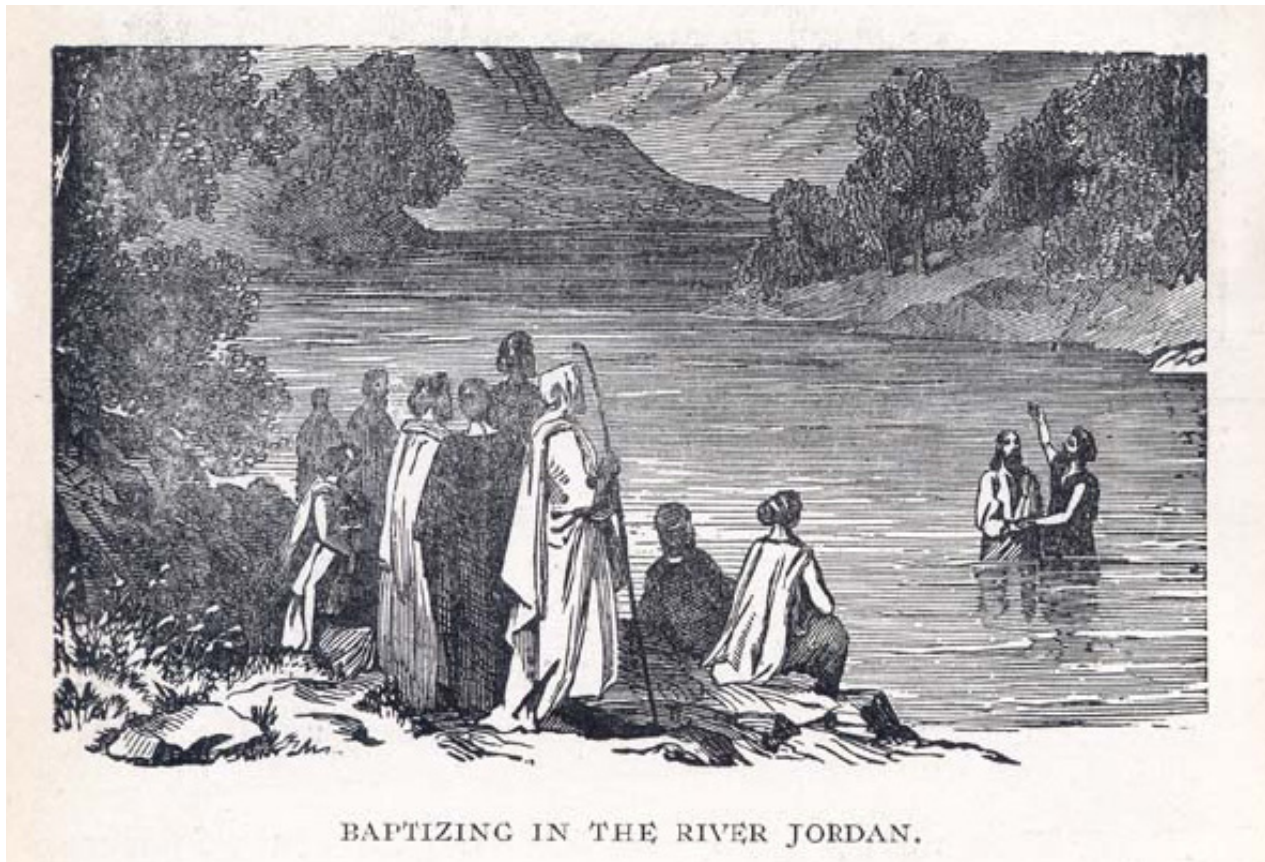


FALL 2024

# “TAKE ME TO THE WATER TO BE BAPTIZED”

*Waterways and Spiritual Immersion Among Enslaved Communities in the  
WPA Ex-Slave Narratives*



BAPTIZING IN THE RIVER JORDAN.

**Figure 1:** “Baptizing in the River Jordan,” an illustration of the baptizing of Jesus.

by **Kiara Alvarez, Smith College '24**

Written for **HST 371: Topics in 19th Century United States History—  
Remembering Slavery: A Gendered Reading of the WPA Interviews**

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**I**F EASTER LOCKHART had a single memory to impart to the world, it would be the moment of her baptism. Speaking to an interviewer from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in her South Carolina home in November of 1937, the then-eighty-year-old woman reflected on her baptismal experience as an enslaved young girl. Her memories were palpable. She described the procession and the following celebrations as if she were living through it again. “The first warm Sunday in May was when I was baptized,” she recalled. Dressed in her best white Sunday clothes, she and other baptismal candidates walked from Limestone Church, an all-Black Baptist Church, to a nearby mill pond called Austin’s Pond. The sun was “good and hot,” she said, its brightness competing with the people’s beaming white clothes, and Lockhart recounted feeling “so good that [she] seemed to walk real light.” Surrounded by excited chatter and singing, “Lord have mercy” were the first words that escaped Lockhart’s mouth when she walked into chilling cold water. She recalled how the white dress she diligently starched so stiff the night before quickly lost its shape and began to float. “I ain’t never felt the same since,” Lockhart shared. “My head loses lots of things, but not my religion.”<sup>1</sup>

In the WPA interviews, Easter Lockhart is one among many formerly enslaved people who described water baptisms as a religious practice with special significance. Collected in the 1930s as part of the Works Progress Administration’s Federal Writers’ Project to generate jobs for unemployed writers, these interviews recorded more than 2,300 first-hand accounts of enslavement. Among the thousands of stories were elaborate descriptions of water immersions where enslaved people and their enslavers visited natural waterways, such as rivers, ponds, and creeks, to witness or experience their own submersion in water.

These water baptismal rites are rooted in early African and Christian traditions, which shared an emphasis on the cleansing and transformative power of water. Many believed that submersion in water was a means to wash away one’s sins and emerge reborn in

Christ. Popularized in the early eighteenth century, baptisms took on a paradoxical importance in a society marked by the sin of slavery. Although baptismal rites were an act heavily controlled by enslavers, this paper suggests that enslaved people also refashioned this ritual as a practice of liberation. Water baptismal rites enabled enslaved people to envision themselves as self-sovereign beings within their natural environment, transcending a system that tried to reduce them to mere instruments of labor. A practice of covert spiritual resistance, of joyful, communal spiritual celebration, and a process of mapping alternative geographies outside the plantation, enslaved people’s water baptismal rites took on alternative meanings, posing direct challenges to white Christianity and the unjust institution of slavery.

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**W**ATER BAPTISMAL RITES among enslaved communities were a manifestation of a larger spiritual revolution that began the moment African peoples were taken from their homelands. Just as eighteenth-century colonists in the Americas experienced a burgeoning Protestant revivalism that saw greater participation in the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian faiths in the Great Awakening, African captives also underwent drastic shifts in their spiritual beliefs. As Alexis Wells-Oghoghomeh argues in *The Souls of Womenfolk: The Religious Cultures of Enslaved Women in the Lower South*, enslavement catapulted forth a rearrangement of enslaved people’s very being “from the way they contemplated their existences, fashioned their spiritual strivings, and understood the cosmos.” Building on this notion, my research makes clear that enslavement was not just a physical and social transformation, it was also a spiritual reconstruction—one born out of necessity, which needed to rewrite both white Christianity and African spirituality into a theory of liberation.<sup>2</sup>

Natural waterways played a central role in enslaved people’s spiritual refashioning. Water had long been a significant feature of African spirituality.

1 “Easter Lockhart,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 14, South Carolina, Part 3, Jackson-Quattlebaum*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 108-111. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn143/>

2 Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), 8-15.

Historian Ras Michael Brown's *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry* touched upon water's inherited spiritual significance among enslaved African populations. He wrote that, among the many gods in the African continent, one African god "made an enduring abode" on American shores, particularly in the South Carolina lowcountry, called the *simbi*. Traditional to the Bakongo people in Central and West Africa, the *simbi* are water spirits that act as intermediaries between the land of the living and the dead. The connection between the physical and spiritual realms is crucial in the Kongo religion, and the severing of these ties signifies a profound loss and spiritual estrangement. For a population ripped from their homelands, devotion to the *simbi* was then crucial to African captives' spiritual survival. They found in the Christian practice of baptisms and naturally flowing bodies of water, Brown argues in the book, a chance to restore these connections.<sup>3</sup>

Historian Michael A. Gomez's *Exchanging Our Country Marks* echoes the physical-spiritual connections water baptisms provided for African captives, detailing how the white baptismal robes adorned by enslaved baptismal candidates were a call back to the Bakongo notion of the "*mpemba*, or netherworld, as in 'land of all things white.'" Building on this, my research makes clear that waterways became a connective tissue that Africanized the burgeoning American Christianity imposed upon enslaved people. Subsequent enslaved generations inherited this history of ingenuity. They transformed baptismal rites as not only a means of spiritual survival but also a personal expression of autonomy and power.<sup>4</sup>

Water's particular significance in African spirituality slowly intertwined with the enslaved people's Christian practice of immersive baptisms. Natural

waterways are notable in Christianity, particularly the River of Jordan—the site of Jesus's baptism. In the Bible, John the Baptist, a prophet who lived in the wilderness, baptized Jesus in front of a large audience. According to Matthew 3:13–17, John crossed Jesus' arms, held his side, and lowered him onto the river of Jordan. After he was cleansed, heaven was said to have opened, and God revealed that Jesus was his son. As a result of biblical teachings, the public act of baptism in the Christian religion came to be understood as a practice of rebirth. This resonated for enslaved people in profound ways. The public nature of this sacrament represented an enslaved person's public assertion of not just their faith but also their humanity and equal status under God.<sup>5</sup>

Enslaved people's religious practice, especially the ritual of water baptisms, can best be understood as a defiant spatial formation against enslavement. In other words, baptismal rites in nearby waterways became a site where enslaved people carved out moments of personal resistance outside the plantation space. In "The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861" (2002), Stephanie Camp argued that enslaved people often created "rival geographies" that challenged slavery's "geography of containment." From describing illicit woods parties to abolitionist posters secretly plastered in the walls of slave cabins, Camp highlights certain moments of personal pleasure by enslaved people and underscores their political meanings within the context of confinement. These moments—"the secret movement of bodies, objects, and information within and around the plantation space"—she argues, create a "rival geography that is characterized by motion," posing direct challenges to enslavement's intended grip on their captives every move.<sup>6</sup>

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3 Alexis Wells-Oghoghomeh, *The Souls of Womenfolk: The Religious Cultures of Enslaved Women in the Lower South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021), [http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469663623\\_wells-oghoghomeh](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9781469663623_wells-oghoghomeh); Ras Michael Brown, *African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2-9.

4 Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identity in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 273.

5 Michael D. Coogan, ed. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

6 Stephanie M. H. Camp, "The Pleasures of Resistance: Enslaved Women and Body Politics in the Plantation South, 1830-1861," *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (2002): 533-72, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3070158>. The term "rival geography" was originally coined by Anne Godlewski and Neil Smith and reconceptualized by Stephanie Camp.



Although water baptisms were not often secret and were instead sanctioned by the enslaver, enslaved people infused the ritual with acts of subversion. The enslaver could never contain how enslaved people interpreted the ritual as it was an entirely personal experience. Thus, participating in such rites was an opportunity for enslaved people to reevaluate their social status. Many formerly enslaved people spoke about water baptisms as opportunities to imagine themselves beyond and outside their enslaver's imaginings, shifting their relationship to land not as its workers but as self-sovereign beings.

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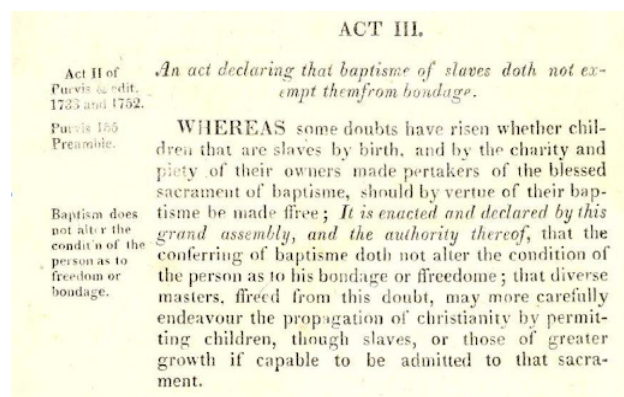
**I**N THE MID-EIGHTEENTH century, white people in colonial North America experienced a “Great Awakening” that led to a series of evangelical revivals in the North and South from the late 1600s through the 1780s. Many colonists were attracted to the Christian idea of an egalitarian God compared to the hierarchical God that gave the British monarchy the “divine right of kings.” The awakening prompted Christian revivalists to preach to anyone regardless of race. They, however, often failed to recognize the dissonance between their Christian ideals of egalitarianism and the institution of slavery.<sup>7</sup>

When Ebenezer Taylor, a white Baptist minister, wrote to colonial official David Humphreys in April 1719, he argued that enslavers were becoming a growing hindrance to the spread of Christianity. Many enslaved people were “sensible and civil [and] much inclined to Christianity,” Taylor wrote, “if [only] their Masters were not so wicked as they are, and did not oppose their Conversion, Baptism, and Salvation, so much as they do.” One enslaver told Taylor that he should “baptize no more of his slaves ‘till the Society had got a Law made in England that no Baptized Slave, should be set free because he is Baptized.” Rather than insist that slavery was an evil opposed to Christianity, Taylor

instead argued that legislators create a law to uphold enslavement despite conversion because “nothing else will satisfy” slaveholders.<sup>8</sup>

As enslavers became eager to affirm their control, the turmoil among white colonial America regarding enslaved people’s conversion materialized into law. In 1667, the Virginia Assembly affirmed that baptism did not in fact change a person’s status from enslaved to free. Many other colonies followed suit, passing similar laws throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As the intersections of slavery and Christianity became codified in British North American and United States law, enslavers adopted the language of Christianity and weaponized ethics and morality to police their captives’ thoughts and behaviors. Enslavers tried to convince their captives that they were worth less in the eyes of the Christian god, designed to obey their white counterparts. According to Mary Minus Biddie of Florida in a 1936 WPA interview, enslaved people often attended Sunday mass with their enslavers, although seated at the very back of the church. She described how the white minister “would arise and exhort” to enslaved people “to mind [their] masters” and that they “owe them” their respect. Della Bees Hilyard of South Carolina echoed this sentiment, adding that enslavers also controlled the extent of knowledge they had about



**Figure 2:** A 1667 Virginia act declaring that baptism does not emancipate an enslaved person.

7 Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, 8.

8 Ebenezer Taylor to David Humphreys, 1719 April. Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, Volume 2, 331-333 (2004). University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.php/document/csr02-0177>.

the Christian religion. According to Hilyard, they “were not told about heaven,” but were heavily taught about the concept of hell, which became a gruesome reminder to “honor their masters and mistresses and of the damnation which awaited them for disobedience.” Sarah Douglas of Alabama succinctly echoes this harsh lesson in her WPA interview: “We served our mistress and master in slavery time and not God.” By sanctioning enslaved people’s religiosity, white enslavers adopted Christianity as the moral language of domination and cultivated a culture of punishment.<sup>9</sup>

Enslaved people, however, continued to find ingenious ways to subvert the beliefs of their enslavers and refashion their own Christianity into a theory and practice of liberation. In the same WPA interview, Mary Minus Biddie discussed how during white ministers’ sermons about obedience, she would often hear an elderly enslaved man talk back, mumbling: “Yeah, we’re just as good as them [except] only they are white and we’re Black, huh.” According to Biddie, enslaved people would meet at the cabin for a different sermon where some of the ‘inspired’ ones (like the elder she previously mentioned) would lead the services. Biddie’s story is not an anomaly. Enslaved people across the United States—before, during, and after its creation—created new systems of meaning that rewrote Christianity from the language of enslavers into a liberatory practice. One of the main articulations of this spiritual reimagining was symbolic: it began with water baptisms, one’s initiation rite into Christianity.<sup>10</sup>

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*Deep river, my home is over Jordan.  
Deep river, Lord, I want to cross over into the campground.*

*O, chillun, O, don't you want to go to that gospel feast?  
That promised land, that land where all is peace.  
Walk into heaven, take my seat, and cast my crown at  
Jesus' feet.  
Lord, I want to cross over into campground.*

—Lyrics of “Deep River,” an African American Spiritual

From the moment Easter Lockhart arrived at the pond, joyous choruses of songs and praises filled the air. People in the banks “sang,” “shouted,” or even “jumped up” to praise their lord through spirituals. One can imagine that these hymns were aided by the gentle rustle of the nearby trees, or the peddling of the mill in Austin’s Pond. Descriptions of water baptismal rites were always followed with the description of the flowing water and the singing voices of those who attended the populous sacrament.<sup>11</sup>

Many African American spirituals articulated sophisticated critiques of the institution of slavery and envisioned the possibility of emancipation. The spiritual “Deep River,” for instance, is among many of the songs that were sung on these occasions. “Deep River” draws connections between the Jordan River, enslaved people’s vision of home as both the literal Jordan River and their ancestral home in Africa, and the “promised land” Canada, which was a popular refuge for people who sought liberation from enslavement. Through this song, enslaved people were making connections that looked across geographical lines—well beyond the confines of the plantation—and made clear the possibility and close reach of emancipation.<sup>12</sup>

Edward Lycurgas of Florida recalled in an interview that river baptisms “climaxed” religious camp meetings, and were often filled with “spiritual fervor.” He recalled the “stirring” songs and sermons that “rang

9 “Mary Minus Biddie,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 3, Florida, Anderson–Wilson with combined interviews of others*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 32. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn030/>; “Della Bees Hilyard,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 3, Florida, Anderson–Wilson with combined interviews of others*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 54. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn030/>; Tom and Sarah Douglas, Ex-Slave Interview #205, Works Projects Administration: Federal Writers’ Project, Ex-Slave Narratives, Arkansas State Archives, Little Rock, Arkansas, <https://digitalheritage.arkansas.gov/lesson-plans-supplemental-materials-slave-narratives/33/>.

10 “Mary Minus Biddie,” 32.

11 Charshée Charlotte Lawrence-McIntyre, “The Double Meanings of the Spirituals,” *Journal of Black Studies* 17, no. 4 (1987): –401. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784158>.

12 Lawrence-McIntyre, “The Double Meanings of the Spirituals,” 379–401.

through the woods and could be heard for several miles on a clear day.” Lycurgas specifically mentioned how the song “Take Me to the Water to be Baptized” was his favorite for this occasion. All dressed in white gowns, stockings, and towels, the baptismal candidates “two by two . . . marched [with] some stirring song to accompany their slow march to the river.” He also added how some even attended “for the opportunity it afforded them to indulge in illicit love making.” There was “beautiful clothing, fine teams and buggies everywhere,” Lycurgas recalled, describing the vibrant festivities as a “a sort of reaction from the restraint upon them in slavery.” Mack Mullen of Florida echoed the liveliness of baptismal rituals and the following celebrations, emphasizing the sheer number of attendees in his WPA interview. Many enslaved people, some from neighboring plantations, would be in attendance. It was a “happy scene,” he shared. Some people would “get happy” and “shout excitedly” to the point that they would “lose control of themselves and ‘fall out.’” Other enslaved people who

came to watch viewed the rites with “awe and reverence [...] Those were happy days and that was real religion,” he said.<sup>13</sup>

Beyond a religious sacrament, water baptisms served as a communal event, bringing together enslaved Black people from various places. The very act of witnessing a baptism, whether in a secluded riverbank or a bustling congregation, was a unifying experience that challenged enslaved people’s social status. It became a powerful expression of identity, community, and humanity in the face of unrelenting dehumanization and forced isolation.

Although some like Easter Lockhart and Mack Mullen were able to hold public river baptisms populated by a bustling crowd and spiritual music, others did not get the privilege to do so. In his narrative, Black abolitionist and formerly enslaved person Henry “Box” Brown, wrote of an enslaved man they called “Uncle John” who held covert water baptisms. During the “silent watches of the night,” he wrote how “Uncle John



**Figure 3:** River baptism in Lexington, Missouri, 1906.

13 “Edward Lycurgas,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 3, Florida, Anderson–Wilson with Combined Interviews of Others*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 204–210. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn030/>; “Mack Mullen,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 3, Florida, Anderson–Wilson with Combined Interviews of Others*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 237–238. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn030/>.





**Figure 4:** Unknown woman held up by a group of men during her baptism.

... drag[ged] his weary limbs to some adjacent stream of water” with other enslaved people to perform the baptisms, trembling with the knowledge that if caught, severe punishment awaited them all. Brown used John’s story to critique the hierarchical organization of the Baptist church, addressing directly its devotees: “Baptists, are ye striking hands with Southern churches, which thus exclude so many slaves from the ‘waters of salvation?’”<sup>14</sup>

Milton Marshall of South Carolina described a similar experience, sharing that enslaved people did not have a church in the plantation and thus were forced to go to white churches and seated at the very back. Even then, they were required to get passes from their

enslavers to attend church or else they would be violently beaten. Despite the threat of violence, Marshall recalled that he and many others built “hush arbors” in nearby woods to practice their own Christianity. Moments in these hush arbors were “glorious times,” he said. Hush arbors became a memorable place where people used to “sing and pray and shout.” Marshall also recalled altering the natural environment of the woods to make their own water source: “We baptized in the creek after we dammed it up to hold water deep enough. Sometimes we used a waterhole in the woods.” Robert Shephard of Georgia recalled the same practice, describing how people “dammed up the creek on Saturday so as it would be deep enough on Sunday.”<sup>15</sup>

14 Charles Stearns, *Narrative of Henry Box Brown, Who Escaped from Slavery* (Boston: Brown & Stearns, 1849), 24, <https://doc-south.unc.edu/neh/boxbrown/boxbrown.html#p23>.

15 “Milton Marshall,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 14, South Carolina, Part 3, Jackson-Quattlebaum*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 173-174. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn143/>; “Robert Shephard,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 4, Georgia, Part 3, Kendricks-Styles*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 245. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn043/>.

There were many others who were not in the position to create secret congregations and needed to go through intensive interrogation from their enslavers to be baptized. Anna Scott of Florida remembered the process in great detail. Prohibited from singing, talking, or “mak[ing] another sound” during Sunday sermons in her enslaver’s white Church, Scott was made to undergo a two-level interview process to be baptized. First, Scott had to talk to a Black deacon of the Church, who would then relay this message to the white minister. The white minister and Scott then met in the vestry room. Scott vividly described her interview:

“What did you come up here for?” The minister asked.  
“Because I got religion,” she responds.  
“How do you know you got religion?”  
“Because I know my sins are forgiven.”  
“How do you know your sins are forgiven?”  
“Because I love Jesus and I love everybody.”  
“Why do you want to be baptized?”  
“Cause it will make me like Jesus wants me to be.”<sup>16</sup>

Through water baptisms, enslaved people invested time and labor for themselves in the name of self-actualization, whether in the form of undergoing an exhaustive process to acquire their enslaver’s permission like Anna Scott, damming up a waterhole secretly to make it deep enough for immersion like Milton Marshall, or diligently starching up a dress only for it to lose shape in the water like Easter Lockhart.

For enslaved Baptist people, this exhaustive work for their water baptisms proved to be fulfilling. Baptism became not only a vessel to Christian salvation, but also a moment to ponder their sociopolitical status and seek freedom under enslavement. After two nerve-racking attempts over the span of several months to convince his enslaver to allow his baptism, formerly enslaved Thomas Lewis Johnson wrote in his autobiography how his baptism opened new worlds

and possibilities for him. Feeling a deeper connection with his God, he began to “steal away” to his room and read the Bible:

“Day after day, when I had finished my work in the house, and had a little time to spare, I would [...] lock myself in, and try to read the Bible [...] calling over the letters of each word I could not understand as follows: ‘In the b-e-g-i-n-n-i-n-g God c-r-e-a-t-e-d the heaven and the earth’ [...] I got to know the words ‘multitudes,’ ‘mountain,’ ‘disciples,’ ‘blessed,’ and in time I had learned to repeat many verses of the chapter from memory. I then began to [find] in many places the same words in the first and second syllables that I knew. In this way I got to understand a little about the Bible, and at the same time I was learning to spell.”<sup>17</sup>

This newfound knowledge emboldened Johnson to share his learnings with others as a pastor, where he would often lead a mass of enslaved people to “steal away to Jesus,” even though he knew that their discovery would mean that they would be “locked up for the night” and “receive from five to nine or even thirty lashes for unlawfully assembling together.” Easter Lockhart echoed a similar courage that she gained from her baptism. After her baptismal ceremony, many in her congregation—long after the white bystanders went home—convened back at the Church, shouting until they couldn’t anymore. “Folks didn’t like that now,” she shared, alluding to her enslavers and other white people’s particular distaste for their bustling congregation. Lockhart, however, professed indifference as she had just gained a profound newness that made her feel invincible: “I ain’t had nothing to come against me since I was baptized.”<sup>18</sup>

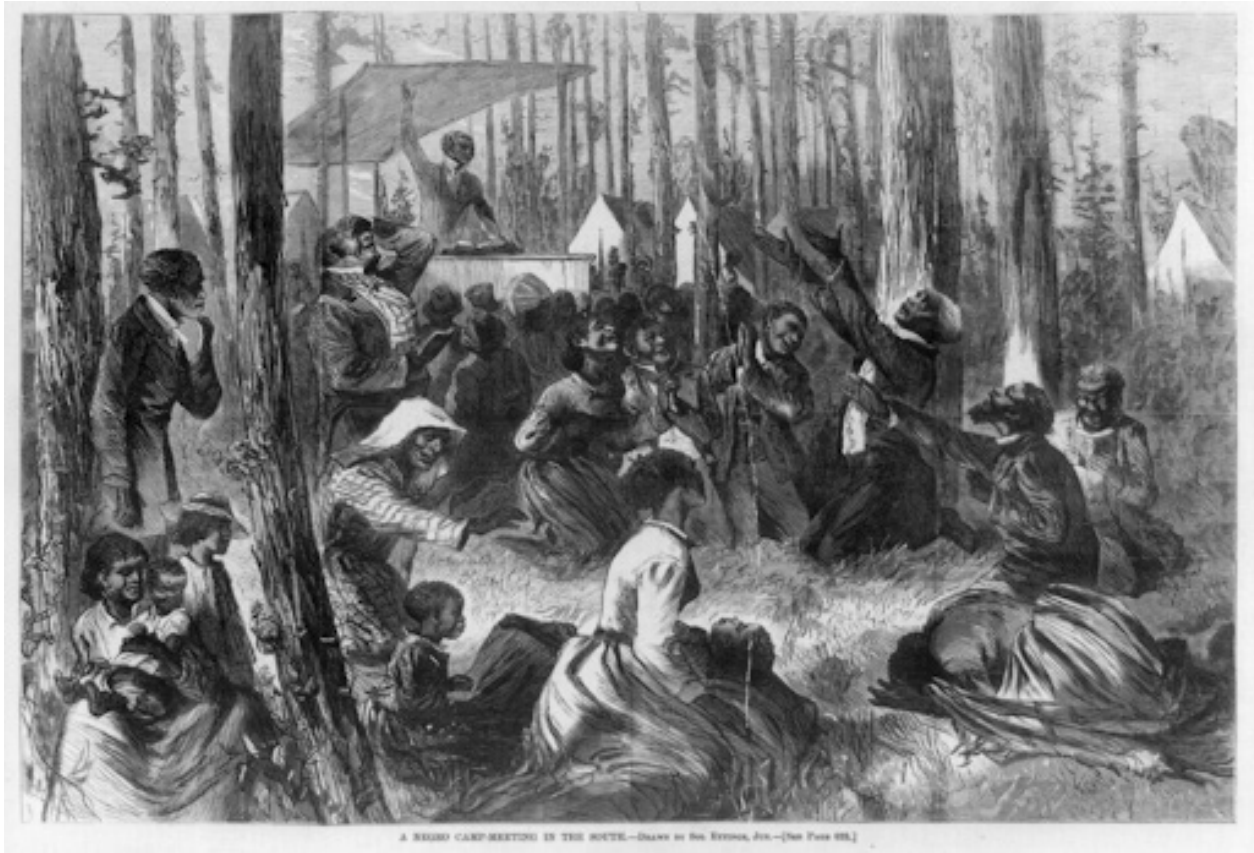
As evidenced by stories of formerly enslaved people interviewed in the WPAs, some enslaved people transformed the meaning of water baptismal rites from a religious method of control to a profound

16 “Anna Scott,” in *Federal Writers’ Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 3, Florida, Anderson-Wilson with Combined Interviews of Others*, 1936, Manuscript/Mixed Material, 279–280. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn030/>.

17 Thomas Lewis Johnson, *Twenty-Eight Years a Slave, or the Story of My Life in Three Continents, 1836–1921*, (Bournemouth: W. Mate & Sons, Limited, Printers and Publishers, 1909), <https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/johnson1/johnson.html#john17>.

18 “Easter Lockhart,” 110.





**Figure 5:** Illustration of “hush arbors” and woods camp meeting.

moment of rebirth and spiritual liberation. Just as early African captives saw water baptisms as a continuation of their spiritual ties to their African homelands, formerly enslaved people interviewed in the WPAs transformed water baptisms as an act of meaningful engagement with the land they called home outside the plantation space. Through water baptismal rites, they were able to subvert white Christianity. Easter Lockhart’s baptismal location still stands today. This now-unnamed pond is hidden among an unsuspecting green grove surrounded by residential houses along Austin Drive. However, for Lockhart, this pond was an unforgettable site of religious renewal,

a coming-of-age for her fourteen-year-old self. The message of rebirth embedded within water baptism rang deeply in the spirits of many enslaved Baptist people, becoming a profound moment of spiritual transformation that later served as a gateway to transcending their sociopolitical status.<sup>19</sup>

19 I traced the current approximate location of “Austin Pond” through Google Maps by using several key pieces of information in Easter’s full interview. Easter mentioned that she went to Limestone Baptist Church near Johnson Street in Gaffney, SC. This church still stands today (along Johnson Street) so I looked at nearby waterways and came across one that was along Austin Drive. See the pond here: <https://maps.app.goo.gl/2Fyh7cACoGqsrWho9>. It is worth noting that this is only an approximation, but seeing the physical landscape of Easter’s and many other former enslaved people’s baptism location is key to envisioning a “rival geography” against the “geography of containment” of enslavement that Stephanie Camp wrote in her book *Closer to Freedom*.

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