousness. One fourth of the total taken from Africa or 50,000 annually died on the ships.

Any who submitted to slavery had to agree to give up resistance, he had to agree to "behave". While each slave was not put through an ordeal in the breaking in station this is a token of the psychic adjustment accomplished in it and maintained in the master-slave relation even when the slave was born and reared right on his master's plantation. The slave came into conflict with the master where command and performance met. The slave had to agree to give in, to always give in. Questioning is not part of the process. And this has not even the rationale of military discipline.

1. Buxton, ASF, 200. The foregoing figures in the chapter are from this reference.
Any refusal is rebellion, any resistance is destructive to the system. The master enters the physical conflict with the threat of enough force to carry over his demands. The pattern is not interfered with, the continuous procedure of things is not disrupted so long as the conflict is carried in the direction of the slave with the slave continuously giving way. The thrust of this conflict though is volitional. Grants of prescribed areas of activity did not resolve it. Wherever there is the will for self-direction in the stage of normal maturity there is conflict in the slave status.

Tension here referred to is psychological stress occasioned by unresolved conflicts. It may be fastened upon the person of another individual. But it is primarily a subjective experience. It is disruptive, provoking, annoying. A slave could operate under a minimum amount of tension. This could be done by not only submitting but by abdicating responsibility for self-direction. A formula was prescribed, "You are a pagan savage, listen to your betters." Later, "You are a black, you are no good. Do what you are told and you will get along." The slave who rejected himself saying "I'm just a poor Negro, no better for me," had a low rate of psychological strain as he nullified the inescapable conflicts of motivation at the price of self-respect, self-direction, responsibility, self-realization, personality itself. Men, women, and children were brutalized by slavery. As long as
there was vitality at any appreciable rate the one concern of
these brutalized people was to "stay in good wid da white
folks." After this they would just go as long as they could
or had to.

Minus the motivations which can keep work from being
drugery the slave had constant and sizeable tension rising
out of the economic conflict in his situation. This tension
is present in similar degree whenever the economic arrange-
ment is regarded as unfair. The slaves who had been brought
from Bahamia had been trained in practices of fair exchange
and cooperative effort in economic life. 2 This area of con-
lict might generate a moderate degree of tension under which
the individual's behavior would tend to stay well within the
pattern of conformity and without much consumption of psychic
energies. "I don't like it, but there's nuthin' I can do
about it."

Still stemming from the economic conflict comes the
tension with pressure enough to demand release in a moderate
deviation from the norm of acceptable slave behavior. There
is some risk involved, there is some gain. When a slave
harbored this degree of tension he felt better the next day
if he had stolen and cooked a chicken. He was not only

better nourished but he had release of tension. He knew his slavery was not right and he had gone farther than saying there was nothing he could do about it. What he had done without getting caught helped to unify him around a purpose which was rational and close enough for him to guard and cherish. He had a way that might beat the tension. As he smiled to himself the next day at work he could say, "'Course I'm gonna' stay out of trouble, but I'm gonna' look out for myself too."

Described here are probably increased stages of tension. The areas of conflict from which they stem are difficult to locate with certainty. It is safe to assume that the higher stages of tension tend to draw from an increased number of conflict areas. As the strain of tension increases, caution tends to decrease and the slave may come to the place where he says "I'm goin' to get 'em every time I can." This lessened caution may be expressed in the risk taken rather than in showdown provocation of the master. Instead of stealing one chicken he may steal three a week or he may steal a pig and drive him out into the distance at night and roast him. There are reports of destruction of crops, tool breakage, injury to animals, and injury to selves which may well be the behavior release found at this level of tension.3

3. Franklin, 264-266.
"One of these days I'm goin' to fly off an' raise the devil", represents another level of reaction. This delayed action or threat of violence may contain a high rate of tension. It may vary in bitterness and type of violence threatened. It is often used as a verbal formula for impressing the hearer. But when it is kept by the individual it is more seriously a device in dealing with tension. So long as striking provocation does not arise the individual is not called upon. He may be honest in his threat. He may know that he is bluffing. If occasion to act comes and he does not arise to it he loses this means of containing tension. Unless it is honestly done it is no real container of tension. The individual who bluffs with this formula is not dealing with his tension.

Each and every white person born and living in the slave holding states was not in favor of slavery. Some members of slave holding families did not approve the system, some opposing it so heartily that constant differences and sometimes final breaks resulted. Such individuals could not escape the notice of the slaves themselves. Even those white people who wanted to be good inside of slavery and would have done away with it if it had not cost so much gave complexity to the question. These conflicting items of data in the experience resulted in tension. This is not necessarily a continuation of the ascending scale.
There were also the instances in which black ma"amy and white child formed genuine attachments which somewhere had to be snatched out of the noble course which the mother and child affection may normally run to conform to the slave system. There were other personal attachments across the racial and caste lines which are not easily reduced to explanation but added a share to the tension.

When the slave asked "Should I let things go? Is it worth the trouble to get hurt or killed?" his indecision growing out of incomplete knowledge and indistinct impressions, helps contribute to the state of tension. Contradictions without a means of comprehending and grasping the whole meaning also helped to keep the individual from the command of himself. Shifting ideas were presented from points of supposed authority, from those who exercised authority whether they wanted it or not. Much was strange and new, confusing, and vexing. This suspension was a cause of tension.

The slave system purposely promoted fear in the slaves. It established itself with the emotional state as a device for perpetuation. If the slave was made afraid he would not give his master any trouble, it was thought. Respect was called for but it was not the respect which one person expects from another in a mutually honorable relationship. And it was not depended upon. One motive which runs deep enough to control in the harsh circumstances of slavery and can be com-
trolled by the party in power is fear. It is a strong emotion. It can be kept in operation at long range and by token instances for stimulus or by threat. An emotion may be defined as "the qualitative experience of tension toward goals." Again, "Emotions are dynamic and telic tensions of personal experience." In the fear basic to slavery, tension is developed but the goal is faulty. The slave was stimulated to exert himself continually toward the goal of "Doing what I tell you to do." This is more of a whimsical flurry than a satisfying goal. It would have been more definite if it were clearly stated as making as much money for the master as possible.

The master, however, wished to carry the impression that the slave was afraid of him rather than of what he would do to the slave. He wished to claim that his word was law and not his whip or his gun. To do this he could not offer any understanding which could admit in the presence of the slave that "We've got to observe certain rules around here in order for my business to run at a profit. You may not like them but if you don't keep them you'll have to stand the consequences." In order to effect the transfer of fear in the

4. Johnson, PGR, 50.
5. Johnson, PGR, 50.
slave for the master he had to claim mystic, awe-inspiring force behind the voice of a white man which spoke with unquestionable authority backed by forces much mythically superior to whip and gun. A code was set up which includes this well established maxim "A slave must never strike a white man."

Fear was an indispensable item of stock. It was given studied promotion. Rumor alone was not depended upon. Actual atrocities were committed. They were not confined to quick death by shooting. Flogging to death went unpunished by law. Cutting off ears, hands, tongues, putting out eyes, have been practiced in these colonies and United States. "In colonies like those in the West Indies and in South Carolina and Georgia... crucifixion, burning, and starvation were legal modes of punishment." The more humane slaveholders sold "undesirables" down the river for the bad boys to handle. This practice continued to the end of slavery. Fear is a strong emotion and when its tension is non-directed and irrational its pressure within the psychic life of the individual may grow to be tremendous. Purposeful increase in fear in such an individual becomes a super-charge of tension.

There is much more to be learned about hatred.

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Not much is known about how it starts or why it should start in
the psycho-emotional or attitudinal life of the individual. The
type of environmental experiences to which the individual is
subjected are established in quite close relations. Severe,
abusive treatment may be listed with causal effect. Numerous
forms of animal life give indication of positive harmless or
affectionate response to gentle and kind treatment and vicious
reaction to abusive treatment. It has been pointed out that
the system which purposely fostered fear was at the same time
building tension. The amount of tension and the extent of
fear probably have some positive correlation, but it should
not be supposed that this fear and tension are without atti-
tudinal trend. This fear was neither fostered nor experienced
with respect or respectability. It was fostered with mutual
contempt. It did not elicit awe or wonder and reverence. Its
call for reverence was based on self-deceit or hypocrisy, con-
formity was also hypocrisy and into the vacuum left when his
self-respect was torn away the victim thrust hatred for the
victimizer. Hatred tends to have a completeness in its affect
within psychic life. It can fill the area of void. Hatred is
very strong, it can hold and unify. It can endure with patience.
It can take the trouble to be evasive and deceptive. It can
smolder into an imperceptible contempt an inactive volcano.
Its gorge in psychic existence is so cavernous that it can
contain inconceivably high potentials of pressure—tensions with
pressures so great that they would instantly explode smaller and weaker containers. Without coming to the surface of action an individual can work out by verbalizing in communion with himself alone an intolerable amount of tension with "I hate you! Oh! With all my heart, I hate you!" And this is not a simple delay, and evasion. It is an actual, immediate, vivid experience. It is a mind set which calculates possibilities, weighs odds, hides the time, longs, suffers, and waits.

As strong as fear is hatred can make terms with it. Fear might even be described as being drawn into the cavern of tension and held by hatred as part of the potential explosive power. On occasion of crisis fear may then be utilized for swifter flight or for more sudden attack or for more ruthless measures. If part of the holding strength of hatred is in a capacity to expand than more and more fear and more and more tension make more and more hatred.

Hatred is inclusive whether conceived of as a container or as a pervasive substance introduced into the presence of other materials. It is stringent so that it attacks and affects violently what it contacts. This all or nothing process has limited appropriateness when applied in terms of the requirements of a group. When hatred is admittedly misapplied it is accompanied by a different moral judgment from when it is felt to be justifiably applied. Its diffusive tendency is difficult to curb, nevertheless. Fear white;
hate white. If there were some traces of the moral judgment
left which could have been as primitive as the desert law which
held that one should love his friends and hate his enemies this
situation rendered a complication. The slave should fear all
whites. Not only was that pressed upon him in the doctrine of
the slave code but it was reinforced in his experience. He
could not trust any slave holder or would-be slave holder.
This was fear. The benevolent slave holder held him in bounds
with the insecurity that if he gave trouble (if he should
break the slave caste in any way) he could be sold down the
river. If the good master died or went broke the slave would
be sold. Insecurity is fear. Even the most ardent abolish-
onists had limitations which to the slave must have seemed
insurmountable. He was so far removed that he was most easily
taken in by doubt or fear on the part of the slave. Then there
were still some exceptions of people who is spite of the
fearridden code were human beings to him more vividly than they
were blocks in the pattern. White was held over him for fear.
When he responded with his defense of hate it was difficult to
discriminate with appropriate measure. Here the total tension
was contributed to with recrimination.

The psychological synonym for chaining is frustration.
The slave was fettered, shut in, cut off. He was given some
rope, but he never got off the end of that rope so long as he
was a slave. He was not allowed to forget it. What he felt
with it was frustration.

The slaves taken had been conquered. They had tasted the bitterness of defeat; now added to defeat was enslavement. This was true whether they had fought with a neighboring tribe or with the slaver's armies. If they were kidnapped the incident of seizure was different but the feeling of loss was not lessened. The family behind might survive their lost one had been taken by slavers but they could never know whether he had perished in the bush or had been taken far away. When thoughts of the loved ones and the home surroundings, just as they had been, persisted, they gave setting to sharp frustration in the inability to get any word back.

In popular circles there is the opinion that a person or a group which never shows any signs of sorrow in so doing shows signs of strength. Sorrow should never be shown nor admitted. Small boys learn never to shed tears for men and boys never do. It is a disgrace for them ever to do so; women and girls may cry sometimes. This opinion tends to go farther than the circles of thought that are discounted as uncritical. The method of loosened up grief work associated with the name of Dr. Eric Lindemann was given wide distribution in Leibman's Peace of Mind as something not altogether common.

7. Leibman, POM, 122, 125-130.
The conclusion, then, of the newest psychological research is that when we face the loss of a dear one, we should allow our hearts full leeway in the expression of their pain.

These slaves had come upon one of life's severe necessities, to live with grief and sorrow. Many had come to the ultimate loss in human life in the tribal mode—destruction of the tribe. Added to final tragedy came continued living and breathing only for suffering slavery. This was crushing. A stifling set of original frustration for all which should come after it.

He had a proscribed area of life. What he could do and what he could not do were generally understood and specifically designated. Socially there was a ceiling over his head. It was the ground floor of the level where white folks walked. The American dream encouraged men to work hard, conquer the wilderness, build up the country and get ahead. He was here during the great strides in development but no matter how hard he worked he did not get anywhere. He missed the encouragement which comes with assured accomplishment at the same place with only exhaustion, parched throat, calloused or blistered hand, sweaty body as the difference. He had no hope that as a result of hard work now he could come to a time

8. Liebman, FOM, 125.
when his strength was gone that he could still reap a harvest from his labor.

What has been said about the limits on the social and economic life of the slave may be said about the lives of poorly paid laborers. They are not acceptable in "higher" society. They receive money but they do not profit from their labor. They get nowhere. They are also limited in daily physical movement. No carriage, no car, no money, tired and they stay at home until it is time to go to the same old work again. The more closely they are compared, however, the more evident becomes a distinction between the two states. There is a difference between a man's staying at home because he has not the inclination to go, and a man's staying in his cabin just as poor and as tired but because he has no pass to go to the next plantation.

The slave is reduced to the minimum in the amount of initiative he may exercise. Because he is property he has not only economic worth to the one for whom he works, he has also worth in marketable value. His person must be accounted for on the job and off as is the whereabouts of a watch worth two hundred dollars, or a tractor worth one thousand dollars. The claims asserted and the reduction of initiative as well as the limitation of movement necessarily imposed is of a different grade. When a man parks a car in front of his home at night even if it could run itself and move about over the streets and return again he would not wish to have it do so
not only for the wear on the tires and waste of fuel but because of the risk of accident, though it propelled itself ever so carefully. When an employer loses a worker he hires another. When a slaveholder lost a slave it was a loss in dollars and cents. If it did not teach the others a lesson it was a total loss. The most satisfactory order of things was for the slave to do nothing from his own private initiative even during off hours. The slave was effectively and unreasonably shut in.

[Work was directed:] The more profitable agricultural management was by drives or gangs of slaves under demanding supervision. [This was a loss in individuality and in self-expression for the worker.] Initiative was ignored, any show of it was forbidden, the existence of it was denied. The common insistence by slave drivers that there was only one way to get work out of blacks and that was "our way" furnished a continual denial of their initiative.

Denial of the slave's initiative by the master did not extract a capacity for it. But it could be frustrated so bluntly this way that it would disappear, stop operating. This is a high level of psychic activity and loss of its keen edge may be imperceptible to casual observation but the loss is no less great. The extent of personality upset may be observed in the poet whose edge of initiative is raked away with too severe and unfair criticism or the artist whose creative art is stolen.
away through complication in commercial marketing of his product. Pathological alcoholism and insanity have been known to result from the accumulated frustration. This high rate of creative initiative was not held by each of the slaves but some of them were poets and sculptors. Others were jewellers and wood carvers by latent capacity. But wood carving was left in Africa and its skill was lost among the slaves. Accompanying the supputation of this tribal cultural expression is a mute, hidden, pain of loss. The delicacy which gets expression in wordless, yet hold, distinct art forms makes no vocal argument upon its disappearance. It is silently gathered into the company of frustrations, unanswered denials, abuses of high possibility for lack of opportunity.

Transportation from native home to America without consent was a frustration. The whole of life aside from art forms, all of the usual ways of doing things as continuous and commonplace as choice and flavoring of food, the choice and use of utensils was interrupted, making its addition. When the cultural channel ran deeply its block and stoppage resulted in frustration which mounted comparably high. Many years and generations are required to form a language or dialect. When one individual is suddenly forcibly stopped from speaking his

mother tongue, kept from communicating from other people in
the dialect he knows best by being separated from all who
understand it and is prevented from teaching it to any in-
fants who may be born to him, he is frustrated. Denial of
the leisure to which the native African was accustomed was
a frustration. The loss of language may be thought of as
representative of other occasions of frustration quite as
large. The native was bred into tribal identity. He was
part of a whole. That whole was greater than any of its
parts. Life in that type of civilization gets indispensable
content from its setting of particular folkways some of
which are unique from even the closest neighbor's. In
slavery in the United States tribal ties were not continued;
nothing here socially quite duplicated that old life. Each
tribe had a chief. There was loyalty to the tribe. There
was government from the tribe. Final authority was in its
custom. It was not in the hands of some outside control.
Slavery in America shifted this state of things, wrested
this control.) Though the frustrations here discussed apply
to the newly arrived or first generation slave it should
not be supposed that they fail to apply as years passed or
as slaves were born who had never seen Africa. The slave
trade continued to supply much of the demand for slaves
through most of the years of slavery. A statement from
Davis and Dollard shows the application of these obser-
vations.

In order to say that a frustration exists, then one must be able to specify two things: (1) that the organism could have been expected to perform certain acts, and (2) that these acts have been prevented from occurring. 10

In their study "Frustration is independently defined as that condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference." 11 (their italics). They explain that "An act which terminates a predicted sequence will be called a goal-response." 12

They make a fairly well defended postulation regarding the connection between frustration and aggression.

This study takes as its point of departure the assumption that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. More specifically the proposition is that the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression ... In many adults and even children, frustration may be followed so promptly by an apparent acceptance of the situation and readjustment thereto (the quoter's emphasis) that one looks in vain for the relatively gross criteria ordinarily thought of as characterizing aggressive action. It would be kept in mind, however, that one of the earliest lessons human beings learn as a result of social living is to suppress and restrain their overtly aggressive reactions. This does not mean, however, that such reaction tendencies are thereby annihilated; rather it has been found that, although these reactions may be temporarily compressed,

10. Davis and Dollard, FAA, 7.

11. Davis and Dollard, FAA, 11.

12. Davis and Dollard, FAA, 58.
delayed, disguised, displaced, or otherwise deflected from their immediate and logical goal, they are not destroyed.13

None of the frustration growing up in those slaves transported to the United States had to be expressed immediately or in the ways which might be identified under "relatively gross criteria ordinarily thought of as characterizing aggressive action." In this discussion of the psychic activity attending the native's adjustment to slavery, the transaction loses the impression of simplicity which comes with a superficial view on the surface. "Aggression is independently defined as an act whose goal-response is injury to an organism (or organism-surrender)" (authors' italics).

Those who follow the Freudian discoveries concerning repression find aid in understanding some behavior which is left by others as "just plain mean" until they identify it as aggressive behavior resulting from frustration. Cheating, stealing, and lying may be interpreted as aggressions. From this view the tension earlier referred to arises from frustration. The higher degrees of it tend to seek reduction through the activity described, which is aggressive activity. These aggressive acts, by becoming substitute goal-responses, accomplish part of what the goal-response would have with a

13. Davis and Hollard, FAA, 1.2.
resulting reduction of the degree of tension.

The goal-response may be defined as that reaction which reduces the strength of instigation to a degree at which it no longer has as much of a tendency to produce the predicted behavior sequence.\textsuperscript{14}

When the enslaved African was frustrated by the loss of being able to gather tropical fruit and he stole a chicken, the original goal-response was substituted and he "felt better" the next day as his tendency to follow a predicted behavior sequence that had been impossible to follow had, in a sense, been followed. He had partially followed an original sequence of events by going and getting food. He had accomplished an injury upon the master by taking from him.

He could work another deceptive aggression by playing sick sometimes. Destruction of property was a more direct attack. It could be expected from those most highly frustrated whose tension was not relieved by the more indirect forms. Some of the inexcusable mistreatment of one slave by another may be accounted for more satisfactorily when viewed as working off aggressions. There is a substitute in the organism to whom injury is done by the act, but injury to a person is closer to the logical goal than injury to an inanimate object would be. Some stages of

\textsuperscript{14} Davis and Dollard, PAA, 6.
tension could not be relieved by anything short of the
offender. Such crisis states were the extreme. They ran
at such a high rate that reason or planning or long-term
will to win were no longer operating. The frustrations which
had already stored up eliminated quite effectively the con-
text for concerted effort growing out of a formulated cause
and a shared commitment. This psychic cutting up and
cutting off should be given consideration in any accounting
for the failures in slave uprisings. A slave came to the
end of his emotional and intellectual endurance and alone or
in the company of ten or twenty others he made a bare-handed
frontal attack upon an oncoming armored tank. The goal-
response of his aggression stage was that he kill the whites.
In this state his compulsion for this specific act of
aggression was stronger and more determining than the
clearly defined desire for freedom. Compare this slave’s
behavior with that of the one who assumed the risk and chose
the direction of escape to Canada.

The psychological condition of the slaves was one of
tension and pressure. This was so for those who maintained
any self-respect, who did not allow themselves to be
fatally brutalized by slavery. Pressure was brought about
by the controls exerted by the master class and by self-
initiated controls employed by the slave for his own pro-
tection. The slave system was built upon force and the
controls used by the master were in keeping with forced or violent means. The immediate controls employed by the slave were accommodated to the situation in a way that reflected violence equally as much.

The master contrived to keep the slave unarmed. This was not only so by keeping weapons away from him; the slave should also be deprived of self-confidence. He should be made to believe that he could do nothing without the direction and permission of his master. The slave should never be armed with a conception of the rights he possessed. The master should not admit that he had any right which the white man was bound to respect. He should be continually threatened with the display of superior power and he should be shown the drastic effects of white fury.

Not only should he be kept reduced economically and politically, but these should be directed to the accomplishment of keeping him psychologically dispossessed. He should not get his own roots in. Toward this end owners avoided opportunity for self-improvement to the slaves in general. Self-respect was frowned on as getting uppity. And a black man, of course, should never feel as good as any white man. One of the techniques attempted to ease the conscience of the white as well as to secure his position was to claim ability to command by superior psychological force. One of the clearest denials brought out by the
careful studies of slave revolts by Herbert Aptheker is on
this contention.

In their turn the controls employed by the slaves
which were reflections of the situation, even though in a
sense they were initiated by the slave, had destructive
effects upon the slaves. One such control was "Always
remember to please the white man." This meant no matter
what was asked, regardless of moral consideration, please him.
Again, "Don't let unexpected situations catch you off guard."
For this the slave should keep himself always held in,
always effectively repressed. He was responding in a direct
line from the stimulus as he reacted in this way to the fear
of abuse under slight provocation. He lacked integration
which could reorganize him about a core which was essentially
independent of his immediate environment. As he kept him-
self repressed in order to keep out of trouble and out of
the way he lacked an objective which could support him. For
when trouble came anyway he was driven to futility, dis-
couragement and despair. Under this kind of control the
slave could not keep from undergoing the vitiating effects
of cowardice. Whether his cowardice was acknowledged or
denied as a control its personality repercussion was the same.
Such a slave refused to fight no matter what the odds. He
refused to fight not because he believed fighting wrong. He
simply refused to contend.
These slave controls stem from fear. Johnson describes fear as a destructive emotion. Slaves could be kept under these controls, but the price required was high expense of nervous energy. It was a process sheerly bent upon personality disintegration. It required more than men's sweat and strength and bodies.

15. Johnson, FOR, 55.
CHAPTER IV

RESOURCES AND CONDITIONING FORCES FOR THE SLAVE'S RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

The slave could bring with him only what he had stored away in his life before seizure. Whatever he had gained from his culture he could bring, provided it was not destroyed by the shock. It could not be of a material nature, of course. But some cultural tendencies stayed with him persistently; such as, language and accent upon the new language of the master. Other cultural tendencies stayed with him according to their utility in the ordeal through which he was passing. A philosophy of life which could cushion some of the terrific impact of aggression upon him was kept by the slave. This was brought along out of his African folklore. It was preserved by Joel Chandler Harris in the well-known character Uncle Remus. Here is a quaint, contemplative attitude toward the things that happen. There are some good actors and some bad actors among the woodland folk. The good folks have to stay out of the way of the bad folks, or outsmart them some way. Brer Fox and Brer Rabbit are eternal and natural enemies, but somehow things go so that although Brer Fox is strong and bad, still Brer Rabbit gets along.

Closely associated with this aid from the motherland was
the slave’s sense of humor. The folklore characters were themselves often humorous. Or running beneath the story in one situation after another was a droll dark humor. This is to be distinguished from empty, loud laughter. It is different from a grinning mask. It is the ability to make a joke. Even when you are being pinned down in the situation you see something that could be smiled at if you wanted to, or laughed at if you had the strength to. This is sometimes described as constitutional, it may be accounted for culturally. Like the folklore, its origin in their lives must be traced back to Africa. Out of this resource came some of the blues and work songs later. Langston Hughes refers to the blues as "Sad funny songs. Too sad to be funny and too funny to be sad." A saying popular under this way of meeting life was, "I’m singing to keep from crying."

Less known than the Uncle Remus stories and folklore are the proverbs which the Africans brought with them. Like the proverbs of other people they are nuggets of wisdom drawn out of experience. They are not necessarily religious yet they may aid an individual under stress to improve his perspective. Carter G. Woodson has assembled some translations of them. The Hebrews and the Chinese are known for their proverbs. There are more to be found from among the Africans than may be expected. Some of the stabilizing effect of these proverbs came from their belief in the value of truth, honorable
relations with one's neighbor, thrift, endurance. They give
some reflection of a belief in a just order in things. They
suggest that good and right are not lost in this world. In
the long run it pays to be good.

There were medicine men in the religious practices of
the tribes of the West Coast of Africa. Some of them might
be described as the priests. They had, in common with such
persons in other similar societies, numerous functions.
There has been a tendency in circles of advanced religion to
discount these men as quacks and imposters. Their methods have
been described as magic and trickery. Their effectiveness has
been regarded as possible only in proportion to the gross
ignorance of their constituents.

In the judgment of some recent workers in psychological
group methods a final, complete condemnation of their work is
mistaken. Among these men there may have been scoundrels,
smart crooks, cheap clowns, and mentally unbalanced individuals.
Their work corresponded to the kind of men they were. The
religion of the tribe had values in it, but the wrong men
thwarted such values. They could work on the superstitions of
the people for ulterior motives. Good men among the medicine
men and priests continued the values. They reinforced them
and transmitted them to following generations. There is no

Durkheim, EPRL. Westermann, Dk.
doubt, for instance, that under the emotional heightening of
the dance and the pageantry and eerie presentation of special
ritual they have healed people in the tribes. Herbs have
helped, but these men were the useful agents. They have helped
depthen the dominant strength of established tribal custom. In
tribal society the individual is lost in the group. Most of
the energy of the people is spent in keeping alive, and iron-
clad custom stifles initiative, but tribal life was an im-
provement on separate family and clan society, though it may
be improved on by national and international life. The
religion which gives final allegiance to a nation serves a
useful purpose while national life is the highest practical
political and social organization. It is an obstruction only
when international life becomes the highest practical orga-
nisation. In one state of human affairs tribal life was
currently useful, and tribal religion was a support to it. The
medicine man was the agent of tribal religion. Some of his
resources were in the form of trade secrets. He was schooled
in ways of swaying the emotions of the people. He knew
how the drums should be beaten, and how the chanting should be
done. He knew how the dances should go. He could direct and
he could lead this activity. The more precise his knowledge,
the better equipped he was. His talents could vary in show-
manship and in ability. Some of his materials were head-
dresses, body paints, formulas for potions, formulas for
repetition, for mumbling and for chanting. His knowledge included some insight into group behavior and some principles of the psychological constitution of human beings.)

There is an attractive book which studies ancient and contemporary primitive forms of human society written by Arthur Morgan. He was formerly president of Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, and is now Director of Community Services Inc. The title of this book is _Nowhere Was Somewhere._ In it the proposition is thoughtfully advanced that modern progress in human civilization is a misleading concept. While much has changed in means by which men live, these means are not really very important. Better men have lived with less of the striking materials and mechanics. There have been societies with more honor practiced among them. There have been societies with less safeguards and more honesty, less adultery, less violent physical attack upon life. It is a fallacy to suppose that at one point in time man was in his infancy in terms of the development of all of his capacity, Morgan points out. It should not be supposed that as time has passed mankind has made a steady, or even a comparative upward development. He has not grown chronologically along all of his capacities as is the case in the life history of a wholesomely developed individual.

2. Morgan, NWS, 6, 10, 91, 97, 125, 129 ff.
The fact that values exist in primitive levels of society should be clearly recognized. The religion which trains the individual that there is a God who made men gives life a unifying principle. It may teach next that He is in control of life. Next that when men do good God helps them. When they do evil He punishes them. This gives an over-all orientation. It can be permanently integrating throughout a lifetime. Through long generations this background for social attitudes may support the society. The priest is the agent and symbol for this content of experience. He and the medicine man may have been identical. There is no doubt but that some of them were brought with the slaves to America. They may have been baffled by the turn of events which brought them here. If they had no answer for the daily misery heaped upon themselves and upon their people they were not alone among religious leaders. The problem of evil is vexing and irrational; it has been unanswerable to millions. Millions more have dodged and begged it through religion. It has driven others to a whirling escape through preoccupation; others have denied it. It has driven others to bitter defeat.

The religions of West Africa present no casual belief in God. Fraser, Herakovits, and Lowie, observe thoroughly in-

3. Fraser, KRAM, 379-404, 421-423.
grained and elevated concepts of deities among the West Africans. Unshakeable faith in God may be traced back to them. The notion that Negroes are incurably religious may come from this. It is thus an impression which has come from a mode of performance. A faith in God the creator, God the judge, who rewards good and punishes evil runs deep back into the far-off past among them. Although this is not unique it is important when transported with the slave trade. When it was brought, still active; it was a definite set of readiness. The priest or devoted layman who knew God in vivid, unquestionable awareness in his old faith was on a spring-board of precarious human experience jostled by overwhelming suffering in preparation for a leap into the revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Severe suffering is an overpowering experience. It presents an ultimate in human life. Enough of it cuts off functioning and life itself. Physical torture may be used as a determiner of behavior. Without considering the fear of suffering, the actual experience of physical suffering has some final effects. It may be regarded as a basic natural evil. Any thorough going religious experience must deal with it. The slaves had it as a first consideration. Their faith in God had to deal with it. Their continued faith had to make terms with it. Sorrow was a kind of suffering

6. Knudsen, DOR 169
or a reaction to suffering. It presented a need to the
religious experience which required fulfillment.

Religion is confronted with other needs by the con-
dition of slaves. The slave was thrown into conflict through
the necessary violation of his status as a person. This con-
flict was not lessened by the fact that he agreed to submit to
slavery. He harbored tensions. Fear was carefully promoted
in him. In direct line with his treatment, he learned to hate.
His existence was a frustrating one which added to his im-
balance through deceitful and repressed aggressions rendered
his need just as great for the wholeness of redemptive re-
ligion. The destructive controls exerted even by the slave
himself put him in need of healing. He held himself in at
the expense of the disintegration of his manhood, his humanity,
his sane mentality. Discouragement, constant humiliation,
cowardice, total and final giving up, lapsing into futility
and despair were upon him. What can reach the needs of such
people? What has religion to say to these things? Is it on
speaking terms to slaves? Has it a bag of tricks? a hocus?
Or does it validly, genuinely answer these deep-set crucial
human needs?

In the course of events as the slaves were distributed
about their places of work here they were introduced to
Christianity. Some of the earlier slaves saw this as a
possibility which might justify the sordid business, although
they were not able to accomplish much through their function in the work. The language difficulty alone was a technical obstacle they never overcame during their comparatively short time of possession. But as the slaves learned the language of the Christians, they (the slaves) learned also about the Christian's God. The master welcomed anything in support of his position. He utilized whatever was at hand to establish the system of slavery and religion was convenient. The slaves had not stopped praying in their calamity. They had looked death in the face time and again as four out of five were killed on the way from their homes in Africa to location on the plantation. Religion had duped many people. It might be effectively used here. The Old Testament plainly states that Ham was cursed to be a servant. If these people wanted to know why such a fate as theirs had fallen on them, this was it. Ham represented one of the great branches of humanity. Part of the curse may have been that he was turned black. That will be added although it is not expressly stated. He and all his children were ordered to be servants forever. Now if these black men from Africa really want to do what is right; that is, do what God wants them to do, they will just be good slaves and not provoke their masters so that they will have to be beaten. They will keep out of all kinds of trouble and work hard. This will make them good Christians, good black Christians. There is a passage in the New Testament which bears this out. It
was written by the Apostle Paul, the greatest missionary that ever lived. He was the apostle to the gentiles, and he did not forget the poor black slaves who should come. He pointed out to them the message of salvation, the way of life. He said, "Servants, obey... your masters."

This message could be given to the slaves through some of the church-going people of the slave-holding classes. Some ministers subscribed to it and sponsored it and later defended their position with writings. Meetings were held for the slaves. They were told these things about the God the white man served. These things described a new religion to them. A cultural attitude among the West Africans is to welcome what is new. With an open curiosity they looked at the white man's religion. This pliability made exposure possible. They presented an alertness which was not deadened by the grossness of their situation. They exercised an open-mindedness which was not canceled out by a prejudice born of the unfavorable circumstance about them. Some of the slaves took the religion as it was given them. For the master to think enough of them to call them together when he was not driving them to the field was a kindness to which they reacted warmly. Religion of any kind offered by the master was a kindness. They were suffering. This was a hand extended without

the whip or the gun in it. It was extended for the purpose of having the slave take hold of it. He could refuse. He could
sulk. Once he had agreed to give in and to behave, taking
a look at the white man's proffered religion was not a hard
step whether he was interested or not.

(It actually gave help for one of the slave's big needs,
the need arising from suffering. Here was, at least, some
temporary relief. They could pray in a new language to a new
God. Their old gods had forsaken them and were past. They
could think about their old ways but it made them sorrowful.
Some few of the slaves learned to take part in the new kind
of meeting. They learned how to lead the meeting. They were
given the privilege of leading it. What these leaders said
conformed to what the master said. In addition it had the
intimacy of being presented by one of the slaves.

The white man's religion had the advantage of a special
book. This book was a means of further enlightenment. The
master class did not fail to back up their religion by this
great book and with the importance they gave it they gave the
slaves, unwittingly, an interest in it. This interest moved
past the white man to the special book. The slave agents
were permitted some limited access to the book without being
able to study it. They heard it read. As time went on they
heard more of it than two passages. There is more in it than
the Ham story. Paul himself wrote more than one verse. They
got around to the "Chil'ien", the Children of Israel, who were behind the Old Testament. They could not miss Jesus in the New Testament. There were some white people who intended to be helpful to the slaves more definitely than they intended to defend the slave system. Through them some enlightenment got over to the slaves. They purposely helped to acquaint the slaves with more of its contents. Slaves heard with interest about the Children of Israel in Egypt, Moses, Pharaoh, Elijah, Daniel, the Three Hebrew Children, Samson, the Shepherd Boy, and Jesus. They were glad to hear about heaven and rest, slippers and crowns and robes and wings.

However the religious experience cannot be finally controlled by anyone for someone else. As "interpersonal co-operation with a trusted Creator of Values"8, religion depends very much upon the Creator of Values. The quality of the religious experience may vary as the quality of cooperation varies from the individual religious person. But he is a more decisive factor than any sponsoring agent. The seeker of values and the Creator of Values make out the final quality of the religious experience. At least three strains of religious development may be distinguished among the slaves.

The strain with the policy to conform has been prosperous. It has taken the interest of the slaves to heart.

by being pliable on the end of the conflict where the master is concerned. It has not necessarily overtly bargained with the master and made terms with him. It did not necessarily scheme maliciously with the master to help keep the slaves subservient. There were slave holders who would not have been a party to that kind of an arrangement. Keeping slaves was good business to them; it paid. If the slaves liked religion, let them have it. So long as they did their work and stayed out of trouble when they were not working, they were welcome to religion. These planters had never taken religion seriously enough themselves to see any urgency regarding whether it was taken or left alone. Quite under their own choice, there were slaves who intended to just make the best of whatever should come. When religion came, they took it. Without many cross questions they accepted it. Without detailed critical examination of causes and effects they appropriated it. If there were fallacies, they still wanted to make the best of their situation. When there were contradictions, they allowed them to stay where they were, side by side or one upon the other. They saw open to them a way of passage which required no more work, did not add to their abuse, and gave some relief. They did not oppose the white folks. In fact, they chose, without serious exception, to do what the master wanted. They were often loud in saying what the master wanted said. They "Talked at the big gate". In the meetings where whites were
present, they not only refrained from giving offense but they were careful to give due deference to the whites.

There was also the strain of religious development which might be termed the religion of the Hebrew strain. The Negro slave made a remarkable identity of himself with the Hebrew people. It cheered him to know that someone else had suffered the way he was suffering and to know that the "chil'en" cried to God and He heard them was sweet news. The slave saw his plight as a renewal of the rigors of Egypt. The deliverance that happened once down there could happen again. These people believed slavery was wrong. They believed God was right. They believed that God was against slavery. They believed that God fights His battles and that His children ought to call on Him and wait for Him. Records about the lives of both Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner indicate religious impetus for their insurrection plans. Each of them thought of himself as a Moses. Each favored fighting since God was on the side of the oppressed slaves. It was up to the slaves to rise up and throw off the yoke.

A third development was the religion of Jesus strain. It believed in persecution and forbearance and would seem to be identical to the first strain of accommodation from the way in which it failed to attack the slave system in violence. It absorbed mistreatment without rebellion. It expected to be used in the purpose of God on earth. But it did not take the
next identical step to that taken by the second strain. It
did not speak with conviction of the divine plan for the over-
throw and destruction of the whites at the hands of the blacks.
It had faith in God's purpose. It believed that God's purpose
was good. It believed that He knew what the slaves were going
through. It took Christianity's shift of the center of gravity
in cosmic events. It included the world beyond as part of the
total cycle of adjustment. This world did not end everything.
Sheol and the grave were dramatically transformed to triumphant
life with God in heaven.

The psychological condition of the slave may be summarized in his reactions to conquest and to brutality. His
suffering threw him into sorrow. Brutal treatment was inflicted
upon him with the purpose of filling him with fear. But he not
only responded with fear, he responded with hate also. This is
the outline of reactions strong enough to affect the general
trend. There were other currents growing out of the original
resources from Africa. These three trends set out descriptions
of the slaves' area of need. Even the religion which conformed
to the slave system sided with sorrow. Here religion earns its
reputation as an opiate for the people. It seeks to aid the
sufferer by dressing his wounds. It does not seek to prevent
further incidents of injury. The conforming religion may apply
in sorrow. It cannot administer to alleviating fear or to re-
moving hate. To the discriminate person, it soon becomes in-
adequate.

The religion of the Hebrews may alleviate fear. It summons a conviction of right. It solicits the power of God. It establishes its purpose in the purpose of God. Thus there comes courage. Fear is strong and when it can be transferred from men to be made fear and reverence for God, it is still a strong determiner of conduct. There is impetus for action. A cause becomes important. Success becomes possible. The slave learned that God is over the white man. He required that all men should do right. He looks at the hearts of men. Here all must stand trial before Him, and He is a righteous judge. They worked hard, but He could see what they were doing. Some of the Spirituals grow out of this strain of development. They found their application to life at this severe point of test. Fear and cowardice defeat and break men. They may check the rise of any worthy purpose. The slave was continually up against these two enemies to his personal integration. He had few means through which to expend his nobly conceived commitments, but the unifying result upon his personality was unmistakable. The religious experience which worked against fear in this way might also work against sorrow. Their discipline was austere, yet it could be effective. The process was like striking steel against steel. Courage should replace sorrow. Pride should replace fear. Fortitude should be achieved in this manner.

There was a support from God. He can be depended upon.
Just find out what is right and you know that He is on that side. He will not go back on His word. He is a mighty God, and you may expect that He will show His strength and power on earth. He will bring down the mighty. He will destroy the wicked. He will raise up the despised and exalt the righteous. The thing for the slave to do instead of being afraid is to do right. He should be ready for the day of deliverance.

These ideas are expressed in the Spirituals, and they are difficult to distinguish from the Spirituals of the Christian strain. The whole Bible was evidently a unit. Little distinction has been found in the mind of the slave between God and Jesus. This was observed by Howard Odum in his study of the spirituals. The significant distinction that may be found is in their expression of a delicate shift in outlook. In one instance we are in the Hebrew realm of outlook. In another we are in a totally modified one. It is the area of Hebrew-Christian tradition which is blown through with the spirit of Christ.

The best in Hebrew-Christian tradition has not been consistently put into practice. If the truth shown in the Book of Ruth could have been followed, Judaism would have escaped racial enthusiasm. If the urge expressed in the Book of Jonah could have been harnessed, missionary activity through

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broad helpful understanding would have flourished. It could have found a means different from proselyting. The spirit of Christ has not consistently led in Christian circles for determining policies on war, labor, and race. The Hebrew religion made discoveries about suffering. In the Book of Job the fact that good people can suffer is given eloquent expression. Their suffering need not be due to any fault of theirs. It opposes the view that suffering is always the result of sin. Second Isaiah\(^\text{10}\) renders a purposive rationality to the suffering of a nation. To accomplish the changes this world needs, creative initiative must be exercised by someone which will not escape the rigors of privation, mistreatment, or pain. This role needs to be taken and kept willingly, not only by necessity. Events may draw some group logically close to the function. Suffering may be changed from senseless torture to a vicarious accomplishment.

A constructive view of suffering affects one's fear. Here fear needs not be struck down and disowned. The individual is not taken into a selected group who are constantly on the alert to thrust out any who have fear as cowards. Terms are made with the object of fear. Painful consequences, imagined and real, produce insecurity. These are linked with former unpleasant experiences. They may be identified with a person or place or

\[\text{10. See Isaiah 53.}\]
event and hidden from current conscious experience. Dire consequences, torture, pain, humiliation, irreparable loss, play their part in reinforcing fear as an effective determiner of conduct. Dire consequences may be negotiated so that they do not hold an undefined, unreasonable and totally undesirable place. When they may be defined and related, irrationality in fear is reduced. Uncontrollable fear tends to diminish. The disintegrative effects of fear are reduced in this way. In this instance, religious motivation does not work as a replacement. In fact, replacing fear with pride is more of a poetic statement than it is a psychological description. The psychological modification accompanying the claim might rather be deception or repression.

This is different from the individual who redefines and relates suffering in a cherished whole. Fear is not repressed now. The cause for it is modified and removed. In the religion of Jesus, suffering is brought into striking focus. It is placed grimly in poverty, cruelly on the rough tree of a cross. Jesus was not given a fair chance as He was falsely accused by some, and others did not understand Him. Sometimes the only thing He could do was to keep in touch with the Father. A currently available resource to answer in the time of need was knowledge of Jesus. This grew beyond an identity. It became a companionship. Its keenness grew as a fellowship of suffering. Jesus suffered with them. Just as He hung on the cross and died
when He was not guilty, He was with any other men who would suffer to the death in the way that He did. Evil men can make God suffer. He suffers because He does not jerk Himself out of the vexing situation regardless of whatever else may happen. Of course, men who do not do good can make other men suffer, but suffering men can turn away from evil. They can walk with Jesus. Then they are not alone. With Him there is interpersonal cooperation through the worst that can happen. He is present with them in a vivid, real, inspiring companionship. He is in for a part of the scourge, a co-sufferer bearing a share. He suffered with them. They could suffer with Him. Their suffering did not have to be broken up piecemeal. It did not have to be hit-or-miss, unrelated, meaningless. They did not have to be fatalistic about it. They could escape being embittered. They could be stealed so that they would not have to be so un-nerved. They might even keep from flinching and running. Their tears would not be more self-pity. Now? Because Jesus' death was not senseless, the thing He died for is still good. When men live as He lived or live as He wants them to live, they live with Him. When they go through suffering still living this way, they suffer with Him.

This dissertation does not assume the responsibility of establishing the validity of these beliefs as religious tenets. They are orthodox and familiar. So familiar that they may be regarded as fabrications out of contemporary thought. To read
in recent wishful thinking is a gross error. It may seem that primitive, simple slaves could not be capable of philosophic speculation and theological conclusion. Consider the Spiritual, "Were You There?", for a view of the slave's identity with Jesus in suffering.

For his conception of companionship with Jesus, consider a Spiritual like, "I Want Jesus To Walk With Me". It was a desirable possibility, a constant relationship. It mentions "sorrow" and "trials"; it refers to life as a "pilgrim journey" and is set in a minor key. These suggest that it is claiming this fellowship through suffering.

Identity with the purpose and spirit of Jesus are expressed in "Lord I Want To Be A Christian". "Po' Lil' Jesus Boy" identifies the lot of Jesus with that of the slave. They are alike in difficulty.

This adjustment achieved integration through unity with the will of God, it was oneness with Jesus. This oneness went into the most severe tests mortal life can experience; abuse, torture, suffering, death. When integration held here it could hold also against fear. The thing left to fear was a break in unity. "Don't Y' Let Nobody Turn You 'Round" (Keep on to Calvary) is one of these Spirituals. There is also "I'll Never Turn Back". The only final tragedy left for this life was separation from God; infidelity was the mortal enemy. Because
weakness and inconsistency were felt there was continual need for prayer and renewal. Faithfulness could be an achievement through God's help. So freedom from fear was not to be boasted about. It was to be worked out and gained through conquering King Jesus, "Ride On Jesus".

There was some misuse of the Christian teaching that this life is not the end of man's existence. The slave could be told to wait for his reward until after he died. In heaven he would have a fine time. When this was a justification for exploitation it was a misuse. When it excused interest and responsibility for things in this world on the part of the slave it was a misuse. One application of the Christian teaching of the world to come dealt with fear.

"And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." 11

The concept of man's undying soul was not entirely new to the African. On the plain principle of avoiding dire consequences it was better to fear offense to God more than to man.

Self-respect seems to demand fair treatment for oneself. It denies unfair advantage for oneself. Cheating is guilt-worthy to sensitive self-respect. Mistrustment is opposed and disapproved by the self-respecting individual. If this mistreatment is increased to atrocity, disapproval may

11. Matthew 10:28
grow into resentment. Let the atrocity be identified with
definite persons, and let it be instigated into the order of
things as being perpetual and resentment may become intense,
focused hate. This development in attitude is consistent
with preserving self-respect. In an oppressed situation the
individual who opposes with a strong degree of hatred may be
expected to maintain a fair level of self-respect. The strain
of slave religion whose policy was to conform did not put
its highest premium upon self-respect. Its highest premium
was upon getting along and staying out of trouble. It had
no fitting application to the need of the high-spirited, self-
respecting slave who was seething with hatred. The religion
of the Hebrews strain drew from the law, "An eye for an eye
and a tooth for a tooth". It made a distinction between the
stranger and the blood-bound brother. The enemies of God
could be opposed with a holy hatred. Here hatred had an
attempted discrimination. Ethical qualification was attempted.
Restriction was placed upon it. The slave should hate the
evil oppressor.

A good service came in the distinction between evil and
the evil doer. Hatred should be exercised against evil deeds.
Wickedness and wrong should be fought against. Here a
speculative distinction is offered. One enters the arena with
a little difference in intention. As the slave carried on hatred
for the master's deeds, he hated being brought from Africa.
He hated being thrown into forced labor; he hated every blow that had been struck. He hated everything white men had ever done to black men. Kindness? He hated that, too. It would not have been tried but for the wrong that had already been done. It would have been better to have left out the start, the wrong. And some kindness was but a means to further wrong.

The way out of this situation was for white men to repent and make restitution for their wrongs, or for the people of God to build themselves up in the faith until they could rise in the strength that comes from God and strike down evil wherever it is found. Surely in the fury of this fray, the evil doer and the evil he represents would be hard to distinguish. It would be hard to crush out the hated evil without fighting men involved in the hated evil. The slaves who from 1672 to 1864 were maroons in the southern part of this country could have found support for their position in the religion of the Hebrews. Their guerrilla warfare had some similarity to the Macabean uprising. Another way out of the impasse of evil and wrong on one side and hatred on the other was spent through the religion of the Hebrews. The slave could see himself as the sufferer. If he suffered faithfully without waverings and kept on, then one day in some miraculous

12. Aptheker, TBF, 11.
way in the Lord's own time the Day of the Lord would come.
For the wicked this would be destruction and wasting. For
the righteous it would be exaltation, deliverance, joy and
praise. He would then be thankful that he hated evil with
a holy hatred. Justice would roll down as waters.

Hate could contain all of the tension, frustration and
aggression experienced by the slaves. It had strength and
scope enough to stand the pressure of the psychological im-
balance in the slave. It was strong. It was inclusive. But
it was destructive. The individual whose life orientation was
under hate used a large quantity of nervous energy. A life
thoroughly conditioned into the patterns of hatred goes pro-
gressively through stages of unwholesome subjective and
social adjustment to ill health and psychosis. Arresting dis-
integration is not easy. Skillful psychiatry is progressing
in information and in techniques today. Religious experience
is being recognized as a positive factor for aid against the
destructive effects of hate. The slave's religion, which
accommodated itself to slavery, could not cope with the des-
tructive effects of hate. It was salve applied to the patient
who had tuberculosis. Neither did the religion of the Hebrew
strain adequately deal with hate. When it channelled hatred
to support a good cause it led to violent overthrow of the
oppressor. Forgiveness could come if the oppressor repented
and made restitution. But oppressors have been thrown down by
movements which started as crusades. The incident of overthrow did not dissolve old hatreds, and when it nursed hatred to patiently await the appearance of the marvelous Day of the Lord, it placed cold cloths on the patient's brow who needed treatment for the germs that were in him and running up his fever.

The religion of Jesus dealt with the slave who began to hate out of self-respect. It took that self-respect and put a premium upon it. It said to the slave, "You are precious in the sight of God." This gave a welcome entry. The slave is eternally, uniquely precious in the way that every man is precious to God. God is calling the self-respecting slave to sonship. Here was protection which did not need a bolstering against the mistreatment of man.

"Racism, the practice of the doctrine that there is special virtue in ancestry", 13 confronted the slave. This met him on every hand. The favored people of the United States were white. He was penalized not for crime or guilt, but because he was not white. Blackness and slavery were associated. Religion had to face them both. The ways in which the principle psychological needs of the slave were met have just been discussed. The thorough use of racist doctrine must be considered.

It was introduced early with no superficial reference to it

13. Gallagher, ECC, 74
being regarded as sufficient. Treatment of the African slave in America was in terms of this doctrine all the way. He could not escape its unpleasantness, for right in religious teaching it was present. Religious practice had it as clearly as non-religious practice. There is special virtue in ancestry; any white man is better than any black man in every conceivable way. How could the Negro come before God with this?

When he accepted the dogma he could not reach far in his aspiration. When he did not accept it he still had to deal with some difficult facts. The white man had conquered and enslaved him. His gods had not prevented it; God, or whatever gods there are, had allowed it when they saw the black man's oppression and did nothing about it; they must be white for they did not care. The black man who did not like his lot could not worship a white god. He might bow down to him as he had to bow to the white man. But he would never really worship him, he could not trust him, he could not care for him. He really hated him as much as he feared him. A white god who would take advantage of black men as this one did ought to be killed. He was in on the devilment of special virtue in race.

Racism complicated the trend of the slave's religious development. No matter how good the best parts of the new gospel sounded, racism was there. Racism was practiced no
matter what was said. The best of people lived in accord with it more than they lived in denial of it. Its urgent restriction clamped down upon his faith with a grip that would not let go. Whatever he found out about the God of the Christian had to make terms with this blatant denial.

Apparently from the same fountain came bitter and sweet water. Piety and blasphemy came from the same source. Their difficulty may have been only heightened had they known that centuries earlier the Christian church was thrown and drawn out of Africa because of racial discrimination. The conflict was never resolved in the lives of those who died without a Christ. Strikingly, however, some of them became Christian. They got across the rift of contradiction. They distinguished between the imperfect bearer of the Christian witness and the Christ himself. In an unusual way they fastened their attention upon Jesus. Everything they could catch that He said or did was true and good. Everything else could be lies.

This breaking across for an apprehension may have been accomplished through the severity of suffering. Academic speculation may not have been so irresistible, so direct. The discovery of real value may not have been made without the desperation coming from the ordeal. They terribly needed Jesus to own them "as His child". They needed it badly enough to have invented it if water wings can be fashioned out of nothing by a sinking, drowning man. What they found had to
have support and validity. The desperate souls would not take a conforming religion. They would not be duped on racism by a damnable white god. Yahweh had to break out of his national limits. Jesus of Nazareth could not be provincial or racially exclusive and reach their needs. Not one of their tribal gods from Africa could suffice for the racial trauma of their situation. God would have to be above racial distinction. He could not have race preference; He could not recognize special virtue in ancestry. The slave found a God who had “the whole round world in his hand”.

One cannot say what development would have taken place if Mohammedanism had been presented at this time as a competitor. The church in Africa which produced Augustine, Origen, and Cyprian apostatized to Mohammedanism. Race was the main issue there. The Mohammedan religion does not have the racial casting the Christian religion does. The slave would not have faced a racial scourge in Mohammedanism, but it must be noted that he did not have to compromise morally on this contradiction in order to enter upon the values to be found in a commitment to the Christian religion. Concentration upon Jesus was the technique here. This continued the effect of making the experience pointed, vivid and personal.

In his chapter on “Racism and Color Cones” in the Inter-seminary Series, Duell Gallagher sees racism as pathological
disintegration. The person whose emotional life is disturbed by its demands is in difficulty. His interpersonal relations are warped and abnormal. His mental state is defective. His personality is diseased. When social issues are formed along a front of racism the behavior resulting may be expected to be irrational or neurotic. He finds part of the power of racial casting in the United States by tracing back to its origin. He says: "Our racial caste system has its historical roots in chattel slavery." In the United States the individual does not come into a neutral environment on the issue of racial casting. Growing out of years of conditioning a pattern has been established.

On this matrix of caste-and-class as elaborated in the American scene, every individual weaves the pattern of his own race attitudes. Unless he is able to devise some other loom (say that of the Christian ethic) to replace the ready-made patterns of society, the individual is unable to achieve an appreciable degree of emancipation from the attitudinal patterns which are typical of his caste and class. Generally speaking, the attitudes of whites, ranging from friendly paternalism to hatred and contempt, tend to recognize a caste status in which all whites are in one way or another superior to all Negroes, who in their turn must in no way be superior to any whites; while the reciprocal attitudes which Negroes must assume in order to survive in a caste-controlled society tend to recognize this subordinate status.

15. Gallagher, RGG, 95.
The pattern already made by this time and the pattern which dominated the white population in support of the slave system was the one which requires the white man to cast away all potential channels of interpersonal relationship arbitrarily in keeping with racial lines. [All Negroes are sub-pedigree.] That is decided by their external appearance. The considerations which apply to recognizing personality in other instances do not apply. The white person arbitrarily need not contend, solicit nor present his merits when confronting a black person. Their pedigree are of no consequence. Black and white are the first considerations. This shift of values is not given the rationality of war emergency. The black man is not a national enemy. It is such a flat denial that it cannot help produce shock. Its irrationality prevents its being integrated into the acceptable standard of values. Its unfairness cannot help raise question or some guilt. Reasons are sought. Accusations are made. Justification is found though it must be fabricated. Real reasons are masked. "Good" reasons are given. Deceit is essential. This undermines wholesome psychological life. It begins with broken interpersonal relations, accomplished through an arbitrary jumble of values. There is a denial of the unique worth of personality; that personality which has a variation in outward form. This exception is made distinctly. No exception is allowed. The requirement is unyielding. It is relentless.
No terms can be made with it. Whenever a white person and a black person come together without open hostility the pattern is still not disturbed. To avoid penalty they must tacitly agree not to disturb it. To the white who disapproves the pattern ideologically conformity is a damaging compromise. The Negro who is unable to devise some other “loom to replace the ready-made patterns of society” on racial attitudes may turn out to be a victim in his own eyes. Very easily he may develop a persecution complex. Through this he may lapse into inactivity. He may excuse himself of moral accountability, taking occasion to give himself a justified license for misbehavior. Or he may become embittered and engage in spiteful conduct. Here such conduct is thought of more specifically as pathological. Under more extensive study it may be distinguished from the trend of conduct discussed under tension, frustration and aggression. Findings regarding hatred and pathology will be useful.

Into the unwholesome racial situation the slave introduced his own contribution. He was a sociological agent and a psychological agent. He was a social inferior. So long as he was a slave this was undeniable. This was a rejection. The whole unpleasantness of the unnatural situation could have driven him stolidly into a shell. He could have become entirely indrawn and withdrawn, yet none of his number kept
resiliency enough to come back with a smile. Those who gave up their manhood stayed around of course, but some who kept the self-direction and initiative to purchase their freedom maintained themselves as wholesome social agents. They could be depended upon for honesty. Their smile was genuine. Their character was a guarantee against treachery. Into this maladministered social situation they could come smiling with hat in hand. This slave had a wholesome contribution. The sycophant with his servile flattery abetted the maladjustment. He was the slave who had humiliated himself by giving up his self-respect. He was not a wholesome social agent in the situation. In contrast there is the slave who had maintained self-respect and in the vexing social situation had learned humility. In the face of vicious racism he was humble yet uncompromising in his own denial of it. His religious experience maintained him between the horns of this apparent dilemma. He did not beat down the man who operated under a false and devastating social dogma, though it affected him, the slave, vitally. But more especially he, though a slave, did not have to accept it and believe it. His religious experience took a higher authority. It had a conclusive validity.

The slave understood what was said about his being black. He did not have the term "racism" in his vocabulary, but he caught the force of the term. Still some slaves had
elasticity enough to stay on hand, absorb the thrust of its insult and remain open and gracious and gentle and kind in their attitude. Again the sycophants are not referred to here. There was insincerity, mixed motive and lack of character in them. A stock generality has been offered to account for the Negro's record of kindness. It is that the Negro is naturally good-natured and simple-hearted. This fits the racist doctrine. The Negro has a different set of tendencies from the white men's. So different that the abusive treatment which would make normal white men rebel and assert their manhood only makes him smile. Look at him at home in Africa. He is slow to respond to everything, including bad treatment. He is even tempered and does not exert himself enough to get up a sweat fighting about this or that misdeed. He would rather let it go. The record of his loss of life upon introduction into slavery in America denies this argument. There were slaves who were wholesome psychological agents in the pathological situation constructed by racism. No automatic "good nature" is an adequate accounting for it. A better accounting comes out of his religious experience. Racism demands that white men in their self-superiority hold Negroes in contempt. A Negro might respond by holding himself in contempt and finally by hating the ones who helped him lose his precious self-respect. Or defensively from the start he might resent the affront, the attack upon the ego, and counter
directly with an attack of dislike and hate. In either
event he abets the pathological state. On the other hand he
might refuse to take offense. Without agreeing to the racist
charge he might accomplish the status of a participant in the
area of personal relations. As a positive agent, he did not
submit to the defective pattern. He was able to keep a
measure of independence. The break psychologically occurred
as he declined to respond in the proffered mutual resentment.
An alternative arose out of the religious experience. The
growth it required was one which loved the contemptuous agent
of racism. It was creative in the sense of being self-sus-
taining in a relation which is normally reciprocal. It gave
back love without having to reform the offender as one of the
conditions of a disciplined love. The two-way relation of
mutual resentment was broken. The mutual complication was
dissolved.

The expression of mutual resentment may be avoided by
the precaution of avoiding contact. Group religious ex-
perience tends to unite a given body in a particular way which
draws it to itself and away from others. Let the group share
ethnic or cultural identity which may distinguish it from
other persons near at hand and the possibility of exclusiveness
is great. When the surrounding environment is hostile
exclusiveness is almost unavoidable. As a device to guard a
treasured holding the group may avoid others. To cultivate
common interests it may draw together. By redefining its
needs and purposes it may see good reason to constitute its-
self apart.

The slave came into contact with the Christian religion
in an environment run on the racist pattern. The Christian
religion is a denial of racism. Yet Christian people were
involved in the slave system. The slave could be encouraged
by the new-found hope for relief promised in the Christian
message, but he was open to real disappointment from the way
the message failed to get over into practice. The clearest
revelations of truth came to him outside of the religion
sponsored by the master. The most helpful religious experience
was not out of the religion accommodated to slavery, but the
slave saw where the master was wrong he felt that God con-
demned the master. These things taken together tend toward
self-righteousness and exclusivism on the part of the slave.

However exclusivism cannot avoid segmented invalidity. It is
threatened by moral arrogance, lack of perspective, lost
relevance, and decadence.

Strains of religious development among the slaves how-
ever followed a trend which would be inclusive or included
rather than exclusive. The patterns of denominational identi-
ty were frankly taken by Negroes as they were among white
people. The slave attended services with his master and sat
in the same building or stood at the doors and windows.
There were meetings in which the slave poured out his deepest longings of protest and aspiration. In these he could steal away to Jesus and it was a specialized meeting in terms of needs and the common attitude which was shared by those who had a part in it. Anyone not in accord would have been out of place; accord consisted in compatible sentiment which is not an arbitrary requirement when it is constructed along the line of need in the reinforcement or growth of personality.
CHAPTER V

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SLAVE'S RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

In the Spiritual, death is not the end. There is life after death. Benjamin Wells finds altogether too much reference to heaven in the Spiritual. It is a preoccupation. Although the slave lived in this world, his thoughts were taken up with the other world. When an individual succeeds in diverting his attention completely he is insensitive to his immediate surroundings. Whatever unpleasantness is there may be practically ignored. But it is at the price of ignoring other things. This individual is not adjusted in his environment. He is emotionally extracted from it and he may be mentally extracted from it. He makes an adjustment of detachment and irrelevance, which is not a successful personality orientation. It does not grapple, negotiate and master the resistance in life, but flees into unreality. Otherworldly religion can do this. Some of the slaves may have practiced it. If some of the developments present today began during slavery, it is certain that they did. It is by no means certain that this is the quality of otherworldly religion expressed in the Spiritual, however.

The type of religion whose policy was to conform had
another negative element in it. It was a kind of emotionalism. Here religion was intended to placate, to nurse and to coddle. The desired effects were accomplished by shielding the subject from the harshness of reality. This could be done at least temporarily. This was usually accomplished through emotionalism. Self-pity was the cheapened emotion which rendered the subject a momentary drapery. But probably more often shallow shouting was the form taken. It consisted of loud and continuous exclamation employed by the subject as a psycho-physical release for himself, or calculated to stimulate a heightened degree of emotional excitement in others present. This heightened degree of emotional excitement is regarded in turn as highly desirable. It is an apex of accomplishment. It becomes an end in itself.

Through this means the "worshipper" is swayed into a level of self-conscious experience which is above the average for him. It includes a higher rate of metabolism. It employs nervous and emotional stimulation. The participant tends to become dominated by his immediate occupation. Through intense preoccupation, he may forget difficulties. He may become pleasantly oblivious of all the data of consciousness except a single symbolic or stimulating word or phrase or rhythmic beat.

Here are three negative elements that were developed in the religious experience of the slave. They did not integrate his personality, nor did they orient him in his
physical and personal environment. They were not problem solving, but they were means of escape. They were drugs and blinda, methods of self-deception and evasion. If these were the only elements developed in the religious experience behind the Spiritual one would look in vain there for dignity and worth.

Dependable orientation or character cannot be supported by such elements. The slave was confronted by a severe situation. Just how do persons react when they are up against imponderables? Observe the individual who is bearing intolerable pain. His behavior is different from what his own behavior would be under usual circumstances. His "normal" behavior is different in the severe circumstances from what it is in the usual circumstance. He may "normally" talk of death when he is facing it, though he may not mention it in the usual circumstance. The Spiritual grew out of the African's life as a slave in the United States. Against this background the prevalence of references to heaven is less accentuated. It may be even said that a prevalence of reference to heaven becomes normalized.

Further, otherworldliness may be considered as a positive element. Without forgetting the stark reality of death in the life of the slave, consider his extensive capacity as a man. As a Christian he was a citizen of two worlds.
In the Christian faith... an individual may stand both inside and outside history. He stands inside because his faith affirms the meaningfulness of history and he stands outside because his faith asserts that history is borne by an eternal will.

Whenever anyone undergoes abuse that is not self-inflicted, he may be affected by some force which is out of his own control. The lot of the slave reduced the amount of ego involvement to the barest minimum. He had the least possible amount of directive consultation exercised in the running of things. He was a spectator, where he was concerned in the usual events of his own life this was so. He was not automative. He might reduce cross purpose and tension by standing on the sideline volitionally. He stood in readiness to be propelled. With his self-willing and self-direction he stood outside the usual course of events. To this extent he was standing outside of history. He was standing outside of the concentration, exertion and expense of energy required for asserting initiative. To the extent that he was not autonomous he was stripped of responsibility. To the extent that he was an automaton he was irresponsible. But this was part of the condition to which he agreed once he chose life as a slave in preference to death. The slave abdicated self-directed life. He moved out away from life's area of broad open hill-sides. He moved out upon a jutting, overhanging ledge. And

1. Eichahr, 8TH, 70.
the slave system moved in behind him. He could not retrace his steps. He paid a penalty for abdicating life. He had to endure whatever treatment was meted out to him. He rejected himself and he was held in contempt by others. The contempt of others which he felt and his self-rejection are two indications that he took with him human personality. It is persistent though conditions may vary greatly. Its demands are no less urgent. High fulfillment must still be approximated. That is, ultimate objectives that are satisfying to the slave must be worthful to human personality.

Human personality is essentially identical whether found in the slave in the United States or in a royal family of Europe. Its needs are dynamic. The religious experience which makes a contribution among these needs must have dynamics suited to restriction and extremity.

One of the Spirituals which is flagrantly otherworldly, according to its wording, is "City Called Heaven" or "Po' Pilgrim". An examination of its text is in place here. An attempt at interpreting its meaning in some of the setting just indicated may also be in place.

"Po' Pilgrim"

I am a po' pilgrim of sorrow
Tossed out in this wide world alone.

No hope have I for tomorrow,  
I started to make heav'n my home.

*Chorus*

Sometimes I am tossed and driven, Lord,  
Sometimes I don't know where to roam,  
I heard of a city called Heaven  
I started to make it my home.

My mother has reached that bright glory,  
My father's still walking in sin,  
My sisters and brothers won't own me,  
Because I am tryin' to get in.

As this singer traveled a sorrowful way alone, he was without hope of finding anything better in this world below. His bounds were determined. He was tossed by forces he could do nothing with, by forces he did not understand. He was driven, actually driven, with a cutting lash. Where could he find relief?

There's a city called heaven where the pilgrim can sit down and rest a little while. Up there he would shake hands with his mother who understood him. With her he could be at home never to roam any more.

Mothers of families earned the name of being steadying agents in the rigorous lot which fell to them and to their children and husbands. The decision to be a slave could not be made by a man to last all of his lifetime. He had to decide again and again so long as he maintained the complex of self-respect referred to as manhood. He had to decide whether he would be a slave and a coward or whether he would rise up
and fight. He would review whether the consideration of staying alive in the hope of reclaiming his family or something else could still stand. He would have to answer whether he should die now as so many had done coming over—four out of five according to Duxton, Woodson and others. Could he decline to fight to the death in showdown violent resistance? Was there any ground that justified his not doing so? He could not find peace, He could not have faith. He was walking in repression, tension, fear, hatred, sin.

Religion was handed out by the white folks. Taking it was a compromise. The critical refused to be duped. The self-respecting held the conforming compromisers in contempt. It is right that they should, but what of those in the religion of Jesus strain or the religion of the Hebrews strain who were not compromising? The skeptical and uninitiated threw all of the religious fools together. "My sisters and brothers won't own me. Because I am tryin' to get in." Blood relationships were severed in reference to a quest that was misunderstood. This pilgrim was not trying to make peace with the white folks, though. His effort was in terms of transcendent orientation.

But otherworldliness is inferior religion. This is the judgment of present religious thought. Then should his song be thrown out at once? Or are there values in it? He is not embittered by his lot, and when he says, "I am a po' pilgrim."
he is frankly facing reality as much as he is pitying himself. The eyes that stared toward that city were those of a man who could not call himself his own. His responsibility for this world was limited to his opportunity in it.

Thus his looking beyond was not simply an escape mechanism; it was an emancipative projection of the human person out of a hopelessly fettered existence. Under the more refined light of Christian teaching as limited as it had come to him, he believed that death was not the end. Religion from Africa was a supplement at this point. He would take the rigors of this life as incidents on his journey. As Ulysses, from the early Greeks, braved hazardous sailing, turned from the lures of wine, sweet music and beautiful women, fought demons and men, and crossed the seas again to Ithaca, Penelope, and all that home meant to him under the drive of an irresistible, purposive homesickness just so would this pilgrim aspire to that city called Heaven and make it his home.

There is evidence that captives who leaped overboard or took their lives in other ways had the belief that if they died they would return in the spirit to the homeland. That drive was suicidal. The one expressed in this Spiritual does not seek the way out of destructive desperation. It would work against desperation. It would work against the sin of the father. It would work against disintegration. "Tryin' to get in," is soul's achievement. This is worthwhile. It is redemptive.
These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims (the writer's emphasis) on the earth. For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country. 3

There is another consideration for testing the positive or negative qualities in otherworldly religion. It grows out of the slave's original responsibility for his lot as a slave. He was either born into slavery or brought into slavery. What was his own responsibility for it. If he were at home in the Kingdom of Dahomey on the west coast of Africa and slavers captured him, what was his own moral responsibility for being captured? The dogma that the weak invite aggression is not debated here. This will be dealt with in the next chapter. The intention is to examine the conditions which were surrounding the slave's abdication of self-directed life. Negligence may have led him to the place where he had to abdicate. This would imply that he had a conception of what would befall him and he refused to take measures of precaution. Or he postponed implementing foresight until it was too late. Ruling comparable military armament out of present consideration, there is hardly any other measure of precaution which could have been taken. He was carrying out the functions of life with a fair degree of satisfactory adjustment to the environment.

When aggression to enslave came, he was taken. The way in which the over-all population went into defeat and enslavement tends to indicate that the abdication was not premature. A much lower death rate than four out of five would have made this so. To abdicate self-direction he did not have to give up hope for improvement. He had to postpone his own efforts for improvement. He could not maintain self-respect and depend solely upon the aid or indulgence of other men for it. Here his religious experience applied. He could stand inside of history and the tragedy of African and American slavery did not smash and dispel the meaningfulness of human events. He could stand outside of history, possibly in the meaning that Niebuhr intends and surely in the sense of his being repressed from self-direction in human events, and still fulfill the condition that "his faith asserts that history is borne by an eternal will." It is through this exercise of faith that he maintained contact and held relevance though his participation was reduced. He did not surrender relevance until he no longer cared what happened now or later. So long as he recognised that he had a final, individual responsibility for overcoming the environment, he had relevance to it. This responsibility is not for changing the environment in the case of the individual who has abdicated self-direction in the environment. He may accept responsibility to live his life as though the environment were changed. The slave in the religion of Jesus
strain of development would do so. He would be open to attack. But he would make eye contact with the man of the opposition. His single request being for a hearing that there might be opportunity for interpersonal communication.

The position may be taken that the slave cannot attain to cosmic orientation. So long as he is a slave his first responsibility is to free himself. He must work on this end die trying or succeed in it as his first accomplishment in self-realization. From this view any of the accomplishments made by men while they were still slaves were short of their primary charge and in moral compromise. Anything accomplished by slaves so long as they remained slaves was done while the main issue was evaded. This view obviously calls into question all of the religion experienced by the slaves. It places the blight of evasion upon all of the Spirituals which grew up during slavery.

The chief difficulty with such a view is that it places responsibility for slavery upon the slave. It does not recognize that persons may find themselves in situations beyond their control. It correctly points out that men can always do something about any conceivable situation. It may be agreed further that something can be done which leads toward an adjustment on growing terms in the situation. Still, removing the slave system involved the will of the persons in control. Their cooperation is indispensable to a permanent change. Their wishes
were expressed in the system. Their wills were involved in maintaining it. Their cooperation toward change might not be secured readily. They might have to be beaten into it. Beating the controllers into change is not a moral accomplishment on the part of the slaves. To make removal of slavery the main moral issue confronting the slave, he must assume a disproportionate amount of the moral responsibility for it. Those who advocate freedom through violent revolt must regard beating the controllers into cooperation with this change as a moral accomplishment.

Turning away from freedom as the first moral responsibility, the slave is caught with the task of self-realization within the restrictions of slavery. He will choose freedom as opportunity may come, however it should be recognized that as a free man his task for self-realization is not identical with what it had been as a slave.

[Slavery cramps persons] Part of the person is desensitized as though acted upon by a local anesthetic. The slave must work against the threat of being de-humanized. The religious experience furnished a legitimate compensation at this point.) Intelligence and adaptability lead human beings to compensate for difficulties encountered. It is a process by which the individual makes readjustment taking into account irreplaceable lack or loss. One must make a careful assessment of his resources. He must take an honest evaluation of his
limitations. He must avoid deception and evasion to make a solid readjustment.

In otherworldly religion compensation was a delicate accomplishment. Without a place here that he had built, or that he owned, or that he paid rent on—without claim to a home, he would make heaven his home. Without dignity as a person, he was one of God's children. Without personal identity or a decent name here, his name was written up yonder. There was a robe, shoes and a crown in heaven. He could walk and shout and fly all over God's heaven. Here there was continual disparity between the big house and the shacks. An affirmation of felt personal worth may be gleaned from, "I want to live up yonder in bright mansions above."

"Swing Low Sweet Chariot" with its "Comin' fo' to carry me home" is one of the best-known Spirituals which may be placed in this classification. The urgent question is—was it escape? Or was there a religious experience behind it that accomplished genuine, legitimate compensation? It would be hard to find a more sonorous word than "home". Even if it were accidently hit upon because of its sound, it is strikingly played upon in the final held-over measure of each refrain. Home, home, home—not just away and out. A place where he belonged. "A place where when you have to go there, they have to take you in." He had

longings, he had strivings, but he was not tipping the balance. He was not forcing the event of death by his own hand. "Comin' fo' to carry me home." He was being sent for. And again in a prevalent characteristic of the otherworldly Spiritual, he "looked." He extended his insight into the nature of reality. Things as they are in the restrictive immediate were not all that he saw. Whether what he saw was illusion need not be denied. His seeing angels may have been figurative. Yet, his looking over impenetrable barriers which could have walled him in and buried him down was a triumph. In these simple phrases with Old Testament angelology and travel to heaven, a record of aspiration is made. The soul, intellect, will of the people who made this song was not done to death. They mastered themselves by holding on to an integration that persisted. They mastered an environment, which could have finished them, by holding their higher capacities.

"If you get there before I do." One does not know when he will go. The chariot schedule is in someone's else hands. It must be God's. They are His angels. It is His heaven; our home. The rest of us are on a par, such as the others who have made it home, my friends. This is not just a free ride for the asking. One goes up against resistance. "I'm sometimes up and I'm sometimes down." This is an eloquent expression of naked acquaintance with endeavor. Or it is frank, religious autobiography. Here is success and failure. Trial and success.
Trial and failure. But trial, trying, trying. It is not giving over, it is not drifting, it is not just getting cut, escape, "But still my soul feels heavenward bound." Could this be bragging? Not in the context of the pleading dependence "Swing low..." It is an affirmation of valid perfectionism. It is keeping faith. Going on to perfection. This is the triumph that overcomes the world. Here is genuine compensation. Let there be no quarter asked. Any station of humanity can reach it—the halt, the lame, the blind, the poor, the injured, the alone, he who strives against fear, against dread, against insanity, the enslaved, the idle, bequeathed rich, the morphine addict. For any of the disadvantaged or victimized race of men, there is adjustment, compensation, salvation.

When an individual is down in a pit in water that is over his head in depth, his first task is to keep afloat. All of his energy may be used up in keeping his head above the level of the water. If the water is being stirred up or debris is flung in from overhead, he may be hard put to survive. The habitual alcoholic is in such a pit. The slave was in a pit. Part of his religion was designed for keeping alive down there. Water wings and a steel reinforced helmet for the head were good equipment for that situation. But one would hardly wear them to the Puritan meeting-house on Sunday morning. This argument will, therefore, admit a margin of super-imposed otherworldly religion which had positive quality. This is to
be distinguished from the negative otherworldly religion discussed on page 136 of the present study. The individual here does not reduce his awareness of the immediate environment. He uses insight and intelligence in the selection of the type of equipment employed. His religion came into high worth as it lay at the friction point of affliction. Religion was made intentionally into a shape which gave buoyancy.

Religion is a fortune
I really do believe
Where Sabbaths have no end.

There was no apology for the underscored line, "Where Sabbaths have no end." With it included a buoyancy was accomplished which could keep the slave from sinking down. The religious experience which made these songs did not divert the attention of the singer to the extent necessary for negative otherworldliness to operate. He continued to be an efficient worker.

The Spirituals are in rhythmic measure. Most common is four-four and two-four time. They were lifted up in their work. The later work songs had melody, rhythm and droll humor. The otherworldly Spiritual had an additional elevation of faith in attainable values.

It came through the affirmation of continuous personal worth. They persisted and could not be drowned out. They could not be finally struck down by one or many crushing blows. This otherworldly religion protected a vulnerable area of the slave. He could be fatally struck from above. Otherworldly
religion fitted a helmet over his head. Deafening blows were warded off. Premium was kept upon personality. Image of God and son of God capacity was not doubted. Current contact with Him was kept. In fact, periodic test flights were made up to His abode. Through these considerations, such an extreme Spiritual as "O Let Me Fly" does not fall as flat as a dud before the eyes of the examiner.

The other world was not complete in itself. It depended upon this life. It follows up this life. One passed through the chilly waters of death to get there. Death was very real. Death had "cold icy hands". The events of this life had finality to them. One must be ready to die. An often used stanza was:

I would not be a sinner
I'll tell you the reason why,
I'm afraid my Lord might call me.
An' I wouldn't be ready to die.

There is also the well-known Spiritual "I Want to be Ready" which points this out. The future state of life in another world comes as reward or as punishment for the life lived here. They wanted to go to heaven, but they wanted to go right. In the blues goin' right and dressin' in white could mean fine style of clothes. In the work song it could have something to do with the racial conflict. The conception of heaven in the Spiritual had a definite place for the symbolism of white and purity. Heaven was a place where Jesus is. It was no place
for lying, and stealing, and confusion and sinning. Their symbolism on this point checked with that in Revelation. "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." They also sang the exhilarating Spiritual "When the Saints Go Marching In." The Book of Revelation has been interpreted to refer to future things. It has been a difficult book to interpret. An impressive amount of scholarship and labor have gone into forming a different interpretation. According to it, the book was written to encourage Christians during their persecutions from the Roman government in the first centuries of the Christian era. Elaborate figurative language is used. There is much about heaven, the holy city, the new Jerusalem, a city with twelve gates, saints, angels with wings and trumpets, gold and jewels. There are fantastic creatures and strange events including the battle of Armageddon. The seal of God is put into the forehead of some men to exempt them from hurt. Still the discerning read this in terms of encouragement to persecuted Christian communities. At least some of the symbolism purposely masks meanings from the persecutors. With all its apparent unearthly, otherworldly preoccupation, it applies specifically to the immediate present for those early

Christians. This should be remembered as otherworldly expression in the Spiritual is being interpreted.

The other world was not merely of future reference. It had current reference. Consider the Spiritual "I'm Gonna Build Right on-a That Shore". "Right" may refer to place as would the terms just, precisely, or there. It could refer to truly, purely; that is, it could refer to good as against evil, or to "right now". At any rate the stanzas leave no doubt as to the conception of the relation between the life here and the next life. The singer would not be a sinner, a pretender, a liar. His reason is that he is afraid his Lord might call him and he would not be ready to die. Among other Spirituals which are similar in figure of speech and in main implication are "I'm Working on the Building", and "Send up your timber in due time..." from a stanza in "The Heaven Door's Gonna Be Closed". One fashions his estate in the life to come out of his deeds in this life.

There is another consideration which places positive quality upon the otherworldly element found in the Spiritual. Through it the singer relaxed his grasp upon life. He did not negate life by thinking of it as an inherent evil, but he ceased to clutch it frantically. It was no longer a be-all and end-all, no final good in itself. This came through participation in the Christian shift in the cosmic center of gravity. Through it a revaluation is placed upon the life span.
It is part of a larger whole. This life does not end all. It has uncompromising significance. Time once past cannot be reviewed. "What you do" and "What you say" fixation you eternally. Yet mortal life itself is a medium for these activities. The environment is a stage or a passage-way, or better, a wilderness through which the pilgrim travels. Men as he knew men did not belong finally in life as he knew life.

Emotion was a positive element in the religious experience behind the Negro Spiritual. The ideas of heaven gave rise to emotions. The graphic descriptions of sense and sight contributed. But the person of Jesus drew out the most constant constructive emotion. If their stealing away to Him meant leaving this world before long it was so. It was equally so if they contemplated walking along with Him all the way through the journey of life. They found in Him the things that mattered most. Whether He was "King Jesus" or "O Lord" or the sufferer on Calvary, or the same as the Lord God, what He wanted or did mattered most to them. He captured their interest. He was of supreme worth. He had or He was the answer to their deepest needs. Their fear, insecurity, frustration, self-rejection, contempt and hate was severe. Jesus had to walk this valley by Himself. And He made it. What elation they could feel because of His success.

In the whole barren lot of the slaves, no one cared as did Jesus. Their reaction to it was strong with emotion. Fear,
anger and despair would disorganize them. As destructive emotions they would produce "indigestion, circulatory and nervous disorders, illness, weakness and unhappiness." Their grasp upon Jesus and their identity with his will generated positive emotions in them. These, faith, hope and love, transformed the negative ones. 6

Faith expressed in the Spiritual is directed toward a "Sustainer of Values who works for good and is willing to cooperate with man". 7 It is the linking medium which establishes communication with the Sustainer of Values. It establishes communication with the uncooperative personal agent, the master class slave driver, owner, white man. He is uncooperative in the pursuit of values. Yet he must be considered to make possible a valid religious adjustment on the part of the slave.

The slave's interpersonal relations include God and other men. Other men include the most difficult of other men. The slave driver may represent the most difficult of men in the slave system (see figure 1, page 156A). The slave's religious experience is not complete in personal involvement with the establishment of line CA between him and God. He must believe in God, but according to Christian doctrine in the writings of

6. Johnson, POR, 55, 56.

7. Johnson, POR, 56.
John, it must include adjustment with other men to be sound. "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" He must affirm the slave driver to be his brother by faith and move as close to him as genuine love will bring him. He thus takes up a location at D, shortening the distance of separation. From here he establishes line DB through willingness to be a cooperator, a brother. So long as it is a one-way willingness it is a broken line. He recognizes the personality of the slave driver. Theologically he sees that he is created in the image of God. Through this he assumes line DA or he, the slave, establishes it by faith. Then the line of the slave's desperate striving upward for God, by faith, out of great need might be represented by D'A', a broken line congruent to line DA in the figure. When the slave clears the interpersonal relations DB and DA then God's approval and cooperation fill in what would be line D'A' to make it the solid line AD and DA.

Faith was an affirmation of value. It was an open medium of possibly improved interpersonal relations on terms provided by the Creator of Values. "I Want To Live So God Can Use Me" is a Spiritual that applies here.

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8. 1 John 4:20.
FIGURE 1.
Hope and despair were at opposite poles. If the slave should despair of his position then there was no hope. No lasting hope could be secured from the course of events though they might be favorable at times. The prospect of slavery was not a hopeful situation. Religion was a singular source of hope to the slave. There was promise in it which events in this world could not finish off. (Then there was continually the hope that the goodness of God and the justice of God would bring an end to slavery.) He brought Israel out of Egypt; He could hear His people pray again.

They were encouraged to persistence through their religious experience. God's people were not only the Children of Israel whom He heard back yonder. His people were all who would do what He said to do. When the slave sang about the Hebrew Children in the fire and Daniel in the lion's den, they were not only given hope but they were encouraged to go on and to keep on. They sang

March on
And you shall gain the victory.
March on
And you shall gain the day.

And they toiled tediously over a weary field. They pursued a painful soul's striving with

Keep-a inchin' along.
Keep-a inchin' along;
Jesus is comin' bye an' bye.
Keep-a inchin' along
Like a po' inch worm;
Jesus is comin' bye an' bye.
To keep doggedly at a difficult task is commendable. If
good cheer accompanies it there is additional quality. Not
enough evidence has been assembled to draw conclusions but an
indication has grown in connection with this study. It is to
the effect that during the time that Spirituals were being
produced in greatest number, (the Negro stood the rigors of
slavery with the least bitterness.) A decline in religious
fervor accompanied a shift in the type of music produced. The
work song and the blues followed. With them also grew
cynicism and bitterness. The songs did not express bleak des-
pair but the temper of life often did. The temper of life sang
below the level of the songs. Songs may inspire genuine cheer.
Without misrepresenting the worst facts and without denying
immediate pain, there may be cheer. This is not shallow
"smiling through". It is a thorough, positive attitude of
pessimistic optimism. It sees things as bad as they are, or
in the worst that they may become and yet it sees reason for
appreciation, thankfulness or wellbeing.

Courage is expressed in the Spiritual. It is a kind of
courage which is not recognized by a careless glance. For
courage is often associated with that man who stands up in the
face of a lie directed against him and tells the author that
he is a liar. When the liar admits his lie, the issue is
closed with a good mark for the man of courage. When the liar
wants to fight about it, the champion of truth fights him. As
fights with the strength and courage that comes to him with truth at his back. But this is not the kind of courage behind the Spiritual.

It is not characterized by the imposition of one's persuasion or conviction of truth upon an antagonist. It must leave the antagonist room for exercising his freedom of choice. It places the basis of agreement upon the achievement of compatible persuasion. It respects a difference of opinion or of practice held by another though it may see error in that other opinion and practice. It does not insist upon the response of circumstances to conform to one's own will. Though this may mean inconvenience quiet courage which sets hard tasks for itself avoids impatience and fretfulness. It goes the long, slow way of securing the consent of persons involved in the given circumstance. Its line of improvement is through the cooperative will of these persons. It has depth enough to gauge its resolve beyond immediate response. Thus it is able to remain actively in an alien situation without despairing. It is able to pursue activity in keeping with its ends without compromise. In this there is an independence of a multiplicity of ends. The moral level of the environment does not determine the active moral level of the person of courage in it. This position must be based upon competence. Inadequate thought may throw a person into the position of holding a faulty conclusion against the more valid conclusions lived out around him. Immature
judgment may lead a person to be mistaken. Oddity is not synonymous with courage.

When competency has found a valid way courage operates to live according to it in the face of opposition. In the ethical development of the religion of the Hebrews, Jeremiah had courage. When Jerusalem was under fatal siege he spoke out. He spoke out of turn so far as popular acceptance was concerned. Whether he was right or wrong, what he said was not acceptable to his hearers. He could not have expected it to be. He knew he was up against opposition. He knew he was outnumbered. With the courage that assumes unlimited liability he sought the welfare of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He did so at the risk of being misunderstood by some and of being misrepresented by some.

Thus saith the Lord, He that remaineth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live; for he shall have his life for a prey, and shall live. Thus saith the Lord, This city shall surely be given into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which shall take it. Therefore the princes said unto the king, We beseech thee, let this man be put to death: for thus he weakeneth the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, in speaking such words unto them: for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt. 9

This was a time of national emergency. Jeremiah was held up

as a traitor, an enemy of his country, and a coward. He stood
in the face of ridicule. But he was not given credit for
courage. He was branded as a madman. Courage here is easily
denied when it is defined as the willingness to "stand up and
fight". Jeremiah's opponents in the government did not
particularly wish to meet and expose as false the contention
he made. They wished to silence him. They would draw the
issue that suited their convenience. One which could be
forced through most quickly and easily against him. They would
discount him totally. There should be no hint of bravery on
his part. No thought of moral courage attached to him. No
reasonableness or respectability or worth allowed him.

Among the incidents accompanying the crucifixion of
Jesus are recorded the activities of those which would discount
him.

And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their
heads, and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple,
and buildest it in three days, Save thyself, and come
down from the cross. Likewise also the chief priests
mocking said among themselves with the scribes, He saved
others; himself he cannot save. Let Christ the King of
Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and
believe. And they that were crucified with him reviled
him.10

The answer to these taunts was with such lack of demonstration
that it seems that no answer was given. In response to these

taunts as in response to some of the questioning in the trials and the abuse in the city and out to Golgotha "He never said a mumblin' word." He could not comply with the suggestion to come down from the cross and hold with His larger purpose. He was being defied, and He was up against great odds. He had to respond with courage. Anything else would have reduced apparent defeat into actual defeat. But with what kind of courage? It is so obscure that it may be denied. It may be misrepresented; termed cowardice. It did not impose its persuasion or conviction of truth upon an antagonist. It did not insist upon the response of circumstances to conform to its own will. It pursued ends in keeping with high purpose, defined by Jesus as the will of the Father, without compromise. Torture and death and final false condemnation can be endured with this kind of courage.

Humility is a virtue. But all submissiveness is not virtue. Reasons for the pattern of behavior which may be described as submission distinguish whether it is good or not. The attitude of the man in submission may be vicious or virtuous. "Blessed are the poor in spirit..." refers to a feeling of spiritual need. Through it one may avoid fallacious self-inflation which may come through comparing oneself with some other people. A careful selection of others cannot fail to give oneself the feeling of being not so bad as others.

The moral arrogance which could accompany a strong perse-
cution complex in the slave's experience was a threat to a
flexible outlook. The slave could allow himself to be robbed
of moral endeavor. He could shut himself off from it. By
feeling that slave owners were the worst devils on two feet
he was pretty well off because he did not own any slaves him-
self. He could even feel an added and unexplained goodness
and innocence because he was bearing the brunt of the wicked
slave system. He was suffering because of the wickedness of
slave owners. He coasted into this self-righteousness without
exerting any effort. He could maintain it snugly so long as
the slave system lasted.

With humility he could refrain from becoming a self-
appointed person with the job of pulling out the mote from
other men's eyes. He could withhold his judgment of others.
In this way he could find an open door to the self-improvement
always possible when the imperfections of a man are honestly
faced by himself. They learned to sing:

It's-a me, it's-a me, oh Lord,
Standin' in the need of prayer.
It's-a me, it's-a me, oh Lord,
Standin' in the need of prayer.

Not my brother,
But it's me, oh Lord,
Standin' in the need of prayer.
Not my brother,
But it's me, oh Lord,
Standin' in the need of prayer.

Not my sister . . .

Not my father . . .
Not my mother ... 
Not my preacher ... 
Not my deacon ...

The urgent, individual need is quite definitely specified. Such an insistent expression would be an unworthy prayer if it claimed some goods or material possession. No one was so much worse off than others around him that he could make such a demand that excluded the best-loved persons about him. The intention is specified in "the need of prayer". The need was a spiritual one. In humility a felt spiritual need was implored of the Lord. This petition came from one who could confess a need, a lack, greater than any other person's. He could esteem others in preference to himself. This humility served him well whenever he was called upon to go ostensibly under the yoke of slavery. He could pray not for his brother's (the owner's) need but for his own.

Humiliation was swallowed up in humility. He learned more of this wisdom as he introspected the genius of the Christian revelation of the will of God for men. "He that will humble himself shall be exalted." "He that would be great among you let him be servant of all." "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister." ...

Forbearance is the attitude which refrains from taking offense. It operates under an offense provoking condition. As a psychological reaction or as an attitude it is directive for
a mode of overt action. But it is not self-explanatory. It stems from a pattern of thinking. It grows up with a trend in feelings. Among the Spirituals that express forbearance are "Lord, I Don't Feel No Ways Tired" and "Walk Together Children, Don't Y' Get Weary".

The slave could find excuse for laxity. The ethics of his situation was indefensible. He could find license to do anything he could get away with as a response to the evil of his lot. Yet the religious experience behind the Spiritual made an unequivocal stand for righteousness in the life of the slave. The Lord God of Israel, King Jesus is a God of righteousness. His people must do right. No matter what they go through, they must do right. God is the judge of everything that goes on. Everyone must answer for himself. But anyone who wants God to be his God must do right. So far as it is expressed in the main body of the Spirituals, this did not consist of not playing cards or dancing as is the case when churches became well established among Negroes. Gambling is denounced, however. The words even appear where the gambler is told to get up off his knees. The general term "sinner" is most often used. The liar is singled out time and again. But righteousness appears to be doing "what the Lord says do"; that is, doing the will of God.

Applied to the life of the slave this bolstered the morality out of Africa. It included marriage as an obligation
required for living in the married state, respect to parents, refraining from murder, from stealing, as well as from deception and lying. It required him to alter some of the old morality. The slave could no longer protect hut and home and family. He could not bear arms and go to war for the preservation of the tribe or kingdom. There was further modification in terms of the greatest moral drain of slavery. In spite of the inherent abuse of slavery they must not only fill the overt requirement of treating everybody all right, but actually love enemies from the heart. With the religion they must know an inner righteousness, "Lord I Want to be a Christian in My Heart."

Resistance may seem to have no part in the experience of those who continue to submit to slavery. Or it would seem to be sporadic, meager, negligible and ineffectual. The resistance expressed in the slave revolts is not co-extensive with the resistance expressed in the Spiritual. In fact, they may be totally independent. It is by no means certain that "Go Down Moses" was a battle song, yet it is a distinct song of resistance. The experience that authored it was resistant to slavery. So was the experience of those who sang it over and over grasping meaning in it. There was resistance with them whether they sang with muffled or with booming voice, with flashing eye, with upturned face or with hung down head.

Acceptance and rejection are important in religious
experience. Freedom of choice is final to the individual. Conflicting claims are decided upon through preferred loyalties. The claim of manhood had to resist the final de-basing claims of servitude. Something had to be reserved in the slave which the slave holder could not own. It was an area of human personality which recognizes lordship and prostrates itself helplessly before it. With constant vigil and unerring discrimination the slave must keep the slave holder out of this area of his psychological life. Nothing that the slave did in his relationships must allow his so-called earthly master to trespass on this area. It was reserved for God. The slave, though a slave had one Lord. In spite of the slave system his religious experience displaced the master class from a place of control to a place of usurpation. There was but one rightful Lord of life. Any man who took it upon himself to rule over other men as lord and master of their lives and destinies was against God; "My Lord's Gonna Move This Wicked Race."

When the slave achieved sonship with God through acceptable religious adjustment, this sonship demanded brotherhood against every denial of it. A part of the personality of the slave had to be reserved from the lordship of every man. He must resist every encroachment of any and every other person upon it. He could not be owned "body and soul." And while no slave driver ever wanted to herd together and
work a gang of slave souls, that driver was still confronted with a distasteful task. In order to make terms with the minimum requirements of the slave's resistance referred to here he must recognize that the slave had rights that the driver must respect. Since this was so difficult as to be practically impossible on the part of the driver, the religious slave's unrelenting psychological resistance was required.

Love as a term does not appear much in the Spiritual. An examination of the religious experience behind the Spiritual to determine the absence or presence of love in it may be most fruitfully conducted by a review of the psychological condition of the slave. Inescapable conflict was in the situation. It was augmented by various practices among masters and through choices by slaves. Psychological tension was required to maintain the system. Tension was produced in it and by it. Frustration accompanied by aggression entered the disturbed condition. Fear for the master class was used by them as a principal means of control over the slaves. Fear in the slave was purposely instigated and promoted. Hatred tended to appear as an attitude accompanying the strong fear condition. Tension in the situation also fostered it. It could be used effectively as a psychological control device from the slave position.

As active as fear is and as strong as hate in they
could not fail to condition conduct where they were present. The simple modes of expression would carry them even though they were masked. Folk-lore and folk-songs would carry them. The Spiritual is the earliest type of American Negro folk-song. Left in the condition described above, the slave would have produced an expression of fear and hate. Springing from hate the Spiritual would not have been produced. Neither could fear produce it. From the Babylonian captivity there is a psalm which illustrates how religious expression may be connected with bitter reaction to a social and political situation. According to an account in the Book of Jeremiah four thousand six hundred (4,600) of the Jews were carried into Babylon as captives. 11 From the time of Moses to this captivity was some six centuries. During that time they had developed a flourishing national life. They had achieved remarkable religious development. Into the captivity they carried a written religious tradition and a priesthood. Yet Psalm one hundred thirty-seven expresses how little they were disposed to sing.

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How shall we sing

the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Haze it, haze it, even to the foundation thereof. O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be; that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones. 12

Let it be noted that with all its worth this psalm includes a vindictive expression against a tormenter and against a conqueror. It is not unusual in human reaction. It would not have been unusual for Africans to wish the babies of their conquerors to be dashed against the stones. In the first of the psalm is sorrow because of loss. The unreasonable, insensitive request for a song by the Babylonians stimulates the captives' appreciation for their own songs. They vow their preference for Jerusalem. This may also be a pledge to the values it represents. Following this, as though it would stiffen the core of resistance, is bitterness against Edom and Babylon.

Vindictiveness, bitterness, hate can stiffen the core of resistance. They can be played upon by the leaders of resistance movements. They can be promoted quietly inside an oppressed group. It can be done secretly so that the dominant society does not learn about it and stop the plan. This mode

12. Psalm 137.
of procedure was open to the Negro slave in the United States. He followed it through the religion of the Hebrews strain of his religious development. The holiness code and individual responsibility had major functions in preserving the identity of the captives and in giving them motivation to return to Jerusalem with a positive purpose. This should be remembered in considering the quality of their sustained religious tradition.

But the Negro slave found in the religion of Jesus an emphasis which gave him a core of resistance. It was the kind of resistance which was most characteristic of his time in slavery. It gave him a wholesome integration. He would have been torn up by destructive feelings. Fear is among the distress emotions that may "defeat the values sought by disorganizing personality."13 Hate is like a two-edged sword which not only may cut outward but also tends to cut back and injure the user also. But when the religion of Jesus put hate down it had to have something very inclusive to take its place in a situation of oppressive conflict. Vindictiveness furnishes some protection to the person who goes behind the enemy’s lines. He is on guard. He is ready to attack. He is ready for attack. An attitude which would rule it out

and everything like it must assume heavy responsibility. To be a final directive in human behavior it must be active with the most decisive parts of the psychological life. The religion of Jesus presented an emphasis which is not to be found in the religion of the Hebrews nor in any of the tribal and national religions of Africa. Neither is there a comparable emphasis to it in Mohammedanism, in case the Africans had contact with Islam before coming to the United States. It is an emphasis in the religion of Jesus although it is not an emphasis in Christianity. If the emphasis in these two had been more identical Africa would not have apostacized on the same basis she did in the early centuries of the Christian Era. If the emphasis in these two had been more identical it could not have been so truly said more than once that Christianity gained an empire but lost humanity. This central emphasis in the religion of Jesus is sacrificial love as the ultimate means for improving man. It exerts an initiative. It assumes a risk. It follows through to a conclusion. All of its means are in keeping with the original purpose and with the end in view. From this emphasis it is shown that out of his interest and concern God suffered Himself. In His greatest work in the interest of man He did not sit as Lord or Judge. He so loved the world that He gave Himself, His Son. And the cross becomes the chief symbol of the working out of His will in human events.
"God so loved the world"¹⁴ that He put Himself out. God risked mistreatment and got it. Jesus was mistreated, but He was so perfectly good that He found understanding enough to have love enough to love the mistreater. He loved His friends. He loved His enemies. He loved good people. He loved evil people. He did not love evil. He did not coddle people in their evil. But He loved them. No matter what they did He loved them. They could do their worst to Him and He still loved them. Love was the answer. Love was the foil for hate. It does not suspend ethical distinction. The slave should not try to see no evil in the policy of slave holders, but he should find no slave holder whom he could not love. He was drawn to all of mankind through a new love. While the slave did evil God loved him and Jesus came to save him. Love is why Jesus suffered. Love cast out fear. Love opens the way for forgiveness when hatred would block the way. Love wins over hatred in this way. In human relations it can do all that hatred can do by way of severe drive. It can do what hatred cannot do in an ultimate impasse. It can be creative enough to find a way out which means growth. An impasse is ultimate when no possible combination of available factors can render adjustment without a damaging compromise. It is

comparable to hate in being a total and complete orientation. In contrast it may be relatively located at the opposite pole of emotional attitude. Hate holds explosive imbalance within like a deep volcanic cavern. It may delay or prevent eruption while life near at hand continues though there is horrible seething below the surface. Love keeps persons in balanced self-integrity in balanced relation to each other and in balanced relation to God somewhat as gravity is exerted in the operation of our solar system.

A chief place for this kind of love is found in the Spiritual. Love had a chief place in the religious experience which brought about the Spiritual. Love furnished the main motivation for the creative activity which resulted in the Spiritual. It was strong enough to temper the whole of the slave's psychological condition. It affected the whole trend of the slave's reaction to slavery. Through it slaves found an antidote for the poisonous effects of repressed vindictiveness. A fiery passion was channelled into stark, simple, poetic expression. These simple lines were set to regular rhythm, plain or weird melodies, and full-feeling harmonies. The Spiritual was in this the cathartic, creative birth attending a soul's redemption. It sang the victory found in the way of love as an unlimited improvement over the way of hate in human relations. It plumbed a new depth of validity as it said from the pit of the slave, no matter in what
condition a man may be, love is the way. There was joy in that song because it had found an undeniable, inextinguishable invincible achievement. Active love for everybody and proper love for himself brought the integration which gave him peace of mind. The sacrificial love of Jesus was basis enough for being at peace even in the position of a slave.

Through the long trying years of slavery a symbol of the confidence which slaves established in the households of slave holders was the black mammy. She could have done damage in such a strategic place. Her genuinely constructive function was attested to time and again by life-long ties of affection. When the crisis came with the Civil War further evidence appears. Some slaves were so victimized that they could not move from wherever they happened to have been. They were not capable of being left with any responsible charge. Some, of course, left which discounts the argument that none of them had enough judgment to want to fight for their freedom. Besides those who joined the Union Army, there were those who stayed on the plantations in responsible charge of things. They were not only in charge of the property but also the person of children, wives and older people in the homes of the fighting men who enlisted in the Confederate cause.

But the African is good natured, it is argued. Yes, he was good natured who went to take up arms in the Union
to slavery contributed to in this way. There was the burning crusader against being enslaved. There was the drugged accepter of slavery. There were shades of variation besides these. Not all of these variations may be found in Spirituals. Not all of the slave's religious experience could inspire songs of their worth. In the course of this discussion some qualities have been observed to characterize them as a body of folk music. They have dignity. It is contributed to by the reserved manner in which deep feeling is expressed. There is artistic taste employed in symbolic and impressionistic expression. Behind them is an experience of faith capable of integrating the personality of the slave. In terms of their continued use, such a person may be channelled along lines of endeavor which lead to a realization of his maximum capacity on growing terms with his environment. Such a person is also potentially a positive unit for cooperation in improving the environment.

The person who had the religious experience that produced the Spiritual and lived his life in accordance with it recognized that the chief good in life was in doing the will of God. This consideration came before the resolve for freedom. Even freedom must be gained in terms of the will of God. He knew where they were and what they were going through. He looked on their groaning just as He heard the groaning of His very own people the Children of Israel down in the Egypt land.
He was not just being mean to them. Because He suffered Himself. Jesus had been along the way of sorrow. He walked all the way up to Calvary. The best thing to do was to go along with Jesus. One could keep on going along and He would show the way. The strong demands in the lot of the slave were vexing and confining as well as monotonously tiring, unpromising and without fulfilling meaning; but "Why Don't You Do Like the Lord Says Do?" With this reference there was meaning, purpose, sure fulfillment. It was employment in doing the will of God which could change the confusing effect of vexation and limitation. They went on about their business with a balm for their impatience and anxiety with the song "When He Calls Me I Will Answer".

One may criticize the interest the slave had in heaven by saying that it kept him from having an interest in this world. He does not try to change the present world. He loses interest in changing it by setting his affections on the world beyond. In the argument presented in this paper, it is pointed out that otherworldly religious experience in the life of the slave may be a legitimate protective device, or equipment for buoyancy, or it may be defendable emancipative projection. These may be regarded as having a positive effect upon personality. They integrate it and adjust it to its environment preserving its delicate components intact. They open an area of aspiration commensurate with human personality despite the
frustrating environment enclosing the individual. A more important consideration is whether there was interest in changing the present environment or the social order. It is more important to establish whether the religious experience responsible for producing the Spiritual exerted itself toward bringing an improved change.

It has been observed that through negative religious experience energy might be diverted from pursuing improvement. If the religious experience had relevance in the situation and held relevance to it, it had worth. If the religious experience was evasive, it did not have worth.

Interest in change and effort toward change may not produce great change. The kind of effort chosen may not produce fast improvement and extensive improvement. It is through a consideration of the Spiritual's conception of the place of the cross of Jesus Christ in the Christian Gospel that this slave's interest in and effort toward improvement of the immediate situation comes into focus.

The slave's situation was a cruel ordeal. Without dwelling upon atrocities, picking out cases of kind masters, or describing the minimum of psychological tension involved, the medium condition is not exaggerated when referred to as an ordeal. He must make contact and find adjustment in human life with an ordeal as the given situation. He was spared some chores. He did not have to shift for himself in
the labor market to find a job. He did not have to pay bills. But nothing that he was spared made personality development any less difficult. Being born and living a lifetime as a human being is a test in any set of circumstances. Tasks are unavoidable in the achievement of mature personality. He had the responsibility of growing into a mature human being under a set of circumstances that intentionally opposed and denied this development. Failing in his growth, however, he failed his highest possibility, a possibility from which he was not excused.

When the slave system was operating efficiently energy was wrung out of the slave to the maximum extent in work which was profitable to the master. The slave was kept busy. His physical energy was claimed. His time was employed. Creative activity requires leisure. Books, operas, poems are not produced by the people who are taken up in "busy work". Effective promoters even in a movement to improve conditions for the laborer need to spend their whole time and energy in promotion. Time is required for meetings, for making contacts with people, and for preparing and distributing material. Concentration is required for preparation and for planning. Wherever it was possible, the slave was so hard pressed that he could not carry on this kind of activity. Thoughts of how he should like to do for improvement dropped away as impossibility. They were tired and sore. If they were
hardened to the toil through years of tough physical conditioning, they could be flogged at the drop of a hat. They were not given a man's chance. It must not be considered an oversight or negligence on their part if they did not elect representatives, form a union, present grievances, and bargain for improvement. They had nothing with which to bargain. They labored, they kept employed. In this they gave account of themselves. Their immediately urgent responsibility was standing their ordeal.

Variations of attitude to their situation were possible. They did not want slavery. No African had wanted it. No Negro in America wanted it. The slave who did not want to shift for himself wanted irresponsibility and idleness, not slavery. The slave who was well clothed and well fed as he worked in the big house and was "in good with the white folks" wanted as many comforts as possible and he wanted kindness and friendship, but he did not want slavery. His choice had been and was, ultimately, between slavery and death. Between these two he chose slavery. His attitude toward life in it followed on the wake of this complication. Through this pitch in the situation a tendency in attitude was provoked. It was a tendency toward bitterness. Treatment in line with using fear as the main psychological means of control operated to further establish this tendency. This tendency was reinforced by observable patterns of reaction in persons.
Mistreatment and abuse tend to stimulate resentment and bitterness. These reactions were among the slaves.

But through religious experience which found expression in Spirituals, bitterness and resentment are taken out of the slave. In dealing with them the slave found an immediately assigned task. It was a task toward psychological wholeness and soundness. It was a task of attitudinal improvement. It worked toward soul refinement. And it had such importance that no other accomplishment could compare to it. The slave did not have to search for it in order to get to work on it. It was distinguished as being among the most difficult of tasks in interpersonal relations and it lay directly at his door. In New Testament terms he must find a way to love his enemies.¹ He did not need to do this by printing literature, attending abolitionist conventions, persistently lodging his protests. He set himself to shouldering up responsibility in his situation. What he did was work upon his own attitude. No one but himself could give final settlement upon his attitude. Through the way of Jesus in bearing the cross, he found a way to meet his situation and accomplish his task. He could preserve self-respect and not respond with resentment. The slave would willingly carry on without bitterness where he was being taken advantage of.

A slave's taking up the cross of Christ is not to be

¹ Matthew 5:44.
confused with a slave owner's using this doctrine of the
church as a device for exploitation. The slave caught in-
sight into a solution for a problem in human relations. He
applied it in his difficult situation. He set about it in his
way of life. His religious experience took a governing role
in his way of life. It developed into its finest quality
laying at the friction point of affliction. Here it uti-
lized an interpretation of bearing the cross of Christ. The
slave who shared this religious experience accomplished the
difficult task of operating with an independence of the level
of ethical quality expressed in the treatment received at the
hands of other persons. The ethical quality of his inter-
personal relations would not be decided by the failings of
other men affecting him. The decision of the quality
initiated by himself would be made on the basis of his best
grasp of the good. The slave who found the religion of
Jesus worked into a way of life which meant continuing in
love. This positive core or hidden group of persons pro-
duced the Spiritual. The strength of their positive attitude
in interpersonal relations started a dominant, positive trend
in slave attitudinal adjustment.

Although this religious experience set itself to the
task of affecting attitude, the slave's own attitude, it also
affected his adjustment in the environment.
Feelings and readjustment of feelings went into producing a song. It was not enough just to find a miraculous way through a hopeless situation. New-found invincibility, peace and strength leaped together for emotional expression in measured lines set to music.

Their efforts were no longer futile. There was actual direction to what they tried to do most, the will of God. There was point to it. They had a project right on their hands so long as there were black folks getting beaten by white folks. They would first of all keep their own attitudes clear.

So long as hope depended upon rate of progress in observable conditions toward the desired goal of relief from slavery, it could be thwarted. In terms of observable conditions progress might be held at a standstill, it might be reversed. In this way the slave’s environment held despair over his head. His religious experience overcame the environment on this score by placing his main concern upon the dependability of God and upon God’s interest.

Introduction of a drug will stimulate an organism to activity on energy already stored there. If food is denied and this process is continued, it will conclude in malnutrition and in death. The religious experience behind the spiritual produced and secured energy for endurance during those long days and in the crucial days of adjustment after slavery ended. This acted through psychological renewal and
through desirable channelling of physical energy. Integration
added to efficiency. Reinforcement came through conscious
orientation in the purpose of God. Cooperation with Him
brought welcome status. The indispensable suffering was no
longer meaningless. Slaves could help God in bodily pre-
sentation. Their bodies were given too on that part of His
redemption of the world where He chose the way that risked and
bore suffering.

Thought patterns and habitual attitudes are affected by
personal contacts and by conditions in the surrounding en-
vironment. A prisoner is affected by contact with other
prisoners and also by prospects of release. The strength of
the walls and bars about him is not forgotten. So long as he
is incarcerated his thoughts and his intentions cannot ignore
it. Life in prison is conditioned. Life in the army also has
definite, determining influences at work upon it. Compulsory
behavior, wearing a uniform and obeying superior officers
without question, are expected to develop into patterns with
automatic control.

Initiative was taken from the slave. He could regain
it only through constructing an area for the function of his
thoughts and attitudes which was independent of the environment.
To have validity it must be also relevant to the environment.
Suffering was a major factor in the experience of the slave.
He suffered physical oppression and psychological denials.
His being convinced of the injustice of it could intensify the sharpness of it as readily as it could modify it.

To make his psychological habits wholesome he must avoid futility and accomplish some acceptable meaning in the severity of his lot. The slave who began to be Christian had some adjustments to make. He must recognize his own evil and wrong, his own baseness and neglect which contributed to the institution of slavery. He must repent of it and turn from it. In facing any forfeiture or frustration which obstructed full accomplishment of the ideal social situation he found therapy in the cross of Christ.

After the religious experience of confession, forgiveness, and restoration the slave found reinforcement through identity with God. He was not irrelevant in his relationship to the urgent life of slavery but he was independent of its overpowering evil. He was not immune from suffering but this was part of the way God gives himself for the world. With Christ the slave was not the pitiful victim. He with Christ continued high-priced redemptive cooperation with God. They lived as though God's purpose was yet working out. There were painful delays, and senseless wastes, and heedless impositions. Slaves were struck, and the striker would live to his dying day without being struck back. The receiver suffered them and did not pay them back in kind. Could he accept never paying back in substitute aggression? Could he escape self-rejection,
and loss of self-respect?

The slave who understood the cross of Christ as God's accepting unavoidable suffering found improved meaning for his lot. God's holding to his purpose that led him to giving His Son was real here. It was a delicate front on which human and divine will could be set in harmony. Compulsion from opposition in the situation urged fusion with the will of God in the experience of the slave. Christ bore the cross. He suffered death upon it as He strove through the meanness of this world and stayed just as good as He ever was. God wanted him to do what he was doing, so he kept on doing it.

The victim shedding his blood for a mystical salvation and cleansing was not emphasized. Interpretation of the cross fell under the influence of victorious achievement through death and after this life.

O run along chillin' an' be baptised,
Mighty happy meetin' on the other side
Humble, humble, unto the dyin' Lamb.

Suffering to death with Christ was a newly constructed ultimate. It replaced final murder for the despondent. It was an alternative for the rash slave who previously could see no other honorable way to the end save violent uprising. The dying Lamb was no mere pitiable object of destruction in the nerveless hands of a sadistic world. The suffering slave had achievement open before him. Failing it he was lost.

He must recognize that some of God's ways are beyond
human comprehension. He must believe steadfastly in the trustworthiness and goodness of God. He must rely in a good and just final outcome. He must refrain from resentments against the persons of tormentors or obstructors of the good. He must devote himself to such a line of behavior that is continually in harmony with God's good. His attitudes must hold constant readiness for cooperation with God, and for cooperative growth with the best or the worst of other persons. He will avoid providing "lodging" for anxiety in his precarious position by declining to utilize energy and resources in safeguards. He will deliberately and willingly assume the ultimate risk to body or person which may be involved in doing the will of God by taking up the cross of Christ.

The religion of Jesus recorded in the synoptic Gospels emphasizes the importance of attitude. It was important in the life of the slave. It was one area in human capacity which was not eliminated from his control. His time was monopolized. His physical energy was confiscated. And this condition prevailed as long as he belonged to someone else and was profitably appropriated to the owner's use.

A slave could continue life a long time in his condition while harboring the intention of breaking out by force. His attitude toward his owner, the system, himself, and freedom would determine his intention. But this intention carried anxiety. Anxiety consumes nervous energy and tends toward
disorganizing the person. This individual has a current focus of energy upon an objective which is not actual. To achieve it he must break the system. That is, he must break the wills of the men expressed in the system. He was not able to currently exert his physical energy in carrying out his intention so long as he was in slavery. Physical energy was spent, nevertheless. Just how lavishly it was spent would be difficult to estimate. On the other hand, consider the slave whose attitude toward the slaveholder, toward the slave system, toward God, toward other slaves, and toward himself did not lead him to intend to break out of slavery by force. When this slave's attitude grew out of the religion of Jesus, his energy was not focused upon breaking out of slavery.

It was not given over to cooperating with slavery. It was not given over to keeping out of trouble with the slave system. The focus of energy was upon providing the individual, whose attitude gave him eligibility, to a share in God's purpose to improve persons in their world.

"Philosophy may be defined as the attempt to think truly about human experience as a whole; or to make our whole experience intelligible."2 The most ordinary of people make this attempt. What they do may not get into lecture notes or into text books. Their attempt to think truly about human

2. Brightman, ITP, 4.
experience as a whole may escape the notice of persons observing them. Out of a staggering mass of contradicting and confusing data, their attempt may be a hectic one to make the whole of experience intelligible. The slave's religious experience aided in his attempt to find coherence.

A studied consideration of slavery could drive sensitive humanity to revulsion, revolt, or distraction. Out of this perplexity a productive religious experience emerged. It was produced by survivals from Africa, fragments of the Christian Gospel, insistent needs posed by the slave situation, and an accelerated emotional state. Through his religious experience the slave found clarity and coherence in the whole of experience. In the light of it he found solution for the problems in his life. He was able to achieve adjustment on growing terms as a person in an extremely difficult environment.

Dean Van Etten, minister at St. Paul Cathedral, Boston, suggests that the stage of emotional development in an individual determines the degree of maturity to which he has attained. Three tests may be made to indicate the degree of maturity an individual has reached. First, must the individual receive praise for each thing that he does? Second, does he insist upon occupying the center of the stage? Third, does he demand that others should be miserable when he is miserable? The child is given encouragement by those who
surround him and are interested in his development. They praise him for each good thing he does. But this is not continued uniformly in life. Kindergarten children by turns have been observed to try with insistence to claim the teacher's attention. This may not be outgrown but as chronological age advances it becomes more ridiculous and it becomes vicious. Finally, the child can not bear to see others laughing when he is crying. When he is miserable he wishes everyone else to be.

These questions may be placed against expressions in the Spiritual to test the degree of emotional development there. The slave received neither praise nor thanks nor compensation in the usual run of his lot. His religion expressed a stage of emotional development. He was able to forego all of these. There is a considerably large section of expression in the Spiritual which compels the slave to accepting the prospect that he would get no just reward at all in the course of his whole life on earth. Delayed payment could not satisfy some impatient slaves. Compensation in another world for deeds done in the body was not taken seriously by the slave owners. But the slaves whose religious experience found expression in the Spiritual found adequate otherworldly reward. It was related in the affairs of current life. In this it was not evasive. It was not an escape. As it drew out an emotional development which could forego immediate praise or even com-
pensation it advanced the stage of emotional maturity.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

African slavery was introduced into the North American colonies about the time the Protestant Reformation was making its impression upon the colonial life here. This burst of religious idealism furnished a climate for all of the affairs among men during those earliest times. Religion set the trend of events during these two centuries. A statesmanlike summary of the period was that they "brought forth upon this continent a new nation. Conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." And earlier, "That they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." Freedom of the individual was in the formation of an increasing number of denominations. Religion played its part in formation of Rhode Island, Maryland, Pennsylvania. It followed the frontier of westward expansion.¹

It is not to be supposed that religious influence was absent in Virginia, or in Mississippi, or in Alabama. Even the largest slave owners and the slaves were exposed to the effects of this over-all climate. Not always did the influence produce a desirable result. In economic endeavor

¹ Sweet, SRA, 301-321.
groundwork was laid for a free enterprise, capitalistic system. Through it there grew up an aristocracy of wealth. The Christian climate hovering over the slave owners was deflected to the slave with an intention to further exploit. It got to the slaves as part of a dominant movement in the lives of the people settling here. Not all of the reaction in the slaves could be claimed by the refined Christian spirit. Yet some of them out of their urgent need broke through the defaced Christianity proffered them to grasp a clear share in the way of life of Jesus Christ.

The Spiritual has earned a place of distinction. Some answers to the question of why it should have been given. A musical evaluation of it gives it distinction. There is force in its simplicity and dignity. Melody, harmony and rhythm in it are compelling. Then in its verbal expressions there are stimulating suggestions. This has been pointed out by those who have made their examination from a literary point of view. The poetry of the Spiritual has scope in imagery and strength in realism. It shares some of these characteristics with other folk music. Some of them are practically identical. Rhythm in the Spiritual may be matched or more elaborately developed in the blues. Religious experience is the component which distinguished the Spiritual from each and every other form of folk music, whether it is folk music among Negroes or among other people in America. The Spiritual's principal
interest is religion. Religious experience is its motivation. Without the slave's contact with God there could not have been a Spiritual. This experience with God was the motive for the Spiritual. It was brilliant enough to turn into music. It was intense enough to inspire singing. The scope of the religious experience finally determines the worth or lack of worth of the Spiritual.

Vital Christian experience is the motive behind the Spiritual. Human slavery is a restriction of the values available in human life under any standard. Under the Christian concepts of human personality, as emphasized by the philosophy of personalism, it is a gross denial. Observing this fallacy moved Christians to rebel. But those who experienced in their own lives the heartrending discrepancy are those who poured out the Spiritual. It was the discrepancy between the new-found revelation of the will of God through the Spirit of Christ in human life and over against and presented contemporaneously with human slavery. The man who came under the Spirit of Christ and under slavery at the same time vocalized a weird melody.

Some of the tune patterns from Africa seemed to have been appropriate for the purpose. The minor key mood was used. Adequate trace to Africa is available in this material.

The Spiritual is valuable as a psychological datum because it is a part of folk-lore, folk music. A painting may
catch up color impressions which the artist has found verbally inexpressible. A work of sculpture may make permanent an expression which would not otherwise be preserved. A musical refrain may find release of meaning through the flexible scale of tones which would otherwise be muted out. Poetry can scale down a disciplined record of symbolic word usage which may last indefinitely for suggestive usefulness. Creative literature and these other forms of artistic expression come from the inner life of the author. They preserve a record of psychological life.

Folk-lore and folk music are traced not to individual authors but to groups of individuals. This does not exclude the possibility that individuals exercise independent initiative. An individual may determine the form of a given production. But in folk music no individual has unquestionable, copyright claim to authorship. The group censors, revises, tests by use, and brings out the product together.

That folk music which is without words would seem to be harder to interpret. In any study detailed meanings beyond the general ones might be difficult to establish. But the music intended for occasions preparatory to war, or that intended for mourning, or for feasting and rejoicing should be distinguishable.

The Spiritual preserves a specialized record of psychological life. As part of the folk-lore of an ethnic group it
preserves religious experience. The record is made at the juncture where this ethnic group met slavery and the Christian religion simultaneously. There is music to it and there is the added advantage of words. They put on record the slave's experiences with God.

While some of the people who had lived and worked and sung as slaves were still together the work of putting their songs on paper was an invaluable service. There has been much loss but the early collectors helped salvage and preserve songs through their work. Arrangers with talent and fine appreciation contributed to enriching the store and to increasing its attractiveness to the ear. Some choral directors, workers with small groups, and individual artists have promoted the effective interpretation of the songs. Then as people have heard them they have raised questions about them. Thoughtful critical discussion of them has taken place. Some of this, notably in the work of Benjamin Mayes and Howard Thurman has examined their religious interests. This late work may be pushed much farther along. Especially should the religious consideration be pursued because they are principally religious songs.

The Renaissance and the Reformation had their influence in the life that grew up on the North American continent. But search for an all water route to the east was economic. Competitive interests among European nations led to claims upon
the lands in this hemisphere. Hardy seekers of fame and fortune under the protection of rival European flags threw vigorous exertion into exploiting any resources which might be readily converted into wealth. The colonists who came for religious reasons were fugitives. The exploiters worked with unmolested European collaboration down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

A planting system with forced labor supply was introduced in the West Indies. This netted rich profits in sugarcane production, but it liquidated the native Indian population. Africans were imported, the first being secured as ransomed prisoners of war. Once established as a source of available slave labor supply this populous continent was not relieved from furnishing it until the nineteenth century.

Europeans enjoyed the political advantage of being subjects of various influential rulers of Europe. They secured economic advantages through their initiative and application. Social preference came to them through political station and wealth. It happens that the Europeans were white. The Indians and the Africans were not. When the Europeans lost control in America this color difference still served as a convenient arbitrary line of distinction. Racism developed to enable idealistic Christian and democratic America to exterminate, enslave, exploit, and discriminate against Indians and Negroes.
The doctrine of racism alleges that one "race" is inherently qualified to rule another. One "race" has superior qualifications to think, plan, manage. Another "race" is so limited in capacities that it is destined to be the slave. Studies in anthropology discourage the use of the term race except as it is applied to the human race. They show also that there is no scientific basis for supposing that any ethnic group is superior or inferior to another one.

There is an impression that the African and the Negro in the United States are without self-respect and manhood enough to resist abuse. That they do not have ethnic pride enough to oppose insult. That they do not have courage enough to face death rather than suffer mortal compromise of the things which human beings at their best hold precious. The fact that the Negro submitted to slavery is then offered as evidence. The assumption follows that since he spent over two centuries in slavery in the United States he did not oppose being placed into slavery, he did not object to being kept in slavery, or he was so weak that whatever he wanted need not be considered.

Where this impression implies less than human personality, with its worst and at its best, as found in the Negro ethnic group, it is in direct conflict with a major premise in this study. This is a study of persons. Correlation between ethnic identity and psychological capacity is so slight as to be here
disregarded. The slave presents another person engaging in interpersonal relations.

If the Negro did not oppose slavery or object to it or if he were so weak that whatever he wanted need not be considered, precautions would not have had to be taken in handling him. But Negroes were chained and locked in the holds of ships to get them here. Severe beatings were more the rule than the exception. Legal codes were enacted to keep the slave at a disadvantage before the law.

The precautions taken and the abuses dealt were senseless cruelty if the assumption above is correct. Four out of five slaves were put to death between their homes in Africa and their new homes in the United States during the African slave trade. Considering that it was a profit enterprise and profits lay in delivering live, sound slaves, some other factor must be introduced. This high death rate occurred because of the slave's strenuous opposition. He kept raising objection after the odds were plainly against him. Any external measures to keep him in subjection had to be of a threatening, oppressive, severe kind. This deduction is further supported by the number of slave revolts which took place, the number of slaves who ran away, and the number who purchased their freedom. They have also shown initiative toward integration into the life of the United States since their slavery here. The record bears out their proficiency in the higher psychological capacities.
in human personality. They did oppose slavery; they continued to object to it. They were not so weak that what they wanted could be disregarded. Severe measures were applied. The familiar phrase "We know how to handle niggers down here", has persisted to the present. It fitted into a scheme of terrorizing. It recognized that Negroes, like other persons, have wants and can be deterred from going after them only when immensely unreasonable penalties were imposed. Drastic precautions were taken, even to the suspension of the democratic process in civil government. In this way they were held in slavery. Though men in full capacity, they were held in slavery.

A mechanically explosive, destructive weapon multiplied the European's ability to kill. He did not confine it for use in shooting and killing wild animals for protection. He used it for warfare, the gun. And he used it to give himself an overpowering, destructive force as he practically exterminated the Indian population of North America and as he invaded the continent of Africa. (Europeans and Americans of European stock carried this policy further in the domination of China and India and through laying claim to possessions throughout Africa and South America.) This device gave Europeans the added, convenient, immediate force needed to capture and enslave Africans. It was a constant source of overwhelming force held at the disposal of slave owners to
keep the slaves enslaved.

The will of slave owners prevailed. In the typical situation there was no argument. This was enforced as the required order. A lashing or a killing was the answer to a slave's showing an inclination to come back with his fists. When slaves allowed incidents to pass over their heads without comment or overt reaction it was in the context of this enforced situation. It should not be presumed that there was no mental experience involved on their part. Whenever persons come into direct, close contact with each other psychological interaction occurs. Self-consciousness on the part of each of them with human intellect provides that this is a mutual experience. The psychological interaction between the slave and master did not match the single direction that was traveled by orders.

Wherever the personality of the slave and the owner were involved in contact there was sentiment, feeling, willing and thinking in the experience of the slave as well as of the owner. Such experience in the slave did not have to be expressed. But it determined his behavior tendencies then and subsequently.

Wholesome growth in persons requires continuous improvement. Varying amounts of responsibility is one line along which an individual may progress toward maturity. As matura
tion advances responsibility must be increased in order that a balanced adjustment may be maintained. The slave's ceiling
for responsibility was extremely low. Lack of responsibility commensurate with his personality maturation introduced an unavoidable situation of psychological conflict. Maturity required self-direction, slavery denied it.

Tension is psychological stress occasioned by unresolved conflicts. So long as a slave's conflict remained psychological the master class had no inclination to deal with it. The tendency was to deny that such conflict existed. It was tension which the slave system itself instigated. Thwarting the nurture and growth of persons caused it. The intensity of tension varied with individual differences and with situations. Individual differences included variations in temperament and in personality integration. The stages of intensity ranged from the slave who felt no tension to the slave who was ready to commit or to suffer violent killing. The stage of no tension could be accomplished through abdicating personality. Thinking, feeling, and willing refer to activities in the higher levels of personality. Engaging in them and preserving them from the assaults of slavery tended to increase the intensity of tension.

The degree of tension in a given subject may vary as he participates in one situation or in another. Since the high degree of tension tends toward disagreeable agitation that leads to distraction and psychosis it would not be sought after normally. The individual would seek the situations which
avoided high tension and tended to continue low tension.

From a dependable random sample of the population the variation of temperament among individuals would point toward the assumption that there were various degrees of tension represented by the various individual patterns of reaction included in the slave population. That is, one person would tend to fight or run away, while another would tend to eat or brood. They would meet conflict in different ways. Further, the degree of tension in the reaction of each would vary. The tendency toward violent behavior was greater in one individual than in another. The tendency toward psychotic disintegration traveled at a higher rate in one individual than in another. The need for techniques to prevent unacceptable behavior would be greater for one slave than for another. And the urgency for therapeutic measures also varied.

There were physical instruments used to conduct the institution of slavery. Chains and the lash are common enough to be symbols. But these were accompanied by the dominant psychological technique of the use of fear. It was a useful addition to chains for it could be employed in a more widespread constant manner. Shackles would have to be loosened for the slave to work to best advantage during the day. They

2. Sheldon, VHR, 236.
would have to be fastened on again at night. When the lash
was laid upon a slave excessively he might be reduced in labor
efficiency the next day. On the other hand, one slave might
be used to impress twenty or fifty slaves if he were brutalized
enough with them as eye witnesses. In a course of time the
fate of six slaves handled singly might bring dread to the
whole countryside if atrocity enough were committed upon them.
News traveling by word of mouth and whisper around the slave
quarters in the evening could aid the technique of fear pro-
motion. A constant threat of who might be next, the unpre-
dictable slight provocation witnessed in former cases, and the
lack of defense before the law conspired to increase the amount
of fear. Self-respecting, physically well-endowed individuals
were reluctant to be fearful. Their situation only increased
the degree of tension resulting from the purposeful promotion
of fear.

Command may be based upon respect and confidence or upon
force and necessity. When the power in command has respect as
the principal mode of procedure, loyalty is the attitude under
which commands are carried out. A mutual respect is involved
when the one in command respects the persons of those under
him. He furnishes them reason to respect him. On the other
hand, when force is used as an unqualified mode of procedure
it resorts to fear as the attitude under which commands are
to be carried out. Fear was extensively used for control of
the slaves. Confidence between slave and owner was limited to single plantations. Mutual respect that included respect for personal rights was thrown out as something which spoiled slaves.

Fear was deliberately promoted with plan and purpose. The ownership class depended upon it as a keystone of their secure control. To stimulate it and to keep it strong drastic measures were enacted from time to time. By thorough intention, fear of what the master might do was thrown into each and every slave. This was an unavoidable psychological disturbance in each and every slave. He had this as a given upset upon which would according to his own inclinations or intentions. Then wherever he ranged himself on the scale of tension intensity, he had this additional stimulus, fear, used as a control device by the master class.

Even when the person in the role of "master" was kindly disposed, the master-slave relation was a faulty interpersonal relation. To take a slave the "master" must over-ride other possible relationships which might respect the personality of the slave. There was social and economic reduction placed upon the slave. Artistic pursuit was crowded out and denied. Creative initiative was diverted and quite effectively blunted. To the African brought to America and placed into forced labor the transportation held frustration. All of the usual ways of doing things were interrupted. The forced change of language
was one easily ignored item involved. Leisure time was
denied the slave. When the purpose of slavery is fulfilled
the slave is finally of mere economic advantage to his owner.
All other considerations are forfeited in order that this
advantage may be at its highest rate.

Slavery thwarts the course of full maturation in the
growth of human personality. Notably the capacity for
responsible self-direction is obstructed. Room for responsible
self-direction in decisions which determine the course of the
individual's affairs is important. This is not a luxury, it
is part of the minimum requirement for the matrix of personality.

Beyond this minimum consideration there is a larger
expansive. Human beings do not have to learn to read and write
and cipher. They need never compose a poem or author a book.
But in any large sample of a population there may be ex-
pected some whose talents are wasted or cut off when they do
not find expression through these higher mediums. Slavery
imposed a uniform limited level of performance upon all of
the slaves. The more imaginative were seriously frustrated.

The fear fostered by the slave holder ignored respect
for the slave. The slave's fear response did not carry a
necessary respect for the slave holder. Its claim of respect
or reverence or affection was based on self-deceit and
hypocrisy. Willing and cordial conformity on the part of the
slave required hypocrisy. To act because of fear and pretend
that he liked it tore away self-respect. His honest reaction registered disapproval, even disapproval of himself. Fear was a principal control, repression, or frustration upon the slave. His tendency to disapprove when stimulated to an extended degree became hate. It was strong enough to compensate in his psychological unbalance. It could unify and make terms with his state of fear. It was a form of aggression.

The Davis and Dollard theory that frustration always brings about aggression is accepted. Aggression in the slave's behavior was rigidly curtailed by pain and death. A slave could be flogged for "talking back" to a white man. He could be put to death without trial for striking a white man with his fist. No matter what the provocation, all overt, aggressive behavior on the part of the slave was curbed by drastic measures. Thus the slave tended to exert his aggression in subjective channels. The drastic measures, which to him would seem unreasonable, helped to give direction to the trend of his reaction. The subjective aggression strong enough to match the frustrating impotence of the slave in the face of drawn blood by the lash, and killing, was hate.

The psychological life of the slave was purposely dominated by fear, and it was directly controlled by hate. This fear-hate state answered practical purposes but it was destructive to personality. Fear enforces control through
inhibition and repression. It disturbs the wholesome course of organic functioning and continues a tense psychological state. It carries dread and the upset and threat of insecurity. It leads to panic, unreliable judgement, and irresponsible behavior. It undermines self-respect and from this strategic point causes an unraveling or disintegration of personality.

Hate has a caustic effect in the psychological life. It is a stringent degree of disapproval that attacks violently what it contacts. It is a psychological aggression which affects the subject as well as the object. The one against whom it is directed is damaged, and the one employing it is also damaged. It breaks off contributory interpersonal relations between the subject person and the object person. The subject person cannot contribute to the growth and well-being of the person who is the object of his hate. His aggressive motivation is toward the injury of that object. But since the individual must build total orientation in interpersonal relations out of the accumulation which includes all of his experiences and relations, when he holds one relation that is injurious to a person his total orientation is disrupted. He cannot find the fulfilling relationship of love with God so long as he hates another person. He is prevented also from the balance of a unification in his own personality so long as he disrespects personality to the extent of hating any other person. Religion sets tasks of improving persons and
interpersonal relations through growth and disciplined adjustments. These are not accomplished under the attitude, motivation, or emotional state of hate.

The slave was given an emotional environment to which he should react. In any of its variations he was regarded as a means to the profit or convenience or security of his owner. This was a violation to his status as a person; when he responded emotionally, this violation was a factor.

Control was maintained by the master class through fear, through keeping the slave unarmed, through keeping the slave dispossessed, through claiming superior ability to command by psychological force. These controls were submitted to by the slaves through conforming, through repression, through deception, through fear, through lack of integration, through lack of defined objective, through the feeling of futility, discouragement, and despair, through acknowledged or denied cowardice.

Granting human personality to the African who was enslaved in America, it is impossible to deny psychological content to his experience. In fact the psychological experience affirmed is one which runs the gamut of the most highly differentiated capacity known to nervous systems in biological life. On the basis of his endowment as a person, his full human capacity for psychological and emotional experience is affirmed.

Excessive abuse can lead to an abnormal state of calloused
indifference. Extreme suffering can reduce an individual to apathetic suspension from personal participation in his environment, a reduction of the amount of initiative exercised. An emotionally desensitized subject and a morally unresponsive victim can result from some severe experiences. These effects were produced on a percentage of the slave population. Descriptions of such individuals may be found in literature contemporaneous to American slavery.\textsuperscript{3} Counterparts and descendants of such individuals may be observed in the present day population.\textsuperscript{4} From another percentage of the slave population there issued the Spiritual. It is evidence of participation in life and adjustments to the lot of the slave which must be distinguished from the calloused, the apathetic, the emotionally desensitized, and the morally unresponsive and irresponsible. The extent of the area of experience in which the Spiritual has relevance gives an indication of the extent of the area of experience known to those who authored the Spiritual.

This area included delicate and dominant kinds and degrees of emotion. The general assertion that slaves had no emotional reaction toward their lot, favorable or unfavorable, does not hold in the case of the authors of the Spiritual.

\textsuperscript{4} Davis and Dollard COR, xxv, C. Johnson, SDF, 90.
A claim that the slaves did not object to ill-treatment is secured if a claim that they felt no emotional reaction could be established. It is discounted when emotional reaction is found. Beyond the presence of emotional reaction there is need to find the direction of the sentiment involved. The precautions taken to prevent escape and rebellion among the slaves indicate their will to be free. Extreme measures were taken especially in the earlier years of slavery. These became a fixed code of treatment for slaves and Negroes. The high death rate incurred in the seizure and transportation of slaves from Africa is evidence of their objection.

Frustration accompanied the denials made upon persons submitted to slavery. Fear was purposely promoted in the slave as a control. Hate was a psychological aggression related to his frustration and to his fear. These aggravating conditions and these powerful motivations for behavior were in the direction of injury to the slave holder and violence.

Repression of them worked another destructive result in the personality of the slave. Some aggression and violence not repressed was worked out on substitute subjects, which included other persons and some things. This could superficially relieve tensions, but it did not answer the larger need of orientation through total interpersonal adjustment.

Into the harrowing experience of slavery in America the African brought some cultural and religious resources which were
useful. A folklore helped ease the shock of aggression. A sense of humor helped him endure. Proverbs helped stave off fatalism. Medicine men or priests who were brought along were custodians of content and practices from the native place. In the content of their religion was brought a distinct, long standing belief in the divine, which was a ready background for an unshakable faith in God here. He had a readiness for a firm grasp of the revelation of God in Jesus Christ which he encountered in America. However crude or primitive the cultural and religious resources brought from Africa were, they served to meet the needs of the people brought. Values exist in terms of excellence of moral character among primitive societies. But the ordeal of American conquest and enslavement was a devastating crisis. Cultural and religious resources were tested as never before, as unprecedented needs were developed. The slave was thrown into conflict through the necessary violation of his status as a person. As long as conflict was unresolved he was in a state of tension. Fear was carefully promoted in him and he could not avoid frustration. In direct line with this sequence of developments was his psychological aggression of hate. He was required to give up manhood and part of his humanity. He was pressed with discouragement, humiliation, cowardice, and futility.

Among the Africans who lost their lives in the slave trade were those who deliberately chose death in preference to
slavery. Such individuals are a recommendation to the qualities in the culture from which they come. But another test is placed upon religion by these deaths. It is the test of suffering and sorrow. As the slave made terms with suffering in his religious experience he found helpful supplementing in the Christian faith.

The religion of the master class was utilized as another instrument to strengthen the system of slavery. God meant for some people to be hewers of wood; they were the black people. The slave could be a good Christian, a good black Christian, if he did what he was told and did not make any trouble. The slave-holding class recognized this as good propaganda if not welcome justification. They wanted it to be given to the slaves, and did not suspect the values in the Christian tradition that could give the slave invincible personal reinforcement.

The slave readily took to the religion of the master class without having to see special value in it. It was the religion of a conqueror, it was new, and it came as kindness of a kind. Through taking up this religion they were able to have meetings for singing and preaching, restoration and establishment of some sociological grouping.

The slave found out about a special book held sacred in the Christian religion. He was impressed by it and retained material said to come from it. He found out that there was more
in this book than the master class emphasized. He took the record of the people behind the Bible and applied their work to his own situation. The Hebrews became known intimately as the "Chil'on". There were numerous individuals known by name, among them was Moses and his work of deliverance, and Jesus, the Son of God. The slave drew upon the discoveries made by the Hebrews and the people in the Bible regarding ways to deal with difficulties and regarding the nature and the will of God.

The religious experience of the slaves followed three strains of development: 1) the conforming strain, 2) the religion of the Hebrews strain, and 3) the religion of Jesus strain. The conforming strain stemmed from master class promotion. It was not critical of the slave system, and was pliable at the point of conflict between master and slave. Its function was protection to the slave through his keeping in line. The religion of the Hebrews strain stemmed from enlightenment out of the Bible. It was independent of the slave system enough to be critical of it. Deliverance was a main theme for faith and for motivation. Patience and long-suffering were not to be forgotten as good in the sight of God. Salvation and redemption would come to those faithful ones who would repent and believe. The Day of the Lord might come with destruction and slaughter when the oppressed should rise up strong in the right and in the strength of the Lord, and cast down the oppressor. The religion of Jesus strain stemmed from
a concept of who Jesus was and what he did and what he wanted people to do. Its main theme was love. God works for good in the world the way He did with Jesus. Jesus was always good even when He was up against evil. He did not try to destroy the evil, He tried to bring it to become good. He did not change even when He suffered from the evil.

Sorrow, fear, and hate were dominant in the psychological condition of the slave, producing a state of disturbance. The conformity strain of religious experience gave a superficial administration to sorrow. It did not negotiate with fear and with hate. The religion of the Hebrews strain did negotiate with them. In its independence from the slave system it searched for the purpose of God. That purpose could give meaning to suffering and to sorrow. God stood for the right and the slave need not fear when he did right; in this way he could stand with God who would bring down the mighty from their seats. The slave should be ready for the Day of the Lord or the time of deliverance. One should hate the evil of the evil-doer and put it down. Let the wicked be destroyed. But hate was required to be discriminative.

The religion of Jesus strain secured an interpretation of life from the point of view of Hebrew-Christian religious tradition. Suffering was drawn into focus through poverty, ethnic antipathy, unfair treatment and abuse, and death on a cross. Sometimes the only thing He could do was to keep in
touch with the Father. Suffering with Jesus could be identity with Him and fellowship with Him. This adjustment achieved integration through unity with the will of God. Fear was displaced as a final conditioner of conduct and a major motivating psychological disturbance. The motivation for fear was painful consequences, torture, humiliation, irreparable loss; suffering as promoted by the slave system. This suffering was redefined and reduced in irrationality; it was related in a cherished whole. In this way fear was not repressed but its cause was modified. The individual went into suffering willingly as he took up the cross of Christ. His prayer was vehement as he depended on Jesus' strength because of his own weakness. He concentrated and fixed upon identity and fellowship with Jesus. Thus fear of dire consequences in terms of physical suffering or any other kind of abuse was replaced by the fear of losing contact with Jesus. This later fear was not a disintegrative process since it was but the negative reference to an act of faith.

The sorrow which would be felt by an individual as a direct result from the suffering of slavery was modified as the suffering was redefined. Bitterness and the frustration which accompanied enforced, irrational suffering were removed. As the psychological frustration was reduced the psychological aggression, hate, tended to be reduced. Through the religion of Jesus strain the slave could regard the master class and the
slave driver with an attitude void of the intent of injury in return for injury. In good faith with himself and on motivation initiated by himself he could contribute to the well-being of these other difficult persons. The task set through his religious experience took the trend of disciplined adjustment through improving his own person and the relationships between himself and other persons. He held himself in readiness but the improved relation between himself and these other persons must come with their consent. Confidence and patience were needed to persist in this trend. The religion of Jesus offered love for the attitude, the motivation, and the emotional state which could support this trend of adjustment. The psychological disturbance resulting from suffering, fear, and hate tended toward the disintegration of personality. Disintegration appeared in destructive patterns of behavior and violent interpersonal relations. The slave found wholesome therapy through religious experience available in the religion of Jesus strain.

Racism claimed to remove the usual responsibility from some interpersonal relations. Usually a person cannot inflict injury, dispossession, suppression, and death upon another with impunity. According to the arbitrary assumption of racism, these things may be inflicted by a white person upon a non-white person with impunity. The white person, it contends, is not compromised in terms of any ideals, and he is not guilty in terms of any religion.
Racism complicated the trend of the slave's religious development. He regarded himself as a person, Christianity valued persons, yet Christianity affected by racism followed a policy that denied his value as a person. To resolve the contradiction he had to distinguish between the imperfect bearer of the Christian witness and the Christ himself, and fasten his attention upon Jesus. He did not face the racial scourge before Jesus that he did in relations with men through whom he learned about Jesus. The slave here required an independence from white people who lived according to the racist dogma. He could not continue a relation which would permit them to continue as dispensers of the materials for his religious experience.

Through the religion of Jesus strain the slave found a humility commensurate with self-respect. Confronted with racism he was humble; yet, he was uncompromising in his denial of it. He remained on hand, he received insult; yet, he maintained a positive set for wholesome interpersonal relations. The break in the violent pattern occurred where he declined to respond in the proffered mutual resentment.

Some elements of questionable worth appeared in the religious development of the slave. Evasive other-worldly religion, pampering compensation preaching, exaggerated emotional excitement, and deliberate escape are of questionable worth. They did not integrate his personality, nor orient him
in his physical and personal environment. They were not problem solving, but were drugs and blinders and methods of self-deception.

Aside from these there were positive elements. In so far as other-worldliness was an emancipative projection of the human person out of a hopelessly fettered existence, it was positive. So long as it recognized a final, individual, responsibility for overcoming the resistance to value in the present environment it had relevance and was positive. Through it a delicate balance of compensation could be rendered without abuse. It could be a legitimate protection in the severe situation of the slave. Through other-worldly religion the singer relaxed his frantic clutch upon life. He did not negate life as an inherent evil, but he affirmed that mortal life is not the last end. It has uncompromising significance, but man as he knew men did not belong finally in life as he knew life.

Positive emotions were part of the elements of the religious experience. Faith was the linking medium which established communication with the Sustainer of Values. It also established communication with the uncooperative personal agent, the master class and slave driver. It was an affirmation of value. It was an open medium of possibly improved interpersonal relations on terms provided by the Creator of values.

Through religion the slave secured a singular source of hope. He was encouraged to persistence. Good cheer could be dependably fostered through it. Courage which assumed
unlimited liability not imposing its persuasion upon the
antagonist, not shrinking from misrepresentation was a positive
element. It pursued ends in keeping with high purpose without
compromise. Humility could help the slave from pulling the
 mote out of another's eye. Through it he could withhold his
judgment of others. Through it he thwarted the degradation of
being thrust down as he found with Jesus reason to put his
volition behind this lowering of the self. The slave was able
to make for ethical growth and endure without offense through
forbearance. The slave was not given license to anything he
could get away with as a response to the evil of his lot. The
religious experience behind the Spiritual made an unequivocal
stand for righteousness. The religious slave had to reserve one
area of his personality for one Lord and Master, that was God.
Unrelenting psychological resistance was required against the
encroachments of the master class. Each and every deed should
avoid violating the area of reverence. He should not prostrate
himself unreservedly before any other lord. Another positive
element in the religious development of the slave was sacri-
ficial love as the ultimate means for improving men.

These positive elements were more extensive in their
effects upon the motivation capacities of the slaves than were
the negative elements. The positive elements were more in-
fluential in the trend of the religious development than the
negative elements.
The slave's religious experience reflects some significant emphasis of the enlightened Hebrew-Christian tradition. He understood that there is one God over all the earth. He is the Judge of all men and justice will be done. Right is identified with God, and right is to be the final outcome. Everyone must answer for himself before God. The chief good possible in the lives of men is doing the will of God. Sacrificial love is the ultimate means for improving men.

The cross of Christ found urgent application in the slave's adjustment through religious experience. Effort by the slave toward changing the social order is hard to discern. But he had to make contact and find adjustment in human life with an ordeal as the given situation. He had an immediately urgent responsibility of standing the ordeal. Without being satisfied with the situation as it was he gave account of himself. He carried on without bitterness where he was being exploited.

The slave's religious experience improved in ethical values and in integrative force as it lay at the friction point of affliction. In the suffering, sorrow, fear, and threatened hate involved in the system, he was strongly impelled to secure means of meeting the severity of his situation. Religious experience was comprehensive enough to take a governing role in his way of life. When it did it found application at the point of greatest need. Here it lay at the friction point of
affliction and came into its finest quality utilizing an interpretation of bearing the cross of Christ. This religious experience overcame the environment, produced a song, combated futility, offset despair. It produced energy in the resources of the slave's person and affirmed resources in the Divine from whom energy might be secured. In it inspiration for achievement was found.

It was in the area of the slave's own attitude toward life that the most significant accomplishment was made. Here the religious experience behind the Negro Spiritual did its greatest work. From a destructive trend of hate he was reorganized to an attitude of love toward the master class and slave driver. This was the major accomplishment which brought solution to the interpersonal problem posed for him by human slavery.

This study has been directed toward uncovering, describing and relating to life the religious experience involved in the authorship and vivid singing of Negro Spirituals. The Spiritual has been regarded as a body of religious folk-music which is generally well known in America. Individual reference for the most part has been confined to the better known ones. A selection of some with debatable meanings has been made and they have been consulted from the point of view of interpersonal psychology to uncover meanings. Description of the experience has followed from findings from this social psychology
of religion with evaluations from the Hebrew-Christian religious tradition. The Spiritual is treated as a preserved record of individual and group religious experience. Reference to the events in the historic, social situation has been made to reconstruct the outline of dominant psychological experiences of African slaves in America. Cultural and religious resources in Africa have not been ignored. From these a relation of the ideals kept and of the tension held in balance by the motivation from religious experience had been reproduced. In the course of the study these conclusions have been reached.

1. Africans were pressed into slavery through the use of superior arms and not for the lack of human capacity which kept them from objecting or which particularly suited them to be slaves.

2. The African slave was a person with the unique capacities of human personality. Evidence of religious capacity is found in the Spiritual.

3. The slave was thrown into unavoidable psychological conflict and disintegrative tension.

4. Three of these dominant psychological states were sorrow from suffering, fear promoted as a control technique, and hate developed as an aggression.

5. The experience of slavery is frustrating and crucial to human personality.

6. Racism developed as an indispensable device for
harmonizing exploitation and idealism.

7. The religion presented the slave by the master class was intended to help continue the slave system with a minimum amount of trouble.

8. The Bible helped the slave get more of the Christian revelation than the sponsors of the slave system intended.

9. Three strains may be distinguished in the course of religious development among the slaves.

10. Psychological disturbance in the slave found wholesome therapy through religious experience available through the religion of Jesus strain.

11. The positive elements of the slave's religious development outweigh the negative elements.

12. The slave's religious experience reflects some significant emphasis of the enlightened Hebrew-Christian tradition.

13. The cross of Christ found urgent application in the slave's adjustment through religious experience.

14. The slave's religious experience improved in ethical values and in integrative force as it lay at the friction point of affliction.

15. The attitude of love toward persons including the master class and slave driver was a major accomplishment.
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Magazine Articles and Other Publications


APPENDIX
O BLACK AND UNKNOWN BARDS

O black and unknown bards of long ago,
How came your lips to touch the sacred fire?
How, in your darkness, did you come to know
The power and beauty of the minstrel's lyre?
Who first from midst his bonds lifted his eyes?
Who first from out the still watch, lone and long,
Feeling the ancient faith of prophets rise
Within his dark-kept soul, burst into song?

Heart of what slave poured out such melody
As "Steal away to Jesus"? On its strains
His spirit must have nightly floated free,
Though still about his hands he felt his chains.
Who heard great "Jordan roll"? Who saw starward eye
Saw Chariot "swing low"? And who was he
That breathed that comforting, melodic sigh,
"Nobody knows de trouble I see"?
What merely living clod, what captive thing,
Could up toward God through all its darkness grope,
And find within its deadened heart to sing
These songs of sorrow, love and faith, and hope?
How did it catch that subtle undertone,
That note in music heard not with the ears?
How sound the elusive reed so seldom blown,
Which stirs the soul or melts the heart to tears?

Not that great German master in his dream
Of harmonies that thundered amongst the stars
At the creation, ever heard a theme
Nobler than "Go down, Moses." Mark its bars,
Now like a mighty trumpet call they stir the blood.
Such are the notes that men have sung
Going to valorous deeds; such tones there were
That helped make history when time was young.
There is a wide, wide wonder in it all,
That from degraded rest and servile toil
The fiery spirit of the seer should call
These simple children of the sun and soil.
O black slave singers, gone forgot, unfamed,
You—you alone, of all the long, long line
Of those who've sung untaught, unknown, unnamed,
Have stretched out upward, seeking the divine.
You sang not deeds of heroes or of kings;

No chant of bloody war, no exulting poem
Of arms won triumphs; but your humble strings
You touched in chord with music empyrean.
You sang far better than you knew; the songs
That for your listeners' hungry hearts sufficed
Still live,—but more than this to you belongs:
You sang a race from wood and stone to Christ.1

1. Johnson and Johnson, BAMS, 11, 12.
I'll Make Me a Man

Then God walked around,
And God looked around on all that He had made.
He looked at His sun, He looked at His moon,
And His lit'1 stars.
He looked on His world with all its living things,
And God said, "I'm lonely still."

God sat down on the side of a hill,
God sat down where He could think;
God sat down by a deep, wide river,
God 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-a the clay;
And by the bank of the river God kneeled Him down.
And there this great God almighty-
Who lit the sun and fixed it in the sky,
Who flung the stars to the most far corners of the night,
Who rounded the earth in the hollow of His hand,
This great God, This great God, like a mammy bending over her babe,
Kneeled down in the dust, toiling over this-a lump of clay,
Till He shaped it, He shaped it, till He shaped it in His own image.
Then into it He blew the breath of life,
And man became a living soul.
Ezekiel Saw de Wheel

Ezekiel saw de wheel,
Way up in de middle of de air,
Ezekiel saw de wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.

Ezekiel saw de wheel of time,
Ev'ry spoke was of human kind,
A wheel in a wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.

O de big wheel run by faith,
An' de lit'l wheel run-a by de grace of God,
A wheel in a wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.

Way over yonder in de harvest field,
Way in de middle of de air.
Mind my brother how you walk on de cross,
Way in de middle of de air.

O de angels a shovin' at de Chariot-wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.
O your foot might slip an' your soul get lost,
Way in de middle of de air.

Ezekiel saw de wheel,
Way up in de middle of de air;
Ezekiel saw de wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.

Ezekiel saw de wheel of time,
Ev'ry spoke was of human kind,
A wheel in a wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.

O de big wheel run by faith,
An' de lit'l wheel run-a by de grace of God,
A wheel in a wheel,
Way in de middle of de air.
Lit'l David Play on Your Harp

Lit'l David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu, Hallelujah;
Lit'l David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu.

David had a harp,
Had ten strings;
Touch one string,
An' de whole heaven ring.

David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu, Hallelujah.
Lit'l David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu.

I say to David, "Come play me a piece."
David said to me, "How can I play when I'm in a strange land?"
David, play on yo' harp,
Hallelu, Hallelujah.

Lit'l David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu.
David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu, Hallelujah.

Lit'l David play on yo' harp,
Hallelu.
Two Wings

Lord, I want two wings to veil my face,
I want two wings to fly away;
Lord, I want two wings to veil my face,
And I want two wings for to fly away.

Lord, I want two wings to veil my face,
Lord, I want two wings to fly away.
I want two wings to veil my face,
And I want two wings for to fly away.

O, meet me, Jesus, meet me, meet me in-a the air;
And if these two wings fail me, just' give me another pair.

O, I want two wings to veil my face,
Lord, I want two wings to fly away.
Lord, I want two wings to veil my face,
And I want two wings for to fly away.

I want two wings to veil my face,
Lord, I want two wings to fly away;
Lord, I want two wings to veil my face,
And I want two wings for to fly away.

Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel?

Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, deliver Daniel,
deliver Daniel;
A-didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
An-a why not-a every man?

He delivered Daniel from de lion's den,
An' Jonah from de belly of de whale,
An' de Hebrew chillun from de fiery furnace,
An-a why not deliver po' me?
Dry Bones

God called Ezekiel by His word
"Go down and prophesy!"
"Yes, Lord!"
Ezekiel prophesied by the power of God;
Commanded de bones to rise.

Dey gonna walk aroun'.
Dry bones, dey gonna walk aroun' wid de dry bones,
Dey gonna walk aroun'.

Dry bones, why don't you rise an' hear de word
of de Lord.
"Tell me, how did de bones get together wid de
leg bone?"

Prophecy!
"Ah, well, de toe bone connected wid de foot bone;
De foot bone connected wid de ankle bone;
De ankle bone connected wid de leg bone;
De leg bone connected wid de knee bone;
De knee bone connected wid de thigh bone.
Rise and hear de word of de Lord!

Give-a Way, Jordan

Give-a way, Jordan, Give-a way, Jordan, Lord,
Give-a way, Jordan, I mus' go for to see my Lord.
Give-a way, Jordan, Give-a way, Jordan, Lord,
Give-a way, Jordan, I mus' go for to see my Lord.

Nebuchadnezzar sat on his royal seat.
I mus' go for to see my Lord.
He saw the three Hebrew chilum boun' hands an' feet;
I mus' go for to see my Lord.

Give-a way, Jordan, Give-a way, Jordan, Lord,
Give-a way, Jordan, I mus' go for to see my Lord.
A Witness

My soul is a witness for my Lord,
My soul is a witness for my Lord.
You read about Adam, he was the first,
God created him out-a de dust.

Then God made a woman, an' He call'd her Eve,
An' told her not to eat the forbidden tree.
Now that's the first witness for my Lord,
That's the first witness for my Lord.

You read again, an' you'll understand:
Methusalah was the oldest man.
He lived nine hundred an' sixty-nine;
He died an' went to Heav'n, Lord, in due time.

Methusalah was a witness for my Lord;
Methusalah was a witness for my Lord.

You read about Samson from his birth;
He was the strongest man on earth.
Samson went out at-a one time,
An' killed a thousand of de Philistines.

Delilah fooled Samson, this we know,
For the Holy Bible tells us so.
She shaved his head just as clean as you'n hand,
An' his strength became as a common man.

Now that's another witness for my Lord,
Now that's another witness for my Lord.

Daniel was a Hebrew child,
Who went to pray to his God for a while.
The King at once for Daniel did send,
An' he put him down in de lion's den.

De Lord sent an angel, de lions for to keep;
Then Daniel laid down an' he went to sleep.
Daniel was a witness for my Lord,
Daniel was a witness for my Lord.

Then who'll be a witness for my Lord?
Now who'll be a witness for my Lord?
Who'll be a witness for my Lord?
Oh, who'll be a witness for my Lord?
You're Tired, Chile

Oh, sit down, sister, sit down!
I know you're tired, sit down;
'Cause you come a long way:
Sit down, chile, sit down, an' rest a lit'l while.

Oh, you come a long way
An' you had hard trials,
An' I know you're tired,
Sit down, chile, sit down, an' rest a lit'l while.

Tell me what you're waitin' for-
I'm a-waitin' for my mother
'Cause I want to tell her howdy.
Sit down, chile, sit down, an' rest a lit'l while.

Oh, you come a long way,
An' de road is dark,
An' I know you're tired,
Sit down, chile, sit down an' rest a lit'l while.

Oh, sit down, sister, sit down,
I know you're tired, sit down;
'Cause you come a long way:
Sit down, chile, sit down, an' rest a lit'l while.

Oh, you come a long way,
An' you had hard trials,
I know you're tired,
Sit down, chile, sit down, an' rest a lit'l while.
In-a-Dat Mornin'

You may bury me in de Bas',
You may bury me in de West,
But I'll hear de trumpet sound'
In-a-dat mornin'.

In dat mornin',
My Lord, how I long to go,
For to hear de trumpet sound'
In-a-dat mornin'.

Good ole Christians in dat day,
Day'll take wings and fly away,
For to hear to trumpet sound'
In-a-dat mornin'.

In dat mornin',
My Lord, how I long to go,
For to hear de trumpet sound'
In-a-dat mornin'.

Plenty Good Room

Plenty good room, plenty good room,
Good room in my Father's kingdom;
Plenty good room, plenty good room,
A-jes' choose yo' seat an' set down.

Oh, plenty good room, plenty good room,
Good room in my Father's kingdom;
Plenty good room, plenty good room,
A-jes' choose yo' seat an' set down.

I would not be a sinner;
I tell you de reason why,
'Cause if my Lord-a should call on me,
I wouldn't be ready to die.

I would not be a backslider;
I tell you de reason why,
'Cause if my Lord-a should call on me,
I wouldn't be ready to die.
Plenty Good Room (continued)

Plenty good room, plenty good room,
Good room in my Father's kingdom;
Plenty good room, plenty good room,
A-je's choose yo' seat an' set down.

Oh, plenty good room, plenty good room,
Good room in my Father's kingdom;
Plenty good room, plenty good room,
A-je's choose yo' seat an' set down.

Oh, yes a plenty good room, plenty good room,
Good room in my Father's kingdom;
Plenty good room, plenty good room,
A-je's choose a ye' seat an' set down.

I'm Troubled

I'm troubled, I'm troubled,
I'm troubled in min';
If Jesus don' help me,
I surely mus' die.

When bowed down in sorrow,
And burdened with grief,
To Jesus in secret
I go for relief.

Heaven

I got a robe,
You got a robe,
All-a God's chillun got a robe.

When I get to heav'n goin' to put on my robe,
I'm goin' to shout all over God's heav'n, heav'n,

Ev'rybody talkin' 'bout-a heav'n ain't a-goin' dere,
heav'n, heav'n.
Goin' to shout all over God's heav'n.
Heaven (continued)

I got-a shoes,
You got-a shoes,
All-a God's chillun get-a shoes.

When I get to heav'n goin' to put on my shoes,
I'm goin' to walk all over God's heav'n,
    heav'n, heav'n.
Ev'rybody talking 'bout-a heav'n ain't a-goin' dare, heav'n, heav'n.
Goin' to shout all over God's heav'n.

I got a song,
You got a song,
All-a God's chillun get-a song.

When I get to heav'n goin' to sing a new song,
I'm goin' to sing all over God's heav'n,
    heav'n, heav'n.
Ev'rybody talkin' 'bout-a heav'n, ain't a-goin' dare, heav'n, heav'n.
Goin' to sing all over God's heav'n.

Goin' to sing all over God's heav'n.
Goin' to sing all over God's heav'n.

Steal Away

Steal away, steal away,
Steal away to Jesus.

Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here,
I ain't got long to stay here.

My Lord, He calls me,
He calls me by the thunder;
De trumpet sounds within-a my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.

Green trees a bendin',
Po' sinner stands a tremblin';
De trumpet sounds within-a my soul,
I ain't got long to stay here.
Po' Pilgrim

I am a po' pilgrim of sorrow,
I'm in this wide world alone;
No hope in this world for tomorrow,
I'm strivin' for heav'n- my home.

Sometimes I'm both tossed and driven,
Sometimes I know not where to roam;
I've heard of a city called heav'n,
I've started to make it my home.

Mother, she's reached the pure glory,
My father still walks in sin;
My sisters and brothers won't won me,
Because I am tryin' to get in.

Sometimes I'm both tossed and driven,
Sometimes I know not where to roam;
I've heard of a city called heav'n,
I've started to make it my home.

Good News

Good news, de chariot's a-comin',
Good news, de chariot's a-comin';
Good news, de chariot's a-comin',
And I don' want it to leav' a me behin'.

Dere's a long white robe in de heav'n I know,
Dere's a long white robe in de heav'n I know;
Dere's a long white robe in de heav'n I know,
And I don' want it to leav' a me behin'.

Dere's a bran' new song in de heav'n I know,
Dere's a bran' new song in de heav'n I know;
Dere's a bran' new song in de heav'n I know,
And I don' want it to leav' a me behin'.

Good news, de chariot's a-comin',
Good news, de chariot's a-comin';
Good news, de chariot's a-comin';
And I don' want it to leav' a me behin'.
Good News (continued)

Good news, de chariot's a-comin'
Good news, de chariot's a-comin'
Good news, de chariot's a-comin',
An' I don' want it to leav-a me behin'.

An' I don' want it to leav-a me behin'.
An' I don' want it to leav-a me behin'.

You Must' come in By an Thro' de Lamb

My God is so high,
You can't get over Him;
He's so low
You can't get under Him;
He's so wide dat you can't get around Him,
You mus' come in by an' thro' de Lamb.

One day as I was a walkin'
Along the heav'nly road,
My saviour spoke unto me
An' He filled my heart-a wid love.

Oh He's so high,
You can't get over Him;
He's so low,
You can't get under Him;
He's so wide dat you can't get aroun' Him,
You mus' come in by an' thro' de Lamb.

Tell you fellow members,
Things happen mighty strange;
The Lord was good to Israel,
An' His ways don't ever change.

Oh he's so high,
You can't get over Him;
He's so low,
You can't get under him;
He's so wide dat you can't get aroun' Him,
You mus' come in by an' thro' de Lamb.
Live a-Humble (continued)

Oh, my Lord's done jes' what He said,
My Lord, He healed de sick an' He raised de dead.
A-live a-humble, humble,
Humble yourself, de bell's done rung.
Did you ever see such a man as God,
Who gave up His Son for to come an' die.
He gave up His Son for to come an' die,
A-live a-humble, humble,
Humble yourself, de bell's done rung.

Glory an' honor.
Praise King Jesus.
Glory an' honor.
Praise de Lamb.
A-live a-humble, humble,
Humble yourself, de bell's done rung.
A-live a-humble, humble,
Humble yourself, de bell's done rung.

Hear de Lambs a-Cryin'?
You hear de lambs a-cryin'?
Hear de lambs a-cryin'?
Hear de lambs a-cryin'?
"Oh, shepherd, feed-a my sheep!"

My Saviour spoke these words so sweet:
"Peter, if you love me, feed-a my sheep!"
"Lord, I love Thee, Thou dost know:
Oh, give me grace to love Thee more!"

You hear de lambs a-cryin'?
Hear de lambs a-cryin'?
Hear de lambs a-cryin'?
"Oh, shepherd, feed-a my sheep!"
The Last Supper

Jesus was a-sittin' at the last Passover.
John, he rested upon his shoulder.
Jesus said one word that seemed to blight.
He said, "One of you goin' to betray me tonight."

Mark cried out, "Lord is it I?"
James cried out, "Lord, is it I?"
Then Jesus said, "A-look an' see him dat dip in de dish-s wid me."

Then Jesus with his disciples Simon-Peter, and others went into the garden.
Jesus said to them, "Sarry ye here, while I go and pray."
Then when Jesus on returning found his disciples asleep He said:
"Simon! Simon! Sleepest thou? Couldn't thou not watch one hour? Simon! The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."

My time is come, my time is come,
Oh, my time is come,
I'm boun' to pay de debt I owe.

They Led My Lord Away

They led my Lord away, away, away,
They led my Lord away.
Oh tell me where to find Him.

They led Him up to Pilate's bar;
Tell me where to find Him.
But they could not condemn Him there,
Tell me where to find Him.

Pilate said, "I wash my hands,"
Tell me where to find Him.
"I find no fault in this just man."
Tell me where to find Him.
He Never Said a Mumberlin' Word

Wasn't it a pity an' a shame!
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Wasn't it a pity an' a shame!
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Oh, not a word, not a word, not a word.

Dey nailed Him to de tree!
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Dey nailed Him to de tree!
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Oh, not a word, not a word, not a word.

Dey pierced Him in de side, in de side, in-a de side!
Dey pierced Him in de side, in de side, in-a de side!
De blood came a-twinklin' down!
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
De blood came a-twinklin' down.
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Oh, not a word, not a word, not a word.

He bowed His head an' died.
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
He bowed His head an' died.
An' He never said a mumberlin' word.
Oh, not a word, not a word, not a word.
Did You Hear When Jesus Rose?

Mary set her table,
In spite of all her foes.
King Jesus sat at de center place,
An' cups did overflow.

Chillun, did you hear when Jesus rose,
Did you hear when Jesus rose?
Did you hear when Jesus rose?
He rose an' ascended on high.

The Father looked at His Son an' smiled,
De Son did look at-a Him.
De Father saved my soul from Hell,
An' de Son freed me from sin.

Chillun, did you hear when Jesus rose,
Did you hear when Jesus rose?
Did you hear when Jesus rose?
He rose an' ascended on high.

Were You There?

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Oh, sometimes it causes me to tremble, tremble, tremble.

Were you there when they crucified my Lord?

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Religious Experience Underlying the Negro Spiritual

Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

Boston University Graduate School
by
Henderson Sheridan Davis
B. S. Wilberforce University, 1941
B. D. Payne Seminary, 1940

Department: Psychology of Religion
Major Instructor: Professor Paul E. Johnson
The problem of the dissertation is to uncover, to describe, and to relate to life the religious experience involved in the authorship of the Negro Spiritual.

The Spiritual is recognized as one of the finest bodies of folk music to be found. As folk music it is expressive of intimate psychological processes in the people responsible for it. As religious music it preserves a record of religious experience they had.

The slave system purposely promoted fear in the slave. This followed the high casualty rate of the slave trade in which three or four Africans displaced in their native land lost their lives for every one who was landed on a plantation in the United States. In the early slave codes of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia provision was made for the punishment of slaves by maiming in organ or limb, burning at the stake, and crucifixion. This fearful emotional state was used as a device for perpetuating slavery. Fear is a strong determiner of conduct and may be kept in operation at long range. When its tension is non-directed and irrational its pressure within the psychic life of the individual may grow to be devastating.

Hatred is another emotional attitude sponsored directly by the slave system. Responsibility for its presence lies in the slave. The owner did not intend to foster hatred in the slave nor did he readily admit its presence, yet
he took precautions against it. The system which purposely fostered fear, at the same time built up aggressive impulses. That fear was neither fostered nor experienced with respect or respectability, but with mutual contempt. Hatred came as a result of abusive treatment near the level of a physiological reaction. It came as an attempt to hold some self-respect in the humiliating circumstances of slavery.

The psychological condition of the slaves was one of tension and conflict. This was so for those who maintained any self-respect, who did not allow themselves to be fatally brutalized by slavery. Pressure was brought about by the controls exerted by the owner and by self-initiated controls employed by the slave for his own protection. The owner kept the slave unarmed, dispossessed of any rights binding upon the owner against the owner’s will, reduced economically, denied opportunity for self-improvement, and altogether denied psychological capacity comparable to that of real persons. The slave should remember in his turn to please the owner at all times no matter what considerations were involved. The slave should never be caught off guard and out of character in any contact with the owner. This could be accomplished through constant, effective repression, through deceit, and through abdicating selfhood.

The interpersonal relationships initiated through human slavery were fallacious and injurious. Psychological
processes accompanying them were destructive and disintegrative. The violent controls that were required and sponsored worked directly in opposition to wholesome growth, thoroughly preventing adequate orientation of the individual in his world.

Into the difficulties of slavery the Africans brought resources from the culture which existed along the west coast of their native land. They brought along some folklore which contained a philosophy of life, characterized by a quaint, contemplative attitude toward the things that happen. Closely associated with this was an underlying sense of humor. In the proverbs that were brought there is the reflection of a belief in a just order in things, and a suggestion that good and right are not lost in this world. The religions of West Africa present more than a casual belief in gods, in their creatorship, and in their participation of the affairs of men.

The slave was introduced to the religion of the owner with the principal intention of helping to continue the system of slavery. The slave could be a good Christian as God intended from the time of Ham through a verse in Paul, a good black Christian, if he did what he was told and did not make any trouble. The slave holding class wanted this given to the slaves and did not suspect values in the Chris-
tian tradition which could give the slave independent personal reinforcement.

The slave got past this intention to the Bible. In this he may have had help from some members of slave holding families who did not approve of slavery. But he succeeded in finding out about the Children of Israel, Moses, and Jesus. The religious experience of the slaves came to creative expression in the poignantly stirring music of the Spiritual.

Otherworldliness in "Po' Pilgrim" arises from the anguish of nostalgia and moves into a new purpose.

Sometimes I don't know where to roam... I started to make heaven my home.

It was made intentionally into a shape which gave buoyancy in

Religion is a fortune, I really do believe; Where Sabbaths have no end.

Self initiated persistence had religious motivation as is evidenced in

March on
And you shall gain the vistory,
March on
And you shall gain the day.

also

Keep-a inchin' along,
Like a po' inch worm
Jesus is comin' bye an' bye

and

We are climin' Jacob's ladder...
Every round goes higher, higher,
Soldier of the cross.

Humiliation was swallowed up in humility and the slave singer learned to refrain from pulling out the mote from other men's eyes as he prayed.

It's-a me, it's-a me, oh Lord,
Standin' in the need of prayer.

There was forbearance in an offense provoking condition in his

Lord, I don't feel no ways tired,
Oh glory hallelujah,
For I hope to shout glory
When the world is on fire,
Oh glory hallelujah.

and

Walk together children don't y' get weary,
Great camp meetin' in the promised land.

and

You can talk about me, as much as you please,
I'll talk about you, when I get on my knees.

Resistance that owned but one rightful Lord of life was expressed in

Go down, Moses, way down in Egypt land.
Tell ol' Pharaoh,
Let my people go.

These are among the more unexpected and the debateable, positive elements that are found in the Spiritual. The passages cited may be interpreted in other ways. Benjamin E. Mays discounts the otherworldliness found in
the Spiritual as escapism. A more careful evaluation of environmental factors in terms of the individual slave's responsibility in them and the vicious interpersonal relationship of human slavery does not warrant this.

From reinforcement, integration, and therapy there was found cosmic orientation despite the atrocious degradation of human slavery. With this achievement there originated in a new song, the Spiritual.

In the course of this study the following conclusions have been reached.

1. Africans were pressed into slavery through the use of superior arms and not for the lack of human capacity which kept them from objecting or which particularly suited them to be slaves. They were persons with all the capacities of human personality. Among man's highest gifts is his capacity for religious experience. In the Spiritual there is evidence of religious experience that occurred among the slaves which reflects a significant assimilation of the enlightened Hebrew-Christian tradition.

2. The slave was thrown into unavoidable subjective conflict and tension. Three of the dominant psychological states affecting him were sorrow from suffering, fear promoted as a control technique, and hate developed as aggressive retaliation. The experience of slavery was frustrat-
ing and crucial to his personality. It initiated inter-
personal relationships that were fallacious and injurious.
These were accompanied by destructive and disintegrative
psychological processes.

3. In the course of events racism was developed as
an indispensable device for harmonizing exploitation and
idealism. An adapted kind of religion was presented the
slave by the slave owner. It was intended to help continue
the slave system with a minimum amount of trouble. But the
Bible helped the slave get more of the Christian revelation
than the sponsors of the slave system intended.

4. Three strains or sustained manners of performances
may be distinguished in the course of religious develop-
ment among the slaves: conformity, righteousness and
love. Psychological disturbance in the slave found actual
therapy through catharsis, reinforcement, redirection, and
wholesome motivation available in the religion of Jesus.
These results are positive elements in his religious develop-
ment more influential than the negative element of escap-
ism.

5. The slave's adjustment through religious experi-
ence found dynamic resources in the cross of Christ. Con-
sequently, religious experience improved in ethical values
and in integrative force as it lay at the friction point of affliction. He need not be victimized by a fatal submission to his senseless situation. A new self-respecting alternative opened to him in his dilemma of slavery. He found a task that was of adequate significance in the area of attitude. Underlying the authorship of the Spiritual is the religious experience that involved a comprehensive love, a love for all persons, love in the worst of circumstances, love which did not exclude the slave owner and the slave driver.

Lord I want to be a Christian in my heart... Lord I want to love everybody in my heart...

Success on this task enabled the slave to participate in one of the most unique and reconstructive energies of the Christian revelation "Love your enemies".
VITA

Henderson Sheridan Davis was born July 16, 1913 in Plainfield, Indiana, the son of Reverend Arthur H. and Martha A. Price Davis. Two daughters and one other son were in the family. He attended the public schools of Plainfield except for one year which was spent in Newcastle, Indiana, when he was in the second year of grammar school. In 1931, he graduated from Plainfield High School and enrolled in Indiana State Teachers College for one year. By 1937, he had entered the ministry of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, serving student appointments while accumulating three years of college credit in Indiana Central College and Indiana University.

He was sent to Payne Theological Seminary in Wilberforce, Ohio, on a scholarship from the Indiana Conference of the A.M.E. Church. Here he graduated with the B.D. degree in 1940. (At that time a student could enroll for the B.D. degree with a minimum of two years of college.) In 1941, he graduated from Wilberforce University with the A.S. degree. Since that time he has spent two years in Detroit on the staff of Bethel A.M.E. Church, three years on the faculty of Payne Theological Seminary, and three years in study at Boston University.

In May of 1943 he was united in marriage with Ruth Vinita Patterson in Detroit. To them have been born Vinita, who is six years old, and Martha who is four years old.
The Service of Worship to Celebrate the Life of

Dr. Henderson Sheridan Davis

Sunrise
July 16, 1913

Sunset
October 5, 2005

Service of Worship:
Saturday, October 15, 2005 • 11:00 A.M.

Allen Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church
629 East 11th Street • Indianapolis, Indiana

The Reverend Samuel Sumner, Pastor
Allen Chapel AME Church, Indianapolis, Indiana

The Reverend Maurice Reed, Pastor
Bethel AME Church, Plainfield, Indiana

The Reverend Leonard N. Williams, Officiating
Presiding Elder, North District, Indiana Annual Conference

The Right Reverend Philip Robert Cousin, Sr., Senior Bishop
Presiding Bishop, 4th Episcopal District
African Methodist Episcopal Church
The Order of Worship

THE ORGAN PRELUDE .... Variations of “Footprints of Jesus” ..... Rev. Anthony Vinson, Sr.

THE PROCESIONAL ........ Clergy, Family, Presiding Elders, General Officers, Bishops

THE PROCESIONAL HYMN .......... AMEC Hymn 450 .......... “Blessed Assurance”

THE CALL TO WORSHIP ............................................................ The Reverend Maurice Reed

Minister: I was glad when they said to me, let us go to the house of the Lord! Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem.

Congregants: For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.

Minister: Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.

Congregants: Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God.

Minister: Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, Lord, I have loved thy habitation, the place where thy honor dwelleth.

Congregants: For the Lord is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him.

Minister: Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart; be acceptable in thy sight O Lord, my strength and my redeemer.

Congregants: O sing unto the Lord a new song for he has done marvelous things. Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all the earth, sing praises.

THE HYMN OF PRAISE .............. AMEC Hymn 82 ...... “O for a Closer Walk with God”

THE INVOCATION ................................................................. Rev. James V. Gilbert, Jr.

THE LESSONS from the HOLY SCRIPTURES
  The Old Testament ............ Psalm 23 ....................... Rev. Betty Gilbert

THE SONG OF CELEBRATION ................ Bro. James Gilbert & The Lay Male Chorus

THE ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .................................................. Sis. Julia Chambliss

THE OBITUARY ................................................................. Read Silently

THE RESOLUTION ............................................................ Bethel Plainfield
The Order of Worship

THE WORDS OF REFLECTIONS (2 minutes)
The Lay Organization .................................................. Mrs. Pearla Gholston, 
President of the Indiana Conference Lay Organization
The Women’s Missionary Society .......................... Dr. M. Joan Cousin, 
Episcopal Supervisor, 4th District WMS
The Ministry .......................................................... Rev. E. Anne Henning Byfield, 
Presiding Elder South District
The General Officers ............................................. Dr. Dennis Dickerson  
Historiographer/Executive Director Dept of Research & Scholarship AME Church

THE CHORAL PREPARATION ..................... Medley of Hymns .......... The Conference Choir
THE FAMILY REFLECTIONS .......... Jacques Eady, Son-in-law and Dwayne Williams, Grandson
THE SONG OF PREPARATION ........ “Safe in His Arms” ...... Kenetha Rogers, Granddaughter
THE EULOGY ........................................... The Right Reverend Philip Robert Cousin, Sr,  
Senior Bishop Presiding Prelate, 4th Episcopal District, AME Church
THE CLOSING SONG ........................................... The Family “You’ve Got to Love Everybody if You Want to See Jesus”

THE ORGAN POSTLUDE
THE RECESSIOINAL

The Committal and Entombment
Maple Hills Cemetery
Plainfield, Indiana

The Acknowledgment

The Family of Dr. Henderson S. Davis express our deepest appreciation to all who have demonstrated their love, concern and support during his illness and his passing. May God richly bless you all.
The Davis Family
Dr. Henderson Davis was born on July 16, 1913 in Plainfield, Indiana. He left this life early in the morning on Wednesday, October 5, 2005 following a lengthy illness. He had lived a blessed life of 92 years.

He was the second son, the youngest of four children born to Rev. Arthur Henderson Davis and Mrs. Martha Price Davis. He shared the name “Henderson Davis” with his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, all of whom had been beloved A.M.E. pastors. Dr. Davis, himself, served a remarkable 71 years as an ordained elder in the A.M.E. Church.

He was attentive in church as a young child and gave his life to Christ at an early age in Bethel A.M.E. Church, Plainfield, Indiana. His call to the ministry came at the age of 17. One night after a prayer meeting, he was walking back to his quarters in Mitchell, Indiana at the Civilian Conservation Corp. (CCC) Camp when he saw a vision of Jesus and the words “Go Preach” across the sky. Simultaneously, he heard a voice declaring, “Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.” Upon discussing the vision with his father, Dr. Davis realized that God was calling him to the ministry. So from that day on he was committed to preparing himself with excellence for his God-ordained assignment.

He matriculated at Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana; Indiana Central University, Indianapolis, Indiana; and Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio where he earned a Bachelor’s degree and a seminary degree at Payne Theological Seminary. He earned a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in the Psychology of Religion from Boston University in 1950. He was certified at the Post Doctoral Institute in International Affairs at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois in 1969. Dr. Davis was deeply committed to the power of education and inspired others to do so.

He pastored churches in Indiana, Ohio, New England, South Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. He was a professor at Payne Theological Seminary, Wilberforce, Ohio; Allen University and Dickerson Theological Seminary, where he also served as dean, in Columbia, South Carolina. Then as Presiding Elder, he served briefly in the Illinois Conference and on the North District in the Indiana Conference from 1973 through 1980. Dr. Davis was honored to be elected to the office of Historiographer, a General Office of the A.M.E. Church, in 1980. He brought church history to life throughout his two terms in office until his retirement in 1988.

During his tenure as a pastor not only did he minister to the flock but he consistently left the churches in an improved spiritual and financial condition. His numerous pastoral accomplishments include establishing a credit union at St. Mark, Milwaukee and leading the congregation of St. Paul, Des Moines in the building of a new church structure.

As a General Officer, Dr. Davis characterized four historic bishops as the “Four Horsemen.” He highlighted their contributions to the founding and the expanding of the A.M.E. Church during the 1800’s by presenting their stories using various media including a “Parade of History” in which pastors and their wives dressed in historically accurate garments created by Mrs. Ruth Davis.
Dr. Davis impacted every community to which he was sent. Committees addressing racial reconciliation and equality were important to him. In Des Moines, Iowa he spearheaded the Model Cities federally funded inner city revitalization project. He authored a study, “The Delivery of Higher Education to the Disadvantaged”, which led to the establishment of the Des Moines Area Community College 1971. In Indianapolis he directed both the Migrant Ministry and the Adult Literacy programs for the Indiana Council of Churches.

Dr. Davis will be remembered for his smile, his laughter, his humor, and his love of everybody. He had an exceptional memory of individuals, scripture passages, hymns, spirituals, historical pieces, and noteworthy poetry. He loved to preach, to sing, to read, to teach, to mentor, and to encourage. Yet with all of his accomplishments, he was humble and unassuming. His desire was to be led by the Holy Spirit and for God to be glorified by his life.

He married Ruth Vinita Patterson in 1943. She was his companion and helpmate for 45 years and preceded him in death in 1988. To this union four children were born: Vinita Ruth, Martha Maria, Henderson, Jr., and Lydia Joanna.

In 1990 he married Dr. Elmira Hendrix. Her tireless devotion, care, and love supported him through his years as a retired General Officer, interim pastor, and guest preacher in various parts of the country.

He is survived by Dr. Elmira Hendrix Davis, his wife of 15 years, his children Vinita Ruth Holman of Nashville, Tennessee, Martha Maria Jackson of Indianapolis, Indiana, Henderson Davis, Jr. of Evansville, Indiana, and Lydia Joanna Davis Eady (Jacques) of Chicago, Illinois; five grandchildren Shirley Carter, Dwayne Williams (Emily), Kenetha Rogers, Andrew Eady, and Matthew Eady; three great-grandchildren Ashley Williams, Lilian Williams, and Joshua Smith; nephews James Gilbert and Paul Gilbert (Irene); niece Barbara Cosby (Charles); cousins Madeline Smothers, Maxine Price, and Marie Yantis; and a host of other relatives and loving friends who share in the family’s loss.

I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.

II Timothy 4: 7-8
Mr. Henderson Davis, Jr.  
Rev. James Gilbert  
Mr. Dwayne Williams  
Mr. Jacques Eady

Indiana Conference Lay Male Chorus  
Central Ministerial Alliance, A. M. E. Church  
Wilberforce University Alumni Association

Ms. Katrina Gilbert  
Ministers’ Spouses  
Ms. Kenetha Rogers  
Women’s Missionary Society

The Twenty-Third Psalm
Because the Lord is my Shepherd,  
I have everything I need!  
He lets me rest in the meadow grass  
And leads me beside the quiet streams.  
He restores my failing health.  
He helps me do what honors Him the most.  
Even when walking through the dark valley of death  
I will not be afraid, for you are close beside me,  
Guarding, guiding all the way  
You provide delicious food for me  
In the presence of my enemies.  
You have welcomed me as your guest, blessings overflow!  
Your goodness and unfailing kindness shall be with me  
All of my life,  
And afterwards I will live with you forever in your home.

The Living Bible Translation

Arrangements Entrusted to

Lavenia, Smith & Summers
HOME FOR FUNERALS
5811 East 38th Street • Indianapolis, IN 46218
Phone: (317) 547-5814 • Fax: (317) 547-5098
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