

Provoking Southern Christianity: Baptists, Methodists, Schisms and Slavery

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of

Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts & Letters

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Florida Atlantic University

Boca Raton, FL

August 2018

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by

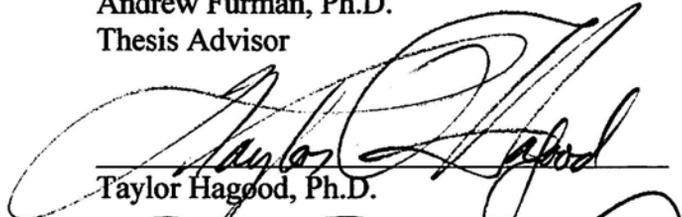
Denario Kelly

This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's thesis advisor, Dr. Andrew Furman, Department of English, and has been approved by the members of her supervisory committee. It was submitted to the faculty of the Dorothy F. Schmidt College of Arts & Letters and was accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

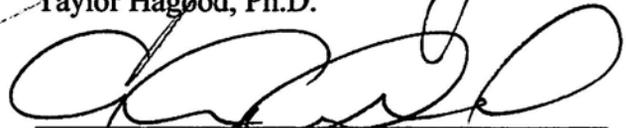
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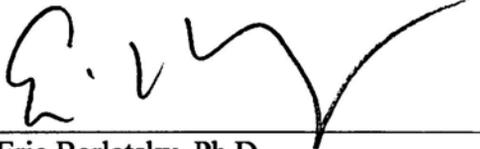
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Acknowledgements

My most profound appreciation goes to all who have aided me in the construction of this thesis. I am forever grateful to my Thesis Advisor Dr. Andrew Furman, whose course inspired the concept for this treatise and whose guidance was crucial. Also, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Adam Bradford and Dr. Taylor Hagood for their constructive criticism and unwavering support. Finally, my deepest gratitude is extended to my family for keeping me grounded and providing critical support.

Abstract

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Title: Provoking Southern Christianity: Baptists, Methodists, Schisms and Slavery
Institution: Florida Atlantic University
Thesis Advisor: Dr. Andrew Furman
Degree: Master of Arts
Year: 2018

This thesis examines the schisms in the antebellum Baptist and Methodist Churches regarding slavery. It was these internal ruptures in both denominations that helped influence life in the slave community. The slave narratives of Henry Bibb, William Wells Brown, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs reveal the impact the schisms had on master-slave relations and slave religious instruction. Moreover, the internal rupture in both denominations over the South's peculiar institution was instrumental in spawning a pro-slavery Christianity. This pro-slavery Christianity proved crucial in extending and strengthening white hegemony.

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Introduction

Scholarship has long recognized the ties between American slavery and Christianity. Slaveholders throughout the 19th century utilized biblical scriptures to support their endeavors in slavery. The first and second Great Awakening made evangelical Protestantism a vital part of antebellum American life. With this religious revival came a multitude of conversions, from which the American South and its African American slaves were amid the faithful. This thesis focuses on the conflict among evangelicals¹ concerning slavery, as this schism pushed some denominations to secession. Scholars such as Mark Noll, Allen Carden, C.C. Goen and others have considered the schisms among evangelicals as preludes to the Civil War. Therefore, examining the Baptist and Methodist Church schisms is crucial in grasping a heightened understanding of the American institution of slavery through which we can view slave-narratives from a different perspective. This thesis addresses the impact the schisms among the Baptists and Methodists had on the slave community, as inconsistencies in policies and rules were crucial in determining what served as good treatment of slaves.

As this thesis will be working extensively with slave narratives, it is paramount to note the special authority and place in history this subgenre possesses. These fugitive slave accounts became a rhetorical tool for the north, as Charles Heglar suggests: “in a country geographically and politically divided by the presence or absence of slavery, fugitive slaves had unique rhetorical status as witness-participants for Northern audiences, a status that gave their self-authored texts a special authority” (9). In addition

to the "unique rhetorical status," these narratives showcase the antebellum era Methodist and Baptist church schisms. Slaves were often witnesses of revivals and members of certain church congregations, as works by such scholars as Albert J. Raboteau, Eugene D. Genovese, John W. Blassingame and others have revealed. Moreover, slave narratives prove that slaves were very familiar with the Christian doctrine. Perhaps most germane to the purposes of this thesis, slave narratives reveal a peculiar Christian doctrine utilized by slaveholders. Because scholars accept slave narratives as both history and literature, the narratives written by Henry Bibb, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs and William Wells Brown will aptly serve as the primary texts for this thesis.

Much discourse has been dedicated to the nominalization of schisms within the Methodist and Baptist church surrounding slavery. What set this eventual rift on course for the Baptists in particular were two issues: firstly, slaves were among the earliest audiences for Baptist evangelicals since after the revolutionary war, the number of slaves in the Baptist church grew exponentially. Secondly, the Baptist church extended its influence into the heart of the peculiar institution: "as with all other issues facing their members, Baptist churches claimed an oversight of the relationships and behavior of masters, mistresses, and slaves—a claim that allowed churches to intrude on the authority of white male slaveholders" (Najar 158-59). This oversight placed the Baptist church firmly in the middle of those matters which accompanied the institution of slavery. For this reason, the establishment tasked with spreading God's will effectively became tasked with endeavors firmly tied to slavery. Subsequently, debates and ultimately a rift occurred within Baptist churches. Although the work done in this treatise will focus primarily on the proslavery movement within the Baptist and Methodist church, it is

important to note the antislavery side of each denominations' internal rift. Despite the overwhelming support for slaveholders, there were many that held strong antislavery sentiments. Because of these antislavery beliefs, many left their respective churches to form new religious circles and antislavery organizations.

Baptist ministers fighting for liberation of African Americans in the South argued on the grounds of theology. Those who argued for the emancipation of slaves did so with belief that "the doctrine of the equality of all souls before God necessitated the abolition of slavery" (Najar 162). As a result, abolitionists within the Baptist church continued to bring the debate over slavery and its morality to the foreground. Aside from the Baptists' doctrine regarding the equality of souls, those fighting for the liberation of slaves found slavery "contradictory to such fundamental Christian doctrines as the Golden Rule" (Jeansonne 510). Despite the growing numbers of Baptist members who were proslavery, the opposition which fought to end the institution remained stubborn in their efforts. Because of their antislavery beliefs, many congregants were forced out of their respective churches. Notable leader of the General Committee for the Baptists, John Leland, denounced the institution as "being pregnant with evil spirits."² This was Leland's reaction to the General Committee's decision to retreat from any debate regarding slavery. It was the General Committee's decision to consider the matter of slavery as a matter for state governance. subsequently, members of the antislavery position described such an act as contradictory. At the heart of Baptist abolitionist argument was the fact that while the General Committee had previously "found slavery at odds with the word of God, it also declared slavery contrary to republicanism and natural rights" (Najar 163). This contradiction was just one of many things that caused antislavery Baptists to split

from their churches. Such incidents occurred in other parts of the south, including Kentucky: "The slavery question caused a division in the North District (Kentucky) Association in 1807 and led to the expulsion of Elder David Barrow, generally recognized as the ablest preacher in the association" (Posey 120). Barrow was also well known for his efforts in helping the growth of the Baptists within Virginia.³ Ultimately Barrow went on to form an organization dedicated to the abolition of slavery. During his time with his organization, Barrow wrote "in a calm, dignified and manly style a pamphlet of sixty-four pages on the evils of slavery" (Posey 120). Both Barrow and Leland were just two of the prominent antislavery Baptists in the south. In the end, Barrow passed away and Leland (like many others) left the south because of his antislavery views. With the death of Barrow and Leland's eventual relocation, the strong voices against slavery weakened in the south.

Antislavery moderate Baptists were most concerned with keeping order among slaveholders and abolitionist brethren in order to prevent sectional church splits. Many moderate antislavery clergymen like James Pendleton, preferred the idea of "gradually emancipating slaves," rather than instant emancipation like the abolitionists (Harlow 368). Many moderate antislavery Baptists, like the proslavery clergymen, struggled to depart from conventional literalism in regards to biblical interpretation. Molly Oshatz, in her article "No Ordinary Sin," notes that "moderately antislavery protestants held two fundamental moral beliefs about slavery: one, that slavery was sinful, and two, that some slaveholders were good Christians" (336). This pairing was as complex as the position the moderate antislavery Baptists were placed in. This complexity made the moderates struggle to pick sides on slavery. As Jeansonne states: "the sense of responsibility toward

secular institutions made moderates hesitant to divide ... these moderates constituted the majority south of the Mason and Dixon Line" (511). Very often, to avoid picking sides, the moderates remained silent during conventions. Many moderates took Francis Wayland's views:

the gospel could do its work quietly and peacefully rather than causing hostility and possibly servile war ... ideally slavery should be stopped immediately, the slaveholder could still be innocent of the sin of slavery if he held slaves for their own good. (Halbrooks 22)

Wayland and other moderates thought that if slaveholders held slaves until they were ready for freedom, then slavery was not a sin. The position of moderates was pivotal in keeping the Baptist church together during moral questioning of slavery.

Once the Baptists decided to classify slavery as a civil matter, the sect became primarily a proslavery denomination. Slaveholding members including leadership within the churches were no longer met with intense debates. Slavery began to be defended in various ways; one of the more notable arguments centered around materialism, as "cotton and slavery were important factors in the economic life ..., the churches remained discreetly silent on the peculiar institution ... attempting to establish a mild but prosperous form of slavery" (Posey 121). Eventually, the accumulation of such wealth and needs of tending to land could not discourage such an institution. Most Baptist members who held proslavery sentiment argued that "it was beneficial socially and economically" (Jeanson 515). Doing so effectively revealed how vital such an institution was to maintaining the social and economic status quo of the south. Many proslavery clergymen were able to connect God to matters of the economic

market:"antebellum evangelicals not only casually attributed market forces to providence, but they thought of economics in providential forms" (Daly 19). This was especially the case in the lower southern states. In this proslavery argument, God is all powerful and governs all affairs; if slavery was wrong then material riches would not be gained plentifully. Eventually, the Baptists were known for their revivals that "fused religion and politics into one system of meaning...providing both an unimpeachable logic and an unparalleled popular constituency for an increasingly aggressive defense of slavery and the social order it engendered" (Matthews and Schweiger 46). Southern Baptists and evangelists began to hold more power during the antebellum era than ever before⁴. The ability to tie God to the politics of the region cemented the place of the church in general. What makes this significant is that this laid the groundwork for interpretations of the Bible that strayed from the original Baptist doctrine. Slaveholders now felt defended by their respective churches.

The Baptist sectional split occurred over the direction of the missionary work and whether or not slaveholders could serve. The American Baptist Home Mission Society, formed in the 1830s, had committee leaders that aspired to be neutral in the slavery conflict. This neutrality was quickly tested by both sides of the slavery debate. The conflict surrounding missionary work erupted when the Home Mission Society answered a question "if the society supported any missionaries known to be slaveholders; the reply said that the society was not aware that any of their missionaries were such" (Baker 75). Subsequently, the question of whether or not the society would knowingly appoint a slaveholder as a missionary followed. In 1845 "Baptists of the south believed, and with good reason, that the answer was no" (Shurden and Varnadoe 2). As a result, southern

Baptists felt offended and decided to respond. As the southern Baptists viewed the situation, the northerners were becoming increasingly anti-slavery. The southern Baptists' proof was the increasing support for abolitionists in the denominational newspaper, *Christian Watchman*. To the southern Baptists, this newspaper became the voice of the northern brethren (Baker 74). Both sides saw an eventual rupture in the church afoot. Southern Baptists formed another defense of the institution, insisting slavery "was an institution, they said, which had been inherited ... that responsibility for religious division would be upon the northern brethren who were agitating this question" (Baker 79). Ultimately, the conflict surrounding slaveholding missionaries could not be resolved. What ensued was the formation of the Southern Baptist Conference in 1845. The rift Baptists feared came to fruition. This fracture in the Baptist church and formation of the Southern Baptist Conference proved to be pivotal. Southern Baptists now held the power to form slaveholder friendly policy without having to navigate or negotiate with northern counterparts.

Much like the Baptists, the Methodists began their ministry and evangelicalism as an antislavery protestant group. Formed by John Wesley in the early 18th century, the Methodists were perhaps second only to the Quakers in their fervent efforts against slavery. Wesley himself was antislavery and condemned the institution as vehemently as possible.⁵ Furthermore, "Wesley believed that slavery was one of the greatest evils that a Christian should fight" (Matthews 5). Ultimately, one of the first things Wesley did was seek a form of proscription regarding slavery. Wesley, seeking to spread scriptural holiness in an effort to "help his fellows determine what avoiding evil and doing good meant, Wesley outlined a guide to Christian ethics in the General Rules" (Matthews 5).

These rules expanded upon Biblical teachings and law. Within the General Rules, Wesley "forbade 'the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them'" (Posey 530). Although Wesley did not give any plans on how to abolish slavery, he paved the way for future clergymen entering Methodism.

Eventually leadership was transferred to Francis Asbury, who would later spread the Methodists over the face of the United States, weaving together the Methodist Episcopal church (known today as the United Methodist Church). Asbury was instrumental by structuring the Methodists' ministers and chargers through hierarchy of conferences. With Asbury's leadership, Wesley's sentiment regarding slavery was followed staunchly in the early days of the Methodists. Not only did the protestant group hold antislavery views primarily, the sect grew precipitously in numbers and stretched across America.

Ultimately, by 1820 over 20 percent of the agglomerate American population were Methodists.⁶ Very quickly the Methodists became a dominant group within the south. Armed with Wesley's General Rules, the protestant group became very influential utilizing evangelical revivalism popular in the Great Awakening. Soon politicians began campaigning around revival locations, as they "wanted to be seen worshipping in churches themselves ..." (Cawardine 590). The influence of the Methodist church became a social tool. No surprise that eventually state and church became very much entwined.

In the late 18th century and early 19th century, the early Methodist church and its preachers within the South sought to ban slavery and slaveholders. The antislavery sentiment was so vigorous that at times alliances were made with the Quakers.⁷ Other devices in addition to sermons, such as written pamphlets were strategically shared among abolitionists. These various pamphlets, passed during services and evangelical

visits, contained John Wesley's thoughts regarding slavery, as well as the thoughts of some renowned abolitionists of the time. Early on the Methodists were responsible for numerous manumissions and also ratified certain rules to combat slavery among members and clergy alike.⁸ Alas, in the late 18th century, leaders within the early Methodist church sought to pass a discipline concerning slaveholders. It was proposed in 1785 that "any Methodists who did not free his slaves ... was to be denied the elements of the lord's supper and expelled" (Matthews 10). It was seen by leadership that this discipline would incite more trouble for the church than intended. Ultimately such a law was not passed by the committee of leaders. The still young Methodist church had to decide between popularity and morality, particularly in the south. In the early 1800s, the Methodists began to compromise with slavery. Ultimately, "in 1804 slaveholding under certain conditions was made legal, and states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were exempted from the rules. Four years later ... all that related to slaveholding among members was forever removed" (Posey 535). This was largely due to fear of southern membership departure, which would have affected the church financially and influentially. Consequentially, the Methodists' compromise on slavery came to a head in the 1830s, as Chris Padgett notes:

a small number of Methodists were prompted by antislavery concerns to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church because they felt it condoned slaveholding. Not until 1842, however, did greater numbers follow the call of leading Methodist abolitionists to create a new Church free of fellowship with slaveholders, and organized a succession movement. (64)

Compromise had become blurred and easily mistaken for full blown support of slavery. For the abolitionists within the Methodist church, the denomination had strayed from John Wesley's antislavery proclamation. The antislavery Methodists could no longer be a part of any slavery compromise within the church. Those viewed as abolitionists were scolded by the opposition and were often barred from publishing in the Methodist press. Eventually, the abolitionists were able to gather support in establishing their own Methodist branch: "by May 1843, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection was formed with 6000 charter members" (Padgett 64). With this new church, members with abolitionist beliefs could return to the proclamations made by John Wesley. Moreover, those with abolitionist sentiments gained the ability to publish in new abolitionist newspapers. The Wesleyans' church was set up with "more autonomy and democratic rule than the Methodists allowed" (Randall 163). What makes this significant is that with the Wesleyan, abolitionists finally had a church that stood behind their beliefs. Before their secession, the Methodist church made spreading abolitionist sentiments difficult. Slaves now had a church (in addition to the Quakers) that held their interests at heart.

Most Methodist moderates were colonizationists, who offered a different solution to abolishment of slavery in efforts to avoid a denomination rupture.⁹ The colonizationists generally disliked abolitionist sentiments, but they did not like slavery either. The colonizationists offered a new path and solution to the slavery question. As Donald Mathews reveals in *Slavery and Methodism*: "some Methodists hoped that colonization would ultimately break the galling chains of American Negro slavery"(99). The colonizationists, however, were more so proponents of gradual emancipation for slaves.

One of the more notable leaders in the colonization movement, Nathan Bangs' beliefs on slavery were echoed by many other colonizationists. Bangs' position was that:

he was against slavery in the abstract, but had no love for wild enthusiasts who raised a popular clamor against southerners for having had the great evil of slavery entailed upon them by the act of others. (Mathews 102)

Consequently, colonizationists endured attacks from both sides of the slavery argument. Proslavery Methodists thought colonizationists offered but another way to slave freedom and were a threat to southern society. Meanwhile, abolitionists called colonizationists anti-negro for arousing ideas of transporting freed blacks from America, as this offers no life for blacks in America once emancipated.¹⁰ For colonizationists, colonizing in Africa, particularly Liberia, presented a better way to abolish slavery. The colonization efforts would promote gradual emancipation for slaves and Christianization in Africa. What makes the colonizationists' position significant is that some of the movements' most notable leaders became members on the General Conference. This was pivotal, as these notable leaders were neither slaveholders nor abolition apologists. As a result, neither the proslavery nor the abolition side of the slavery argument was extended any favorability. The General Conference could now amend future Methodist laws without questions of impartiality, as slaveholders had previously felt poorly represented.

Proslavery Methodists argued largely that the matter of slavery was civil, and that there should be no interference on this matter from the church. One of the many issues facing the Methodist church was its place in a society that made slavery law. One of the arguments slavery proponents within the Methodist church argued was "since the Church denied itself authority over slavery, slaveholding could not be considered a sin ..."

(Matthews 209). Refuting this argument would have required the church to enter the political realm. On the other hand, failure to respond to such an argument would force the church into the role of sympathizer. These arguments came to a climax surrounding Bishop Andrews. Andrews in 1844, "had come into possession of slaves both by inheritance and marriage" (Southall 360). The debate centered on whether or not Andrews could retain both position and slaves. What made the case with Andrews formidable for the proslavery argument, was in 1840 when the General Conference created "a declaration that the simple holding of slaves should hereafter constitute no bar to the various official positions in the Methodist Episcopal Church" (Elliott 22). Effectively, this declaration opened the door way for a possible slaveholding bishop. Ultimately, the General Conferences' decision was less than favorable for the slavery proponents of the Methodist church. The General conference ruled that because Andrews held slaves, he must vacate his position. For the proslavery south, this and continuous agitation from abolitionists within the Methodist church was enough for secession. The secession split the Methodist church, which was essentially what many leaders and members feared.

Tolerance, compromise and eventual secession over slavery from both the Methodist and Baptist church may have attributed to the creation of the slaveholders' doctrine. The Methodists and Baptists were the largest protestant groups within the South, attracting the most members within the region.¹¹ Soon slavery proponents began to defend the institution with theology. Slaveholders, as Alan Gally notes:

rationalized the brutality of slavery by believing that however horrible a slave's existence in this world, he might, if saved find bliss in the more important afterworld. Evangelical religion swept the South as new

generations of slaveholders adopted and perfected these thoughts on the slave system. (394)

The importance of obedience and a better after life became key aspects of the doctrine adopted by slaveholders. For the staunch supporters of the institution, evidence in the Bible existed plentifully. Some utilized the synoptic Gospels to strengthen their defense, noting that "in Luke 7, after curing the centurion's servant: 'our Savior commended a slaveholder as the best of men'" (Daly 64). The idea in employing scriptural proof was designed to refute abolitionists. With the scripture led rebuttal, slaveholders sought to cement their piety and push abolitionists to take an anti-Christian position. In using this doctrine on slaves, many took the position of prominent Baptist minister Thornton Stringfellow, believing it elevated the souls and condition of blacks.¹² In preaching a specific set of scriptures, slaveholders aspired to give their slaves salvation as they saw fit. Perhaps on a more favorable note for slaveholders, teaching slaves about scripture "made them more docile, hard working, and content with their station" (Jeansonne 517). For this reason, slaveholders utilized Christ on the plantations and formed a peculiar doctrine.

Very few critics have discussed the impact the schisms of the Baptists and Methodists had on the slave community. The slave narratives of William Wells Brown, Henry Bibb, Frederick Douglass, and Harriet Jacobs will reveal the effects of the Baptist and Methodist schisms. Chapter one of this thesis will examine two ways the schisms affected the slave community. It is my assertion that the schisms affected the treatment of slaves. Inconsistent rules and policies of both denominations were pivotal in determining what constituted as good treatment of slaves. Chapter one will also examine

ways the schisms affected religious instruction for the slaves. My objective is to illuminate the impact conference rules from both denominations had on plantation life. Abolitionist brethren in each denomination made slaveholders apprehensive of religious instruction for bondpeople. As a result, religious life for slaves was greatly affected in a myriad of ways.

Chapter two of this thesis will explore the various ways the schisms fostered a proslavery doctrine. I assert that the schisms pushed slavery proponents to defend the institution fervently. These inspired various proslavery literary contributions; moreover, proslavery clergymen used biblical verses to justify the institution of slavery. The proslavery doctrine preached obedience to masters as the number one priority. This rhetoric also afforded proslavery evangelicals the ability to refute abolitionist brethren. As the abolitionist clergymen began to charge the proslavery side with neglect of their slaves, a renewed effort in mission work to slaves began. The proslavery doctrine inadvertently inspired some slaves to reject Christianity as a whole. This southern doctrine also inspired many slaves to form invisible institutions, as a means to gain more religious freedom.

Chapter 1: Physicality

The schisms of the Baptist and Methodist church affected the slave community in various ways. Perhaps one of the more notable ways is found within the cruel treatment at the hands of Christian slaveholders. Various narratives and slave accounts make note of the cruel Christian master. Moreover, cruel Christian slaveholders became a part of a well-known trope synonymous with slave narratives. The schisms of the Baptists and Methodists helped encourage the cruelty Christian slaveholders displayed throughout various narratives. It is well documented that many congregations were bi-racial. As such, before the Baptist and Methodist schisms, Christian slaveholders were held accountable for their treatment of slaves by their local congregations. William Wells Brown and Henry Bibb's respective narratives both highlight the cruelty Baptist slaveholders displayed and the lost accountability that followed.

During Brown's recollection of his time during the Sabbath, he recalled the cruelty Mr. Page, a Christian slaveholder, showed Delphia, one of his slaves. Although Mr. Page in his brief description is painted as a stern slaveholder, Brown shifts the attention of readers to Page's standing within the church. Recalling Page's severe disciplinary tactics, Brown notes that he "tied up a woman of his, by the name Delphia, and whipped her nearly to death; yet, he was a Deacon in the Baptist Church " (Williams and Gates 389). Here, Brown is seemingly contributing to the cruel religious master trope well established in slave narratives. Above all, Brown is revealing a form of shock, not so much at Page's behavior, but at his position within the Baptist church. Brown notes to his

readers that Page was "in good standing" with the Baptist church (Williams and Gates 389). With this notion, Brown presents a religious slaveholder who is viewed favorably enough to assume responsibility within the church. Once more, Page is a clergyman and a leader for the Baptists.

Much like Brown, Henry Bibb's encounter with a Baptist clergyman exposes the cruelty among high ranking Baptists. While being held in prison, Bibb began searching for a new master; one that would purchase him along with his family. While searching, Bibb heard of Francis Whitfield, and, as Bibb notes, "He was represented to be a very pious soul, being a deacon of a Baptist Church" (Williams and Gates 500). Bibb's assumption about the Baptists, especially a deacon, is justifiable. The early Baptists were well known for their piety. Moreover, the Baptists were stern in their discipline and governing of their members.¹³ Bibb's master was not just a member of the local Baptist congregation, but was a leader much like Brown's Deacon Page. Notably, Bibb never refers to his master Francis Whitfield as anything other than "the Deacon" or "Deacon Whitfield." In doing so, Bibb places emphasis on the rank of his master in his respective church. With the acknowledgement of Whitfield's leadership in the Baptist discipline, Bibb's Deacon Whitfield is a representation of the Baptist church.

Not long after Bibb's arrival to Whitfield's plantation, he is quickly aware of Whitfield's hypocrisy and cruelty. Despite Whitfield's alleged piety, Bibb learns that the Deacon lacks benevolence suitable for his church rank, noting that "he was far more like what the people call the devil, than he was like a deacon" (Williams and Gates 503). Bibb's juxtaposition using the devil and a Deacon reinforces both Bibb's shock and the Deacon's cruelty. The Deacon displayed behavior that violated his discipline and defiled

his religious office. Among many other cruelties, Bibb's Deacon forced a slave girl into the role of wife for his son. Bibb recalls the incident stating that "at first the poor girl neglected to do this, having no sort of affection for the man but she was finally forced to it by an application of the driver's lash as threatened by the Deacon" (Williams and Gates 503). A quick examination of Bibb's recollection highlights that the Deacon promoted adultery, a sin and definite violation of his Baptist discipline. This confirms Bibb's description of the Deacon as the hypocrite who is pious in public but the devil at home.

The schism for the Baptists changed discipline and autonomy in the church. Brown's Deacon Page and Bibb's Deacon Whitfield were products of the tension in the Baptist church surrounding slavery. The Baptist church was known for inserting itself in matters deemed spiritual and civil; therefore, what was considered civil very easily became spiritual matters, and slavery was no exception. Brown's shock at Deacon Page's barbarous act toward his fellow slave Delphia was also due in part to the fact that, as he states, "she was a member of the same church with her master" (Williams and Gates 389). What is significant here is that the Baptist church was known for disciplining its slaveholders for such acts. The Baptist church in many cases exercised a form of autonomy; consequently, as Randolph Scully asserts:

If slaveowners could take comfort in the fact that church discipline upheld the duties of slaves to masters, slaves could also take comfort in the fact that the church would hear their testimony and could justify them against their master's accusations. (344)

Without deliberating on whether it could interfere with the relationship of slave and master, the Baptist church ruled on spiritual grounds. Essentially, the Baptist church

inserted itself in the debate on slavery and often became judge and jury. Doing so, the Baptists overruled worldly hierarchies, making the soul the highest priority. Concerning church discipline, Jeff Forret asserts that in order "to make their brand of religiosity more attractive to respectable Southern white men, evangelicals quieted their opposition to slavery" (2). Although blacks remained inferior socially, within many Baptist churches, spiritual equality was prioritized. This is significant in justifying both Brown and Bibb's shock at their respective Deacons' behavior.

Despite the Baptists' emphases on spiritual equality, as abolition agitation intensified, the social hierarchy began to take precedence. Baptist congregations favored egalitarian worship but feared secession from pro-slavery Baptist leaders. Monica Najar in *Evangelizing the South*, asserts:

efforts to resolve the contradictions between the belief in the equality of all souls and the presence of slaves and slaveholders in their churches threatened to tear the denomination apart. To stem the developing crisis, Baptists redefined slavery to be a civil rather than a moral and religious issue. (161)

Consequently, the growing threat of secession continued to shift slavery into civic lifestyle for the Baptists. With matters involving the worldly hierarchy being considered civic, the church's ability to act upon issues involving master and slave relations was considerably weakened. Essentially, rendering master and slave relations to the state meant that Baptist slaveholders were no longer held religiously accountable. This is made clear with Deacons Page and Whitfield's poor treatment of their slaves. Both Deacons no longer had to answer to anyone, whether church or state for their actions.

Douglass and Jacobs' accounts provide insight into the effects of the Methodist schism and the increased cruelty that followed. Perhaps creating one of the most well-known slave narratives, Douglass never shied away from condemning the evils of slavery. Upon Douglass' time with an Edward Covey, he mentions that "Mr. Covey, he was a professor of religion- a pious soul- a member and a class leader in the Methodist church. All of this added weight to his reputation as a nigger breaker" (Williams and Gates 320). Douglass is quick to make the connection between apparent religiosity and cruelty found in self-proclaimed Christian slaveholders. Sharon Carson in her article "Shaking the Foundation," posits that Douglass attaches a "description of Covey which constructs a metaphoric portrait of the white church" (25). I would venture to take this further and note that Covey represents Douglass' criticism of southern white Christianity. Doing so, Douglass operates as a true abolitionist agent. John Sekora in his article "Comprehending Slavery: Language and Personal History in Douglass' Narrative," asserts that "they [abolitionist editors] had set the language of abolition -- its vocabulary as well as social attitudes and philosophical presuppositions" (158). In other words, Douglass' narrative was written within the abolitionist code. In addition to targeting slavery, Douglass attacked southern Christianity and its leaders. Douglass alerts readers to Covey's position as a respected leader for the Methodists. It is Covey's apparent leadership within the denomination that adds fear and esteem to his harshness with slaves. It was Covey, an apparent leader in the Methodist church that provided Douglass' worst treatment: "During the first six months, of that year, scarce a week passed without his whipping me. I was seldom free from a sore back" (Williams and Gates 322). Given the Methodists' governing structure, it is very difficult to imagine Covey's behavior going

unnoticed. This is especially significant due to the fact that in 1808, the Baltimore Methodist conference passed and enforced various rules pertaining to slavery.

The Baltimore conference rules made it so that "there were instances of suspension and expulsion of Methodists from their societies for selling and whipping Negroes" (Mathews 33). Moreover, Douglass' criticism of Christian slaveholders continues beyond Covey. During his time with Mr. Freeland, Douglass becomes aware of Reverends Weeden and Hopkins. As Douglass notes, Weeden and Hopkins were "members and ministers in the Reformed Methodist Church" (Williams and Gates 335). Douglass' description of Weeden and Hopkins not only further highlights the cruelty associated with Christian slaveholders, but also exposes the divide internally in the Methodist Church. Being ministers of a Reformed Methodist Church indicates the various disputes within the denomination, as various factions formed over policies related to slavery and other internal issues.¹⁴ The Maryland territory, particularly Baltimore, displayed staunch opposition to slavery. Between 1808 and 1830, The General Conference gave the annual conferences power "to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves" (Mathews 32). Interestingly so, the Baltimore region was the most eager and first to act. What makes this significant is that Douglass' life in slavery took place in the Maryland territory (St. Michaels and Baltimore). The Baltimore Conference's position makes Covey's behavior especially rebellious; yet, his reputation for Negro-breaking went revered. Weeden and Hopkins' membership with a faction favoring reformation in the Methodist Church juxtaposed with the Baltimore conference's decision, exposes a clear conflict on slavery. Covey's cruelty reveals a disconnect between the Baltimore Conference's ruling and his position. The depiction of Covey,

Weeden and Hopkins illustrates the separation among Methodists regarding slavery. This schism produced a detrimental result for the slave community.

Jacobs' account highlights that Methodist slaveholders particularly were becoming notorious for their cruel treatment of slaves. Although most of Jacobs' religious experiences were associated more with the Episcopal church, given the prominence of the Methodist church and its sizable slave membership, it was not difficult for her to attend a Methodist gathering. While attending a Methodist instruction class, Jacobs recalled a class leader, " a man who bought and sold slaves, who whipped his brethren and sisters of the church at the public whipping post, in jail or out of jail. He was reader to perform that Christian office anywhere for fifty cents" (Williams and Gates 816). Jacobs, much like Douglass, is quick to point out the hypocrisy associated with the Christian slaveholder. Not only is this slaveholder a leader in the Methodist church, but he is known for whipping publicly. Furthermore, Jacobs continues to emphasize this slaveholder's hypocrisy by comparing his whipping services to a form of Christian ministry. Jacobs is able to expose the hypocrisy when she mentions "that Christian office" (Williams and Gates 816). In constructing this illustration, Jacobs shows the typical Methodist leader and his association with cruel behavior to slaves. Jacobs' well-detailed description of the slaveholder and lack of a naming gives credence to the idea that this particular slaveholder was typical of Methodist leaders.

In their compromising on slavery, the Methodists failed to obtain better treatment for their slave members. Douglass and Jacobs' accounts reveal that in many cases, religious slaveholders of the Methodist faith carried an infamous reputation for cruelty. Although the Baltimore Conference was among the first of few to restrict Methodist

slaveholders from whipping their slaves, there was a push to make this law nationwide for the Methodists.¹⁵ Originally in 1828, the General Conference "rejected a resolution proposed by Stephen G. Roszel and Peter Cartwright permitting the church to discipline masters who mistreated their slaves" (Mathews 52). Although a compromise between the abolitionist and pro-slavery Methodists had been completed, this was one of the additional ways the Methodists failed their slave members. Donald Mathews in his book *Slavery and Methodism*, asserts that "Methodists occasionally mistreated their slaves is suggested by the fact that the proposal was offered by two southerners who had intimately observed slavery for years" (52). Mathews' assertion is in line with Douglass and Jacobs' portrayal of the Methodist slaveholders, as cruel and harsh to their respective slaves. The church in its compromise with slavery, attempted to adopt "an acceptance of the institution with the assumption of the task of making it as humane and enlightened as possible" (Martin 106). Despite the efforts to provide a humane experience for the slaves, the proposals fell short. In failing to adopt humane rules, Methodist slaveholders had no accountability for their cruel treatment of their slaves. Essentially, "the opposition to slavery action by the General Conference was so pronounced ... the resolution providing a method for dealing with inhuman slaveholding was tabled with little opposition" (Posey 537). This is significant, in that it provides explanation for the cruelty of Douglass' negro-breaker, Covey. Douglass recalled Covey's position in the Methodist church added weight to his reputation. Much like Jacobs' cruel class leader, Covey held full reign to treat his slaves how he saw fit. Covey's actions were not only known in the Methodist community, with the compromise, they were condoned.

Religious Instruction

Most southern states held laws prohibiting a gathering of slaves, especially as it relates to religious meetings. Because this thesis will discuss religious instruction among slaves, it is necessary to explicate such laws that may have impacted slave religious experiences. Henry Bibb's narrative details numerous times, the certain laws which could have hindered religious instruction. Bibb notes that "there is a prohibition by law, of mental and religious instruction" (Williams and Gates 451). Yet, these laws largely tended to be for the safety of slaveholders. Eugene Genovese asserts that "although state or local laws might forbid large meetings of slaves from several plantations, the planters normally permitted religious services"(40). The laws were made for the benefit of slaveholders and thereby controlled by slaveholders. Bibb's ability to receive permission to attend a prayer meeting, "although contrary to the custom of the country" supports Genovese's claims (508). These laws as Bibb notes came from "fear of rebellion, and overpowering of their oppressors in order to obtain freedom" (Williams and Gates 508). The specific laws that Bibb is recalling, were rarely enforced by patrols. Genovese notes that "the local authorities, generally subservient to the planters, usually looked the other way" (40). It seems that the discretion of slaveholders became the true law. After all, the slaveholders were in possession of the most money, land and education. It is most expedient that these esteemed gentlemen blur the laws for their benefit.

The schisms within the Baptist and Methodist church on slavery subsequently made slaveholders nervous about religious instruction for their slaves. On one hand, slaveholders feared religious instruction would inspire thoughts of rebellion and freedom; on the other hand, slaveholders feared what having no religious instruction would inspire.

This sentiment is echoed by Jacobs as well stating that "after the alarm caused by Nat Turner's insurrection had subsided, the slaveholders came to the conclusion that it would be well to give the slaves enough religious instruction to keep them from murdering their masters" (Williams and Gates 814). Despite the possibility of slave rebellions, the decision to religiously instruct slaves, was one that had to be made. After all, one of the excuses for slavery rests in the notion that "the negroes gained an even more important benefit from slavery than physical security. They gained the opportunity to hear the Gospel" (Jeansonne 516). The idea of Christian duty to spiritually rescue the slaves, was shared by the Baptists and Methodists. Despite the desire to spiritually instruct slaves, maintaining order on the plantations to avoid any insurrection ideas still held highest priority for some Christian slaveholders. Abolition provocation did not make the slave community's religious instruction easier. As a result of the uncertainty surrounding religious instruction for slaves, in some cases slaves' religious experiences were monitored. Many were not allowed to worship at all, and some masters led worship themselves to both monitor and control the doctrine.

The doctrine of spiritual equality continued to plague slaveholders in their quandary of religious instruction for slaves. Despite the efforts to suppress this doctrine, the first and second Great Awakening made soul equality closely associated with the evangelical groups. Meaning, all men (slave and whites) were equal before God. Subsequently, this teaching was a constant threat to southern hierarchy and Jacobs' narrative attests to this. Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* describes a clergyman who forced the congregation transition from all white, to mixed in race. Jacobs notes that this clergyman made the gospel understandable for slaves, but most importantly: "it was

the first they [slaves] had ever been addressed as human beings. It was not long before his white parishioners began to be dissatisfied" (Williams and Gates 818). It is clear that this dissatisfaction was a result of the ministers' teaching. Although there were whites who disliked mixed race worship, this dislike came mainly in regards to the threat of social hierarchy. Clarence Mohr in his article "Slaves and White churches in Georgia," notes:

there were many white Georgians who looked upon interracial worship as a threat to the slave regime. In an age of strong faith and Christian fundamentalism there would always be those who gave a dangerously literal interpretation to the doctrine of universal brotherhood. (157)

This concern from Georgians was echoed by other slave states regarding religious instruction. Slaveholders feared this kind of worship and doctrine would have slaves considering equality outside the church. As a general rule, planter sponsored preaching did away with this doctrine, as they decided what biblical stories, hymns and parables were selected. Subsequently, Jacobs' genuine shock at her minister's teaching is reasonable. Jacobs reveals that the clergymen asserted to the slaves: "your skin is darker than mine, but God judges men by their hearts, not by the color of their skin" (Williams and Gates 818). This minister elected to preach the doctrine of universal brotherhood and soul equality, to which Jacobs notes: "this was strange doctrine from a southern pulpit" (Williams and Gates 818). Strange indeed, as was the position slaveholders were presented regarding slave religious instruction. As both southern Baptists and Methodists began to become proslavery, the doctrine of the equality of souls began to conflict with the institution of slavery. Both the southern Baptists and Methodists during Jacobs' time

began to teach that "the master was God's surrogate on earth" (Faust 13). Having any equality with slaves created a threat to the social order. By the 1830s, the doctrine of soul equality began to become associated with the abolitionists rhetoric. The anti-slavery brethren in the Baptist and Methodist faith sought to continue this teaching of soul equality and brotherhood. On the other hand, slavery proponents sought to demonize the equality rhetoric.

The schisms in the Baptist and Methodist church aroused suspicion in the slaveholders regarding religious instruction for slaves. Henry Bibb's account reveals the suspicion among slaveholders, proving the uncertainty in the church surrounding slaves' worship. Henry Bibb's desire to seek Deacon Whitfield as his master was not only because of his pious reputation, but because as he explained: "I thought it would give me a better opportunity to attend to my religious duties should I fall into the hands of this deacon" (Williams and Gates 500). Bibb is fair in his assumptions regarding his religious duties. Deacon Whitfield represents the Baptist church and the disciplines that follow. For the southern Baptists, "to shirk the responsibility of providing spiritual education of slaves was to circumvent the will of God" (Jeansonne 516). Deacon Whitfield as a clergyman in the Baptist faith, held religious duty to see to the spiritual enrichment of his slaves. Whitfield seemed to support this notion at first, as Bibb recalled " I got permission from the Deacon, on one Sabbath, to attend a prayer meeting, on a neighboring plantation" (Williams and Gates 508). It was the next time Bibb and his fellow slaves approached the Deacon "to get permission to attend that prayer meeting ... he refused to let any go" (Williams and Gates 508). Despite Bibb's request denial, he attended the

prayer meeting nonetheless. Bibb's decision to disobey perhaps indicates that he expected little punishment in the event he is discovered missing.

John B. Boles in his introduction of *Masters & Slaves*, asserts that "many white evangelicals came to believe that part of their responsibility to God involved Christianizing the slave work force. It was to that end, they reasoned, that God had sanctioned slavery" (11). The Baptists were no exception in that belief. What caused Whitfield's denial was more likely the abolitionists provocation in the Baptist church. The abolitionists, as Glen Jeansonne explains: "Inspired death by violence, caused free negroes to be expelled from many southern states, prompted slaves to be vigilantly guarded and dealt with more firmly in cases of insubordination, created unfounded suspicion" (512). This was the thought shared among many proslavery clergymen and slaveholders alike. Deacon Whitefield's suspicions are understood, as he was well aware of his anti-slavery brethren in the Baptist church. This suspicion was aroused due to fear that abolitionists would spread their rhetoric to slaves. Slaveholders like Deacon Whitfield not only had to contend with the threat of northern abolitionists but those that existed within his denomination as well. In Bibb's case, sneaking off in the middle of the night only created more suspicion for Deacon Whitefield. Indeed, Bibb was threatened to be dealt with firmly. For Bibb's disobedience, Deacon Whitfield promised him five hundred lashes. Ultimately, religious slaveholders with Whitfield's rank knew all too well the threat of his abolitionist brethren. It is the provocation of the religious abolitionists that fed the schisms which subsequently derailed many slave community's religious instruction.

In many cases, the schisms in the Methodist and Baptist church led slaveholders to direct religious instruction of their chattel workers. The schisms on slavery made slaveholders wary of missionary preachers. This inspired local religious masters to save money and enrich slaves spiritually themselves. William Wells Brown's account offers insight on religious masters and their choice to lead religious devotion. Brown notes that during his time working abroad, his master had found religion. Following his master's spiritual change, "every Sunday, we were all compelled to attend meeting. Master was so religious, he induced some others to join him in hiring a preacher to preach to the slaves" (Williams and Gates 388). Brown's master followed in the footsteps of many religious slaveholders, as Eugene Genovese notes: "they increasingly paid white preachers to conduct services" (188). What is apparent is the switch in religious instruction tactics for Brown's master. At first his master, Dr. Young, appeared willing to hire a minister to preach to the slaves. Brown soon acknowledged Dr. Young's change when he notes: "my master had family worship, night and morning. At night, the slaves were called in to attend; but in the mornings, they had to be at their work, and master did all the praying" (Williams and Gates 388). Brown alerts readers to the fact that Young no longer relied on hired ministers. In one sense, this move saved money and spared other complexities of acquiring a minister. There were many times when "a plantation had to take whatever preacher came through the area regardless of sect" (Genovese 189). Young's move as described by Brown, afforded him the ability to avoid screening ministers for the proper doctrine. Moreover, Brown's master now had the ability to completely monitor his slaves during the headed schisms. With slaves being compelled to attend worship at night, then work in the morning and day, there is less chance for the abolitionist rhetoric to spread

among the slaves. Despite the compromised efforts from both the Baptists and Methodists to conform to social conditions, the continual fear of slave uprisings and the clergy's history of opposition to human bondage still elicited skepticism from most planters" (Touchstone 100). This fear and skepticism is revealed in Brown's account and depiction of his master, Dr. Young. With Young's family devotions, he held the ability to control the doctrine and monitor slaves. In doing so, Dr. Young could thwart any abolitionist ideas.

The schisms on slavery in the Baptist and Methodist church inspired many to ban religious instruction for the slaves, pushing some to secrecy. One of the solutions to some slaveholders looking to avoid the abolitionist tactics, was to ban slave worship altogether. Upon their compromising with slavery, Baptists and Methodists drew and agreed with proposals like the those made by Reverend John Johnson. Johnson in his proposal to the Methodist General Conference, argued that: "Every slave over [Conference approved age] years of age shall be permitted to attend worship of God".¹⁶ With this proposal, the Conference held the power to install religious instruction for the slaves starting at a certain age. What makes Reverend Johnson's proposal significant, is that "they are typical of those held by most so-called proslavery preachers in the Conference" (Martin 105).

Despite these beliefs, slaveholders could not shake the abolitionist threat the schisms provided. As Albert Raboteau asserts in his book *Slave Religion*: "looming in the background of antebellum discussions of religious instruction of the slaves was the growing abolitionist fervor in the north and the growing sectional controversy within churches themselves" (158). A response to this for many slaveholders was neglect of religious instruction to slaves. With this neglect, many slaves held secret meetings as

Douglass' account reveals. Douglass' masters, many of whom were religious, were not dedicated in the mission of slave salvation. During his plan to interact with the Bible, Douglass notes:

It was necessary to keep our religious masters at St. Michael's unacquainted with the fact, that, instead of spending the Sabbath in wrestling, boxing, and drinking whisky, we were learning the will of God; for they had much rather see us engaged in those degrading sports.

(Williams and Gates 337)

Henry Bibb's account seems to confirm that Douglass' thought is an example of absence in religious instruction. During his recollection on religious instruction for slaves, Bibb notes, "Those who make no profession of religion, resort to the woods in large numbers on that day to gamble, fight, get drunk, and break the Sabbath. This is often encouraged by slaveholders ... This is where they have no Sabbath schools" (Williams and Gates 446). It was easier for some slaveholders to encourage these activities. With this notion, slaves were too busy having fun than to ponder on spiritual improvement. Black Touchstone posits that slaveholders "generally opposed ecclesiastical schemes for slave conversion, instruction and worship ... most southern planters feared that converted blacks would become unruly servants" (99). This fear, coupled with abolitionist agitation, evangelical groups like the Baptists and Methodists made it easy to deny religious instruction. The fear of abolitionists aggression was justified, as these narratives stand as rhetorical weapons for the abolitionists. John Sekora notes that Douglass especially, once he became an antislavery agent "was coached concerning those aspects of slavery most likely to appeal to an ignorant or indifferent northern audience" (160). By exposing the

horrors relating but not limited to religious instruction in slave states, these narratives stand as the perfect mixture of rhetorical and historical devices. Attacking both the Baptists and Methodists of the south may have served as fuel to the schisms in both denominations.

Chapter 2: Slaveholder's Doctrine

As the schisms pushed both the Baptist and Methodist church further toward their respective splits, the division on slavery influenced a proslavery doctrine. By the eve of both evangelical groups' respective split in the 1840s, "virtually all southern clergymen publicly approved of slavery. And as part of their new sectional alignment, southern Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians purged their ranks of any antislavery influences" (Touchstone 100). With this antislavery purge, proslavery ministers from both denominations were no longer opposed in their congregations. Furthermore, the class of men joining the ranks of both evangelical groups changed the entire perspective on slavery, as Walter Posey notes:

Undoubtedly the Church in its early period was opposed slavery...when it opposed human bondage, thousands of small farmers joined its ranks. As they grew from small farmers to plantation owners there came the inevitable change in opinion concerning slavery and privilege. (538)

The sheer number of proslavery members rose for both denominations. Moreover, there was an increase of proslavery clergymen in the ruling bodies of both denominations as well. This meant proslavery policies were made, like the welcoming of proslavery biblical interpretations. In fact, with proslavery ministers having full autonomy in both denominations, the belief championed was that "God's chosen people had been slaveholders; Christ had made no attack on the institution; his disciple Paul had demonstrated a commitment to maintaining it" (Faust 11).

Moreover, biblically centered proslavery literature began to flood the South. Scholars like James Henry Hammond began to contribute to biblically supported proslavery rhetoric. Hammond's view that "servant in the scriptures, mean also, and most usually, slave" (174). Arguments like Hammond's began to become the staple of the proslavery doctrine. Once Baptists and Methodists began to rid themselves of antislavery apologists, this new rhetoric took form and became the new discipline. This proslavery discipline is seen throughout various slave narratives.

The proslavery doctrine and biblical defense sought to inspire docility among slaves. As the two largest evangelical groups marched closer to their split from their northern brethren, the proslavery biblical interpretation became synonymous with southern Christianity. Henry Bibb's account sheds light on the proslavery doctrine. During Bibb's discussion on slave religious instruction, he notes that: "the slaves with but few exceptions, have no confidence at all in their preaching, because they preach a proslavery doctrine ... means that God will send them to hell, if they disobey their masters" (Williams and Gates 446). Bibb reveals this after pointing out that slaves often relied on their masters for biblical interpretation. This is so because slaves more than often could not read. The interpretation places emphasis on an overall obedience to the master. With this interpretation, any rebellious thought about the equality of souls doctrine, that was long associated with both evangelical groups, would be countered. This doctrine of equality quickly became scarce, so much so that it was foreign as Jacobs notes in her narrative when a minister preached: "your skin is darker than mine; but God judges men by their hearts, not by the color of their skins!". This was strange doctrine from a southern pulpit" (Williams and Gates 818). William Wells Brown's narrative does well

to corroborate both Bibb and Jacob's recollections. During Brown's memory of a slave auction stand, he mentions that often a seller would shout "she has got religion!" (Williams and Gates 410). This would make the slave more valuable. Brown continues his recollection, stating that "as far as I have any knowledge of slavery in other states, the religious teaching consists in teaching the slave that he must never strike a white man ... And slaveholders find such religion very profitable to them" (Williams and Gates 410). Once more, the idea of a slave having any religion meant or it could have been assumed that they were tamed and obedient. Obedience was also the reason Douglass was leased to Covey (proclaimed nigger-breaker). An obedient slave meant that there was less of a chance for rebellion; therefore, profits are maximized. A slave having religion meant that they were usually obedient and subservient in their ways. This idea of the religious slave and obedience did not become widely accepted until after 1830.¹⁷

Slaves were taught that they were rebellious by birth and tempted with disobedience. Disobedience was preached as a form of sin in the proslavery doctrine. Jacobs' account confirms this doctrine's use to combat rebellion. Jacobs recalls ministers preaching to slaves: "you are rebellious sinners ... obey your old master and your young master- your old mistress and your young mistress" (Williams and Gates 815). In preaching this doctrine, the hope is that the slaveholders' family would not only be obeyed but also safe in case of rebellious thoughts. Much like Bibb's account stressed, failure to follow these commandments meant you will not see heaven. This is emphasized as Jacobs recalls the preaching asserting that: "if you disobey your earthly master, you offend your heavenly master" (Williams and Gates 815). The slaveholders were able to

preach this doctrine by making themselves representations of God's divine plan, under which slavery was established.

The proslavery doctrine also became a rebuttal to abolitionist agitation in both the Baptist and Methodist churches. Despite both evangelical groups' decisions to appease slaveholders, opposition still remained. Both Douglass and Jacobs' individual narratives attest to abolitionist pushback. Jacobs notes that there were those that continued to preach the doctrine of equality:

Tell them that all men are brethren, and that man has no right to shut out the light of knowledge from his brother ... there are men who would gladly undertake such missionary work as this; but alas! their number is small.

They are hated by the south...(Williams and Gates 820)

This knowledge that Jacobs speaks of, refers to the knowledge of the word of God. This proslavery doctrine effectively did its best to counter any form of equality. The doctrine of the equality of souls soon became associated with abolitionist rhetoric. Those found preaching such a doctrine could have been in danger. Douglass also spoke to the abolitionist threat slaveholders feared, noting that: " I got one of our city papers, containing an account of the number of petitions from the north, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia..." (Williams and Gates 309). This held dual significance: not only is this a call to end slavery in a southern state, but also a call to end slavery nationwide, as the District of Columbia is both a representation of the south and capital of the nation. The opposing arguments to slavery may have dwindled in the south, but this highlights the reason both denominations ultimately split from their northern brethren. Abolitionists from both denominations continued their tactics, very often

encouraging slaves to flee. Douglass testifies to this when coming across what appeared to be antislavery apologists: "they both advised me to run away to the north; that I should find friends there, and that I should be free" (Williams and Gates 310). The proslavery doctrine sought to repel such acts and thoughts as these. Blake Touchstone asserts that proslavery ministers: "attacked abolitionist heresies, and endorsed human bondage with biblical arguments" (100). If abolitionist teaching would incite slave rebellions, this proslavery doctrine would teach obedience and become the perfect rebuttal to abolitionist provocation.

The biblical rebuttal to abolitionists in the Baptist and Methodist faith, respectively, sought to have abolitionists viewed as sinners. Because the proslavery doctrine was grounded in biblical scriptures, the abolitionist brethren of both denominations would have to challenge the Bible to effectively argue. With any antislavery position, there existed the possibility of being labeled a blasphemer. The proslavery doctrine held the perfect trap for its opponents, James Henry Hammond's proslavery argument exemplifies this:

when abolitionists proclaim man-stealing to be a sin, and show me that it is so written down by God, I admit them to be right ... but when I show that to hold bondmen forever is ordained by God, they deny the Bible, and set up in its place a law of their own making. (176)

Abolitionists were placed in a peculiar position. Opposing the biblical position risks public ridicule, as many of the abolitionists were clergymen and laymen across both denominations. The proslavery doctrine at first was derived largely from the old Testament as Douglass himself alludes to: "it will do away the force of the argument, that

God cursed Ham, and therefore American slavery is right" (Williams and Gates 283).

Utilizing the story of Noah was only the beginning of this biblical defense.

Southern Baptist and Methodist ministers along with proslavery scholars, started to interpret the New Testament for their slaveholding endeavors. The proslavery ministers may not have held the ability to rebut the Golden Rule but possessed a way to respond at the least. Prominent Baptist minister ThortonStringfellow was well known for his contribution to proslavery rhetoric and its biblical defense. Utilizing the New Testament, Stringfellow posits: "Paul, after stating that a slave was to honor an unbelieving master, in 1st verse of the 6th chapter, says in the 2d verse, that to a believing master he is the rather to do service" (163). Stringfellow's words are in direct response to abolitionists who claim Christ remained silent on slavery. To Stringfellow, if Saint Paul's Gospel was revealed to him by Christ, then Saint Paul's words are from Christ. Stringfellow's argument provided the much-needed ammunition to aid in support of the institution of slavery. Stringfellow, Hammond, and others were critical to the proslavery movement, "challenged on every side by abolitionists, humanitarians, and anti-slavery Christians, Southerners increasingly felt obliged to justify slavery to the world and to themselves" (Touchstone 106). Forming an argument within their proslavery doctrine made southern evangelicals, both Baptists and Methodists formidable to their abolitionists brethren.

The proslavery doctrine afforded southern clergymen more access to slaves, as the doctrine reinforced the southern hierarchy. Before adapting the proslavery doctrine, plantation owners remained wary of the message being preached to the slaves. The proslavery doctrine stressed obedience to whites and used scriptures for its backbone and

this satisfied planters. With slaveholders being impressed with the doctrine, missionary work to slaves became a much easier sell. Southern evangelicals especially sold the idea of social control for access as Daniel Fountain notes: "southern Christians routinely gained access to the slaves by touting the Gospel's potential for producing good order on a plantation as a selling point" (57). Indeed, various scriptures on obedience can be viewed as a way to reaffirm white dominance, as Brown's narrative notes, slaveholders would say: " God has made him for a slave; and that when whipped, he must not find fault, for the Bible says 'he that knoweth, his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes!'"(Williams and Gates 410). This biblical scripture from Saint Luke is one used very often in various slave narratives. By using this scripture, the slave is to consider his or her master as the earthly representation of divine message. The proposed notion is to have slaves think that if their masters spoke a message, it is from God; therefore, it must be correct. This scripture normally followed whipping as Douglass' narrative illuminates: I have seen him tie up a lame young woman, and whip her with a heavy cowskin upon her naked shoulders ... and, in justification he would quote this scripture- 'he that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes'" (Williams and Gates 319). Coupling this scripture with punishment creates a double punishment. The notion is that the slave in question has failed both masters. The slave fails his earthly master by not following orders, thus disobeying, and in return fails God whose all knowingness has destined the hierarchy. The effect is a form of control that is to still thwart rebellious thoughts and reinforce white dominance spiritually.

Proslavery clergymen could refute denominational abolitionist brethren by noting that they gained more access to slaves, thus making slavery a system with Christian morals. Up to the early 1840s, the schisms made slaveholders skeptical of any religious instruction for their slaves. However, there was no longer any hesitation from slaveholders because of the proslavery doctrine. Eugene Genovese notes that: "step by step, the several churches embraced the proslavery argument. They won the trust of the masters and freed themselves to preach the gospel to the slaves" (187). This mainly occurred after most of the Baptist and Methodist ranks were controlled by proslavery ministers. Henry Bibb's account confirms this, as he states: "slaveholders are put into the highest offices in the gift of the people in both Church and state" (Williams and Gates 451). The power of slaveholders only strengthened until the postlude of the Civil War. The abolitionists' argument to their proslavery brethren in the churches centered around the notion that slavery was sinful. The proslavery evangelicals as Blake Touchstone notes:

capitalizing upon their new credibility and sensing an added burden of responsibility to save black souls-thereby refuting abolitionist charges that southerners were abdicating Christian responsibilities...intensified their missionary efforts among slaves. (100)

The proslavery clergymen were able to spread their southern doctrine throughout various slave states. Doing so, the proslavery clergymen were able to prove that slavery is anointed by God. Moreover, proslavery ministers were able to also show that the new stance taken by the church is more successful to the slave mission. Without the

abolitionist brethren, evangelicals were able to win more souls, slaves and masters alike, because their Gospel message no longer provoked the institution of slavery.

Slaveholders were also able to use religion as means of punishment, thus controlling slaves' spirituality. The proslavery doctrine adopted by Baptists and Methodists did infiltrate into slave plantations, something both denominations struggled to do before. This allowed slaveholders new methods for punishment, as slaves increasingly converted. Daniel Fountain asserts that: "even if a master allowed slaves to attend worship with them or hold their own services, very few did so without imposing restrictions or special conditions on slave participation" (50). Although masters saw great value in the proslavery doctrine being taught, it did not necessarily mean that all slaves received such privileges without stipulations. William Wells Brown's narrative offers some insight regarding this notion. Brown notes that "I always dreaded the approach of the Sabbath; for, during service, I was obliged to stand by the horses in the hot broiling sun, or in the rain, just as it happened" (Williams and Gates 388). There are multiple reasons Brown was not permitted inside the church. One of these reasons being that Brown's master did not want him hearing the Gospel intended for whites. This reason is improbable, as historians have revealed and argued the fact that whites and blacks often worshipped together in upper and lower southern states.¹⁸ These biracial services still afforded ministers the ability to "deliver special messages to the slave population" (Israel 435). Special messages often meant the proslavery doctrine. I assert that Brown's inability to enter the church with his white masters was due to punishment. Brown in this situation was so close, yet so far from the ability to worship. Daniel Fountain posits that: "slaves who misbehaved had to work on Sundays" (51). In Brown's case, what needs to

be illuminated is his inability to receive spiritual nourishment with his master at this time, when it was such a normality. It seems that on the day that worship had become customary since the birth of the proslavery doctrine, Brown instead remained on duty as the coach driver. This, therefore, highlights the fact that at times slaveholders were able to withhold spiritual access as a means of disciplining. Whatever bias the proslavery doctrine held, slaves still retrieved some satisfaction. To withhold access to this spiritual satisfaction is to hold another form of dominance.

Many slaves rejected the proslavery doctrine as a viable source for Christianity, thus countering the missionary efforts used to refute abolitionist brethren. The abolitionists argued that slavery constituted as a sin and railed against the institutions' inhumane treatment of slaves. To which "southerners repeatedly used the Christian treatment of their slaves to refute abolitionist charges of inhumanity" (Touchstone 108). Slaves on the other hand, saw through the unfair advantage the proslavery doctrine provided slaveholders. For this reason, many became opposed to the proslavery doctrine preached in the south. Henry Bibb's narrative gives insight into this rejection as he notes that "this kind of preaching has driven thousands into infidelity" (Williams and Gates 446). The consistent focus on obedience did not leave much room for spiritual growth in slaves. This doctrine also focused on the slaves' duties to their masters but lacked in teaching the masters' duties to his slaves. Slaves also felt that most of the approved sermons were meager in their teachings of Jesus.¹⁹ As the Baptists and Methodists began to minister to a rapidly increasing black population, slaves "demonstrated a general unwillingness to settle for form without substance in spiritual matters" (Mohr 155). This presented a problem to missionary work and its selling point as social control. Blake

Touchstone posits that notable missionary leader: “Charles Colcock Jones warned that the slaves saw through and resented these lectures. He advised preachers to Negroes to concentrate on parables, historical events ... and expositions of the more important biblical verses” (122). Moreover, missionary leaders found it increasingly difficult to convert slaves without the use of books. Once more, this created an issue for the proslavery evangelicals, as blacks began to demand more freedom spiritually: they wanted more black preachers and the ability to read the Bible.

The proslavery doctrine inspired many slaves to reject Christianity, clinging to African conjure instead. Moreover, the proslavery doctrine that emerged in the 1830s until the Civil War, did not alleviate matters for conversion efforts. There was simply no appeal to Christianity for many slaves: "two principal causes for this lack of appeal were the content of the sermons preached to slaves and the hypocritical actions of many southern Christians" (Fountain 55-56). As a result, many slaves turned to conjurers of the slave community. Henry Bibb reveals that "there is much superstition among the slaves. Many believe in what they call conjuration, tricking, and witchcraft..." (Williams and Gates 447). It appears that most slave communities held onto these superstitious beliefs. YvoneChireau, in her article "Conjure and Christianity" notes that "conjure is African American occultism. The term applies to an extensive area of magic, practices, and lore that includes healing spells, and supernatural objects" (226). The renewed focus on slave mission work for the Baptists and Methodists, sought to eradicate such arts. Worship of any entity outside of the God the Holy trinity was viewed as pure evil, as "according to official Protestant thought and doctrine, magic and occultism occupied the realm of heresy and heathenism" (Chireau 230). Armed with the proslavery doctrine, the divine

path for religious masters was to combat any forms of occultism.²⁰ For the Southern evangelicals, this was their way of tending to the lost souls of the slaves, in the process, refuting any abolitionist argument. For many slaves, the proslavery doctrine and its aim to control and create docility was enough to convict Christianity. As Albert Raboteau explains: "some slaves resented the message of docility preached by the missionaries and rejected it out of hand as white man's religion" (176). If Christianity represents a white man's religion to some, conjuration becomes a representation of everything whites are not. Conjuration stood as the religious practices of the African slaves. With Conjuration, the slaves were able to worship many Gods. In Christianity, slaves were presented with a God that resembled their masters in image and was used in their own persecution. Subsequently, conjure afforded the slave community the ability to push back against Christianity as a whole.

Henry Bibb's narrative reveals conjure as a path to rebellion against whites. The proslavery doctrine made Christianity an oppressive religion for some slaves. As a result, worshipping any other God could be viewed as a rebellion. Bibb's behavior when participating in conjure rituals suggests rebellion and African conjuration are closely associated. African conjuration and Christianity were viewed as enemies as "European travelers frequently identified African gods with demons or devils and accused Africans of devil worship" (Raboteau 9). Bibb comments on conjuration, noting that "some of them [slaves] pretend to understand the art, and say that by it they can prevent their masters from exercising their will over their slaves" (Williams and Gates 447). Bibb's comments reveal that slaves often turned to conjuration as a means of reducing or avoiding punishment. Bibb then notes that "this is all done for the purpose of defending

themselves in a peaceable manner..."(Williams and Gates 447). Bibb notes defense, yet acknowledges his share in this religious practice, at times seemingly looking to break the plantation rules. After receiving instructions from the conjurer and testing the remedy, Bibb notes that "I had then great faith in conjuration and witchcraft. I was led to believe that I could do almost as I pleased, without being flogged" (Williams and Gates 448). This rebellious reaction is not new to slaves and their ways with conjuration. After all, "religion has also functioned as a spur to resistance, self-assertion, and rebellion in black history" (Raboteau 56). For slaves, conjuration presented them with an alternative to the proslavery version of Christianity, or "white man's religion". Southern Baptists and Methodists relied on the idea of Christianizing slaves to refute their anti-slavery brethren. If a fair amount rejected Christianity because of this proslavery doctrine, the abolitionists are able to garner this rejection as proof that southern Christianity is sinful. After all, the most widely accepted reason for missionary work to slaves is to enlighten heathen Africans.²¹ Bibb's narrative only confirms the notion of conjuration as a means to rebellion.

Much like Henry Bibb's, Douglass' narrative links conjuration to rebellion. Douglass' narrative does not shy away from separating the proslavery doctrine from true Christianity. Prior to participating in conjuration, Douglass referred to Covey's Christianity as a "sham religion" (Williams and Gates 328). It was this proslavery form of Christianity that saw Douglass lose hope, as his faith in Christianity overall began to fade. It was then that Douglass sought the advice of fellow slave and conjurer Sandy. Sandy instructed Douglass: "there was a certain root, which, if I would take some of it with me carrying it always on my right side, would render it impossible for Covey, or any

other white man to whip me” (Williams and Gates 329). Although Douglass resolves this conjuration to be "ridiculous," the proslavery doctrine had done well to push Douglass to this African religious tradition (Williams and Gates 329). Douglass' testing of the root revealed its ineffectiveness in keeping Covey away beyond Sunday. However, the root proved vital to giving Douglass the spirit to fight Covey. As Walter Rucker in his article "Conjure, Magic, and Power" notes: "Although Douglass never fully acknowledged it, the root in his right pocket was certainly a factor in his new spirit of assertiveness and resistance" (95). It was the battle with Covey that Douglass notes: "was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom..." (Williams and Gates 331). Douglass' ability or resolve to fight against his slaveholder was due to this form of strength provided by the root. YvoneChireau argues: "some have portrayed magical practices as enduring survivals of native African traditions...seen to provide spiritual fodder by which bondpersons challenged slaveowner hegemony" (226). By participating in a religious act of conjuration Douglass himself called "positively sinful," Douglass willingly rebelled (Williams and Gates 329). If conjuration represents African religious practice, then Douglass' desire to utilize Sandy's root is an act of heresy. Christianity calls for the worship of one God, the three in one.²² On the other hand, conjuration observes multiple deities. Sandy's root is the epitome of religious savagery from a Christian perspective. In addition, Douglass is well aware of Christian beliefs, making the use of Sandy's root rebellion against Christianity. For Douglass, Christianity had become tainted by the proslavery doctrine; therefore, rebelling against Christianity meant rebelling against Covey and slavery.

Conclusion

The schisms in the Baptist and Methodist church certainly took a toll on the slave community. In the primitive days of both denominations, their respective clergymen were vehemently opposed to slavery. Both denominations were so anti-slavery that at times slaveholders were rejected and suspended from congregations. In the early 1800s, both evangelical groups transitioned from opposing to outright toleration of the institution. Even as this toleration of slavery grew, both denominations urged that their respective members deal with slaves "in brotherly love, according to the rules of the gospel" (Posey 123). Slaves were able to report their masters to local churches, as the doctrine of soul equality still held significance. As abolitionist clergymen began to accuse their proslavery brethren of sin, the recommendations urging fair treatment of slaves began to fade. From the 1820s into the Civil War, both denominations increased in proslavery membership; therefore, slavery transitioned to an overall good in the south. Once the Baptists and Methodists departed from their earliest position on slavery, anti-slavery members began to voice displeasure. No longer did slaveholders become as vulnerable to criticism in their respective churches. The narratives of William Wells Brown, Henry Bibb, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs reveals the cruelty of Christian masters. These slaveholders in the Baptist and Methodist faith, essentially had no one in their churches to hold them accountable. John Sekora calls Douglass and other ex slave narrators "abolitionist agents," as these narratives reflect the mission of the abolitionists. Pointing to the cruelty and hypocrisy of their respective masters reflects more so on the peculiar institution of

the south. Failure by the southern Baptists and Methodists to provide humane treatment for their slaves was a result of changed policy favoring slavery. Both denominations in the south decided to break with their northern counterparts in opposing slavery. The increase of proslavery membership for both denominations, meant that the doctrine of the equality of souls lost its prominence. The teaching of soul equality before God and the social order of slavery were not compatible; as a result, clergymen in the south transitioned from this teaching. Cruel treatment of slaves was tolerated, criticism from the decreasing abolitionist voices in the south was not. Subsequently, both the Baptists and Methodists governing bodies passed policies curbing the ability to intervene on any matter slavery related. Both denominations' dwindling desire to hold their slavery proponents accountable is reflected in the poor treatment of slaves, as recorded in Brown, Bibb and Douglass' narratives especially.

Moreover, the schisms certainly impacted religious instruction for the slaves. Although fewer abolitionist voices from both denominations remained in the south, their presence was enough to keep slaveholders vigilant. As a result, "the abolitionist movement created ambivalence in southern thought about the instruction of slaves" (Raboteau 158). Some religious slaveholders did not permit religious instruction at all, this is evident in Henry Bibb's narrative. Bibb's accounts offers unique insight, as his master Deacon Whitfield represents the Baptist church and slaveholders. Because of the pious reputation that followed the Baptists, Bibb assumed he would gain the ability to receive spiritual guidance. However, Bibb learned quickly that the Deacon was unwilling to permit religious instruction for his slaves. What is clear is the Deacon's suspicion, as he allowed Bibb prayer time previously but declined the subsequent time. This kind of

suspicion was common among slaveholders and justified. After all, the abolitionist brethren in the Baptist and Methodist faith would spread rhetoric wherever possible. Additionally, slaveholders were suspicious of the religious teaching slaves received when instruction was permitted. The doctrines of soul equality and universal brotherly love represented a threat to the slave system; therefore, it became associated with anti-slavery rhetoric. Furthermore, there existed a possibility of slaves interpreting universal brotherhood for the idea of equality with whites. Such possibilities proved too great a risk for slaveholders. Consequently, many slaveholders conducted religious instruction themselves. In personally leading religious instruction, they could keep a watchful eye as well as control the teaching. The schisms made it difficult for slaveholders to trust clergymen, as the doctrinal divide concerning slavery posed a threat to the regime. Slaves who were already converted had their religious time heavily monitored or disrupted altogether. Abolitionists used this as fuel for their argument, that their proslavery brethren neglected their slaves religiously. Because of the uncertainty the schisms provided slaveholders, many ministers were not permitted to local slave plantations.

In effort to both rebut abolitionist claims and gain trust from slaveholders, southern evangelicals constructed a proslavery doctrine. The schisms in the Baptist and Methodist churches made slaveholders wary; as a result, clergymen struggled to preach the gospel to slaves. In order to conduct effective missionary work, southern evangelicals created a doctrine that became friendly to the institution of slavery. The schisms contributed to the formation of the proslavery doctrine by forcing southern evangelicals to defend slavery. This doctrine reinforced the social order of slavery by portraying slaveholders as God's representation on earth. Moreover, proslavery clergymen and

scholars alike used biblical scriptures for support in this doctrine. By the mid 1840s, both the Baptists and Methodists effectively split with their northern brethren over slavery. Armed with the proslavery doctrine and fresh off the secessions, slaveholders began to trust southern clergymen. The doctrine taught obedience to earthly masters in exchange for entry into heaven. Southern clergymen from both denominations and others promoted the proslavery doctrine as a means of social control. The notion was that this doctrine inspired docility in slaves and increased morale. Almost instantly the proslavery doctrine was well received by slaveholders and mission work to slaves progressed. With this proslavery doctrine, southern clergymen gained a way to rebut the anti-slavery brethren who claimed they neglected their slaves. Moreover, southern evangelicals with their missionary work were able to label slavery a Christian institution. The split in both denominations made this proslavery doctrine become widely accepted throughout the south. Although northern abolitionists opposed this doctrine, the southern Baptists and Methodists had rid themselves of any anti-slavery clergymen. Consequently, this proslavery doctrine went unchallenged in the south.

The slave narratives prove that the proslavery doctrine inspired many slaves to reject Christianity. Southern evangelicals touted slavery as a Christian institution because of the ability to convert slaves. Various slave narratives, especially Henry Bibb's and Frederick Douglass', serve as rhetorical devices for northern Baptists and Methodists. Both narratives reveal slaves that turn to conjuration for protection. Any use of conjuration is seen as heathenism and heresy. As Walter Rucker notes:

one of the key arguments used by abolitionists to undermine the legitimacy of slavery was that few slaves received true Christian

instruction. This was tangibly measured by the persistence of heathen or savage African religious practices in the plantation south (95).

The proslavery doctrine was undoubtedly perceived as an un-Christian doctrine by Baptists and Methodists in the north. Turning to conjuration meant a form of rebelling and rejection of the Christian message. Blacks and African conjuration are consistently linked to slave rebellions.²³ Ultimately, the schisms helped create the proslavery doctrine once the Baptists and Methodists welcomed slaveholders. The desire for prominence in a slaveholding society ushered the unholy marriage between slavery and Christianity. Moreover, this proslavery doctrine made it easy for slaves to challenge white hegemony. This proslavery doctrine provided another way for whites to oppress their black counterparts

Notes

1. 19th century protestant ministers known for missionary work and influenced by the pietist movement Protestant faith in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
2. See Leland, "The Virginia Chronicle" 1790, 95-96
3. Within Southeastern Virginia, Barrow led antislavery activism. See Scully 334
4. By 1837 the Baptists were second only to the Methodists in slaves held. See Putnam 13
5. See Tyerman, Luke, *Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley*. 1872
6. See *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington D.C. 1975) A172-205 and *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the years 1773 to 1823 vol. 1* (1840)
7. See Asa Earl Martin, *The Anti-slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*. 1918, 17-18
8. For manumissions, see Budros, Art. "The Antislavery Movement in Early America: Religion, Social Environment and Slave Manumissions." *Social Forces* (University of North Carolina Press), vol. 84, no. 2, Dec. 2005, pp. 942.
9. Colonizationists heavily favored African American emigration, noting that blacks and whites could not live together.
10. For Attacks on colonizationists see Zion's Watchmen, April 22, 1837 pp. 61
11. See Heyman, Leigh Christin, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998.

12. See Faust, Gilpin Drew, "Evangelicalism and the Meaning of the Proslavery Argument: The Reverend Thornton Stringfellow of Virginia". *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 85, no.1, 1977, pp. 11-12 particularly
13. See West, Jim "Nineteenth-Century Baptists and Church Discipline" 2010.
14. See Richey, Russell E. *Early American Methodism*, p. 76, 1991. The Reformed Methodist Church not to be confused with the Methodist group started by Brett Pliny in Vermont.
15. Baltimore Circuit Quarterly Conference Records, February 12, 1803; November 12-15, 1803. Fells Point Station Quarterly Conference Record, August 9, 1805. Baltimore Conference Papers
16. Recollections of Rev. John Johnson and His Home: An Autobiography, by Mrs. Susannah Johnson, 1869, pp. 307-311. See Larry M. James, "Biracial Fellowship in Antebellum Baptist Churches", pp 37-57, 1988.
17. See Genovese Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll*. pp 186
18. See Larry M. James, "Biracial Fellowship in Antebellum Baptist Churches", pp 37-57, 1988
19. See Rawick, Comp., *American Slave*, pp. 252
20. . See Iveson L. Brookes, *A Defense of the South against the Reproaches and Incroachments of the North*, pp 17-18.
21. See "The Destiny of the Slave States," *Soil of the South* 3, 1853, pp. 674
22. The Holy Trinity is also referred to as the Father, the son and Holy spirit. Also see, Letham, Robert, *The Holy Trinity*

23. Morrish, Ivor. *Obeah, Christ and Rastaman*, Cambridge. pp. 23 and Schuler, Monica. *Ethnic slave rebellions in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. *Journal of Social History*, pp. 375

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